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IF ever Rome was justly apostrophised as ‘Thou City of the Soul,’ it must have been by some artist of bygone days located within the precincts of her intolerance and superstition, her dirt and dilapidation, her double charm of classic and Christian association, and that ever-sympathising world of art and letters, which, till lately, has been her one only surviving form of active life. The intolerance and superstition touched not him, so long as he touched not them; the dirt and dilapidation he soon viewed under other colours, and learned to call by other names; while the glory of the Past and the fellowship of the Present shed a halo over his existence of which few minds have more than dreamed. Favoured, indeed, among the sons of men have been those to whom the vision has been fulfilled, as in John Gibson’s case, of the eagle which uplifted him from the land of frost and fog and commonplace, and bore him, Ganymede like, to that bright sphere where reality and romance became identical. And these not artists only; for truly may it be said that all who have visited Rome with a soul of any kind within them—no matter what their antecedents—have felt, as it were, new-born; Circe’s Isle not more fascinating, nor her spells more potent. Rome, it is true, converted them neither into beasts, nor, in days of yore, into Papists. But many a miracle, as remarkable in its way, has been wrought by her upon natures in whom no spark of poetry or enthusiasm

had been previously suspected. Dry country squires, and stiff London bankers—men, be it understood, of education—resigned only to endure, for the pleasure of others, a temporary residence devoid of every usual occupation and comfort, have marvelled at their own transformation as they gradually gave way to the conviction that the only thing to distress them in Rome was the thought of having to leave her. However paralysed the Italian race may have been for centuries, however doting and decrepid their ancient capital, yet both continued to play a part more harmonious and inspiring to man's poetic and æsthetic sympathies than that supplied by any other member of the great European family.

Thus the society that gathered within the gates of Rome and wandered about her monuments was as mixed as it was choice and exotic—comprehending the rarer spirits from all parts of the world; men of learning and men of taste—students of history, antiquity, archæology, and the fine arts—painters and sculptors from every country in Europe—fine ladies to give entertainments, and English milords to lavish patronage—all equally necessary to each other and to Rome. But the artists were especially her natural subjects; they more than any other class combined the charm of a Roman residence with the one great condition of mortal life and human happiness—work; and that condition never so lightly fulfilled as under the magical glow of a Roman sun. If the doom of Rome, as regards the purely artist life, has in some measure gone forth with her late increased political importance, and no less increased order, cleanliness, bustle, and dearness of living, what shall replace her? No one can compute the value of such neutral ground as she has afforded to the busy and ambitious nations of the earth—ground where all the surplus sentiment of the human breast could freely expatiate, and where, in one sense, those weary of the contention and commonplace of the work-a-day world could be at rest.

The period when foreign artists resorted to Rome begins with the decline of Italian art, and at first bore fruits of no genial or genuine character. For the works of Bernard van Orley, Frank Floris, with many others from the Flemish schools, are rather warnings against the false attempt to produce a cross between Northern feeling and Southern forms. But the art-pilgrims to Rome who succeeded these in the seventeenth century had a more sensible and healthy purpose in view. They went there not so much to try to imitate Raphael and Michael Angelo, as to study those picturesque remains, natural beauties, and radiant skies nowhere else

found in such enchanting conjunction. Sandrart and Rosa di Tivoli, both from Frankfort—with names of such magical import as Claude Gelée from Lorraine, and the Poussins from Soissons, head the list of those who studied her sunrises and sunsets, watched her winds and storms, portrayed her ancient tombs and aqueducts, and traced the ineffable grace and solemnity of the landscape lines which encompass them. As soon as England began to rear the children of art, Rome, and Italy generally, exercised the same attraction for them. Again two great names led the way—Richard Wilson and Joshua Reynolds, both in 1749, the one thirty-six years, the other then twenty-six years of age. To this intercourse with the dawning English school may be attributed that exchange of benefits which in some measure ensued; for, whatever the contempt for English art which it was fashionable, chiefly on the part of Germans, to assert in Rome, it is notorious that English patronage and intelligence stood so high with native Italian artists as to bring many of them, in the eighteenth century, over to England. The new-born Royal Academy also was among the first of the institutions of that class to recognise the value of the study, though condemning the direct imitation, of the old masters, and to found a travelling studentship which usually landed the fortunate possessor on the Seven Hills. This means of study was interrupted by the French Revolution and all its consequences, and no student was sent abroad by the Royal Academy between the years 1795 and 1818. For all that there were plenty of devotees from different countries who found their way to the shrine, and Rome was perhaps never more the nursing mother of art and the paradise of the artist than during that space of its modern history when the mine of learning opened by Winckelmann and Visconti, and further developed by Niebuhr, Zoega, and Bunsen—the founding of the Museo Clementino—the excavations of the Villa Hadrian—the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii—the publication of Piranesi's engravings and other grand works—the enlightened rule of Cardinal Gonsalvi—the courteous benevolence of Canova, and the æsthetic sympathies of the gentle Chevalier Kestner—offered a combination of favouring elements which can hardly occur again.

Among those whose happy lot cast them in Rome while this atmosphere of art, learning, and amenity prevailed was the object of this article—Bertel Thorvaldsen—then, as still, the pilgrim who has hitherto migrated from the latitude farthest north of the Eternal City. But Art, like Poetry, seems in-

tended to be indigenous to every climate. In Thorvaldsen's case it sprang, if not from 'Greenland's icy mountains,' yet from the contiguous island to which the Muse of Poetry had been no stranger. For Gottschalk Thorvaldsen, father of the celebrated sculptor, was the son of a poor Icelandic pastor, who sent him to earn a living in the comparatively genial climate and bountiful resources of Copenhagen. Gottschalk himself may be said to have preceded his son in the path of art, inasmuch as, having a knack of wood-carving, he found occupation in the shipbuilder's sheds by carving the figure-heads for merchant vessels. His art, however, was so rudimental, that, being once employed to fashion a lion for a new vessel, the nearest approach he succeeded in making to the king of animals was the semblance of a poodle. Thus, among the many great artists who have had small artists for their progenitors, it would be difficult to name an instance in which the distance between the one and the other has been greater. That Thorvaldsen, constituted as he was, should have traversed that distance, is, as we shall see, one of the strangest facts in his history.

Bertel Thorvaldsen was born 1770, of parents doubly low in the social scale; for his father was indolent and given to drink, and his mother was a Jutland peasant. Aged workmen, proud of their townsman's subsequent fame, used to remember the pretty boy with fair hair and blue eyes who would bring his father's dinner to the timber-yards on the quays of Copenhagen. He was an only child, and, in the absence of even the most humble education, his turn for wood-carving seems to have been his only form of intelligence. Such was his aptitude, that some friend urged his learning what his father was utterly incompetent to teach, and procured for him, at eleven years of age, admission to the free school of the Danish Academy of the Fine Arts. Here he made such progress that Gottschalk's performances began to show signs, both in conception and execution, of an intelligent colleague. Friends also endeavoured to stimulate the young lad to other forms of cultivation, but Bertel cared for nothing but the pencil or the carving tool, and not very ardently even for them, while for all further acquisition he was as stolid as a true Iclander. Like Claude Lorraine also, who could neither be taught to make a tart (his father was a pastrycook) nor to read a book, he was impervious to the charm of letters. Nevertheless, his progress in drawing and modelling was such as to entitle him to the prize of the small silver medal awarded by the Academy—a circumstance published in the Copenhagen

journals of the day. At about this time, he being then sixteen years of age, and required by the laws of the Lutheran Church to present himself for confirmation, a slight examination on the part of the chaplain disclosed such an absence of the commonest book-learning as to assign him to the very lowest form of the catechetical class. The chaplain, however, having read the paragraph concerning the silver medal, happened to ask him whether the fortunate student was his brother, or in any way related to him. In great confusion Bertel owned that the student was no other than himself; whereupon the good clergyman changed his tone, and with a look of respect said, ‘Herre Thorvaldsen, you may go into ‘the upper form.’ No title ever sounded so sweet in mortal ears as this ‘Herre’ in those of the lad. The impression of the honour thus paid him remained indelible, and in after life, when surrounded by all that fame could confer, he would own to his friends that the elation he then felt had never been equalled.

After this success his father decided that Bertel was qualified to join him in the regular partnership of his humble art, while such was the mental inertness of the lad that he was quite ready to be satisfied with this inferior destiny. For Bertel was one of those apathetic characters, who, if he had not developed his single vein of intelligence, would have remained barren. And it was favouring circumstances alone, not his own energy, which brought about this development. After gaining this medal, he seems for the next two years—embracing the important time between sixteen and eighteen—to have remained at a low level of supineness. His name does not appear on the Academy books, nor is there any record of his having attended a class. One of the professors of the Academy, the painter Abilgaard, who had taken particular interest in his progress, was at this time absent in Italy. On his return, bringing with him casts from the antique, he seems to have revived Bertel’s ardour, while at the same time he prevailed on the father to permit the continuance of his academical studies. The young man managed to combine the wishes of both—resuming his place at the Academy, and also working with his father at various commissions which increased in importance with the skill applied to them; such as a wooden clock-case, now in the Thorvaldsen Museum, and the arms of Denmark in stone over the entrance to the Apothecaries’ Hall.

His fellow-students remembered him at this time as taciturn, undemonstrative, and excessively shy; caring apparently for nothing so much as tobacco, and taking no part in the

discussion of the subjects proposed for composition. But while they were talking he was working, and had generally completed his model sketch—either in clay or dough—before they had settled how the subject was to be treated. The competition for the small gold medal was now approaching; a prospect which filled him with such alarm, that a standing joke on the part of his companions, ‘Thorvaldsen! remember the examination,’ would set him trembling. Still, he mechanically presented himself on the appointed day, provided with some brandy to keep up his courage, and accompanied the other candidates into the so-called ‘box.’ But, no sooner was the subject of the bas-relief given out: ‘Heliodorus expelled from the Temple,’ than a panic seized him, and he rose and fled. As he ran out of the building he was met by a friend who knew his temperament, and persuaded him to return; when, after the allotted four hours of labour, he won the prize by a composition superior to anything he had before attempted. Intelligent patronage was not lacking in Copenhagen; the work was noticed by one of the ministers—M. Detler de Reventlow—who headed a subscription to enable the young artist to be independent of other labours. He also came under the notice of the excellent Münter, subsequently Bishop of Copenhagen, well known by his classic and archæological studies under Niebuhr in Rome. At the expiration of two more years he verified the predictions of these kind friends by producing a bas-relief which gained the large gold medal, and thus entitled him to the travelling studentship for three years. Thorvaldsen was not the man, however, to respond readily to such opportunity of advancement, nor would he even apply for the studentship. He was now able to pick up a livelihood by desultory means; by modelling mirror-frames which his father and he went from door to door to sell, and also by small medallion portraits, both in clay and on parchment, in which he obtained some aptitude for likenesses; and this kind of life, with an everlasting pipe in his mouth, a dog at his heels, and some opportunity of hearing music, was all his ambition required. Not that he was left in obscurity; on the contrary he was noticed and drawn forward by the literary notabilities of the day. But such was his apathy that, being required by the rules of a dramatic club to which he had been admitted, to take a subordinate rôle in an amateur performance, he either never learned a word of his part, or entirely forgot it; for, on coming on the stage, not a syllable could be extracted from him or prompted to him. Three more years thus passed, when, having successfully modelled the busts of two leading members

of the Copenhagen world, he yielded to the expostulations of friends, applied for and immediately obtained the travelling pension.

It may be here observed in connexion with his subsequent eminence in bas-relief—the Shibboleth of the sculptor's art—that his prize works and others were all executed in that form. To this circumstance his success may in some measure be attributed. The bas-relief, as connected with architecture, belongs to the finest period of the art; and in proportion as it departs from the actual substance of natural objects, is a higher feeling for style and a purer outline demanded from the artist. In point of composition these youthful works evince no elevated standard in the Danish Academy of the time; but their importance consists in having accustomed the student to work within the limits and restrictions which bas-relief imposes, the difficulties of which are almost insurmountable to one versed only in the treatment of the round.

It was in May, 1796—then twenty-six years of age—that Thorvaldsen, strongly recommended to the captain, and accompanied by his dog Hector, embarked on board the frigate ‘Thetis,’ bound for Naples. The voyage was rough, prolonged, and very far about, and it was in the beginning of December that he was landed in Malta, where the vessel remained for repairs. The young man had passed these six months in complete idleness. The captain, a man of his word, had kindly watched over him, though with but little satisfaction to himself, as appears from a letter to his wife from Malta, of Dec. 29th:—

‘Thorvaldsen is still here, but at length begins to think of getting on to Rome. He is well, as you may let his parents know. God knows what will become of him! he is so incorrigibly idle that he does not care to write to them himself, and while on board he would not learn a word of Italian, though both the chaplain and I offered to give him lessons. . . . He has a big dog which he calls Hector. He sleeps all the morning, and cares for nothing but idleness and eating.’

At Malta he was transferred to a vessel bound for Palermo, thence he reached Naples, and finally arrived in Rome on March 8, 1797, having more than once during these ten months been on the point of throwing up the studentship and starting back for Copenhagen. But, once at Rome, he was like a man who gradually thawed. ‘I was born,’ he said, in later life, ‘on March 8, 1797; up to that time I did not exist.’ Still, the transformation was necessarily slow. He had letters to the learned Zoega, whom his countrymen regard as the Danish Winckelmann, and who swells the number of those



strange northern minds which find the end and aim of their being in the study of Greek art. But Zoega blamed the Danish Academy, and complained of their folly, though certainly no fault of theirs, in sending a young man to Rome who did not know a line of history or mythology, nor a word of French or Italian in which to study either, and, in his own words, 'has not even a vague idea of the name or meaning of 'the things he sees.' There never was more strictly a 'sheet 'of white paper' as regards common intelligence than Thorvaldsen on his arrival in Rome. Without energy, equally as without guile or ambition, it is curious to picture the level at which he would have remained had he returned to Copenhagen. The art was his sole road to a higher life, and even that required nothing short of the artist's highest stimulus—viz., the atmosphere of Rome—to induce him to explore it. He began by copying from the antique, and selected by instinctive preference the highest examples, while Zoega watched jealously over his first attempts at original composition. But these were evil times in Rome, even for an humble Danish student of art. The treaty of Tolentino had been concluded; the French entered the Eternal City in February, 1798; the Pope was carried off to Valence; and, what troubled the sculptor more, the best of the art treasures in Rome soon departed for Paris. Meanwhile the allotted three years quickly passed away, when the Academy pension, in consideration of these unfavourable conditions, was renewed in his favour for three years more. But it amounted only to 24*l.*, and Thorvaldsen found it difficult to increase that pittance. An English landscape painter of the name of Wallis saved him for a time by paying him a *scudo* a day to design small figures in his foregrounds. Meanwhile he occupied the same studio in the Via Babuina which had belonged to Flaxman, and he shared a lodging with the grand landscape and animal draughtsman, Joseph Anthony Koch, from the Tyrol, well termed the Nestor of German art in Rome. Believing that at the expiration of his second term of allowance he should be obliged to quit Rome—a prospect that does not seem to have troubled him much—he resolved to compose an important work, and selected the figure of Jason for a subject. It attracted so little attention, that, after standing some time in his studio, the sculptor pulled it all down. But, though the model thus returned to the earth whence it came, the idea was not so easily expelled from the artist's mind. He repeated the effort on a colossal scale, assisted pecuniarily by Madame Brun, sister to Bishop Münster. This time the work created a sensation, and became the event of the

day. Canova pronounced it 'a creation in a new and grand style,' and a name, till then unknown, was in every mouth. Still, no commission ensued, and the prolongation of his stay became impossible. His few things were therefore sold, others packed, and 'Jason' was to follow him to Copenhagen; when, in the nick of time, Mr. Thomas Hope, the well-known prop of many a despairing son of genius, entered his studio, was charmed with the 'Jason,' gave an order for the execution of the statue in marble, and, by thus detaining the sculptor in Rome, became really the turning-point of his career. The reader must know, however, but little of such a mind as Thorvaldsen's if he imagine that gratitude swelled his breast, or urged his hand to the prompt and ardent fulfilment of his engagement towards his deliverer. Bertel was never disturbed from the bent of the hour, whether of work or idleness, by any promises or engagements. Unredeemed pledges sat lightly upon him. An immediate instalment of Mr. Hope's money gained him time for other designs he had meanwhile thought of, and for much folly he had better have left alone. Delay, accordingly, begat delay, and excuse, excuse; the commission had been given in 1802, but the year of our Lord 1828 had arrived before 'Jason' reached its destined place, in the long-suffering, and often indignantly remonstrating patron's abode.

The history of Thorvaldsen's tender attachments in the course of his career aptly illustrates his character. It might have been predicated of him that he would be helpless in the hands of an artful woman, and faithless in his engagement to a true one. Love is supposed to deprive all men, more or less, of reason; and where the artist ceased in our Dane's case there was truly but little wit or wisdom left. His countryman Zoega had a villa at Genzano, near Rome, where he was welcomed as one of the family; and in Madame Zoega's service was a handsome Roman waiting-maid, utterly illiterate and still more unprincipled, but grand in figure and with fine eyes. Anna Maria Magnani, such was her name, and Bertel Thorvaldsen soon became lovers—on her part with cold calculation and admirable insight into his character, on his with mere thoughtlessness and incapacity to restrain a passion. Under these circumstances she had the full command of the position, and maintained it with all the pertinacity of a strong will over a weak mind. If Mr. Charles Greville had had opportunity for acquaintance with Thorvaldsen's real character, he would probably have defined him as 'something of a genius, but more of a fool.' But Anna Maria would have deserved a very opposite verdict. With her lover completely in her toils, she was

free to indulge her ambition in other directions. To marry him then would have been small promotion, and meanwhile an offer of marriage from a man of some birth and fortune gave her the opportunity to improve her social position. At the same time it was far from her intention to enfranchise a man whom she loved as the ignorant and passionate Italian woman alone does love, and whom she could turn round her finger. Accordingly she married the opportune suitor, and from a 'Donna' became a 'Signora;' but at the same time she took due measures to provide for the certain contingency of a rupture of the lawful contract. Thorvaldsen fell ill with jealousy and distress, and in this condition was easily prevailed upon to sign a formal bond, declaring that in case of her separation from her husband he would provide for her. The crisis, of course, did not fail to occur, and from Florence, where the happy pair had barely accomplished the revolution of the honeymoon, the sculptor was amazed to receive a summons at the instance of the lady, endorsed, strange to say, by a priest, to present himself without delay in order to fulfil his agreement. Of course Thorvaldsen went, and equally of course he brought Anna Maria back with him, and in so doing saddled himself with a burden, a torment, and a punishment which affected the whole course of his life.

From the time that the 'Jason' had established his reputation Thorvaldsen's career was assured. He was now above thirty years of age; his hand and eye were well practised and the fount of inspiration began abundantly to flow. A group of 'Cupid and Psyche'—a bas-relief of the 'Muses dancing on Mount Helicon,' the 'Parting of Achilles and Briseis,' with other works, quickly succeeded each other. He also rose in the social scale. His countryman, Baron Schubart, the Danish minister at Rome, conceived a friendship for him and introduced him to the best society. Zoega, the trusty friend and adviser, writes thus to Bishop Münter, April, 1805:— 'Thorvaldsen is now quite the fashion, and commissions are coming in on all sides. No one doubts that Canova and he are the two most eminent sculptors in Rome. It gives me great pleasure to see the realisation of that which I predicted at a time when nobody would believe me.'

We propose before closing this article to give a partial review of Thorvaldsen's works. Here, however, we may mention the one which most contributed to his fame, and in which he is associated with the eventful history of the day. A visit from the Emperor Napoleon, then, in 1811, at the summit of his prosperity, was suddenly announced to the Roman authorities,

and the French Academy at Rome—occupying the only spot of ground in the ‘Department of the Tiber’ the victors were destined within a few short years to retain—received orders to decorate the Palace of the Quirinal with the utmost magnificence. Thorvaldsen was accordingly commissioned to supply a frieze bas-relief for one of the largest halls, the subject being left to his own choice. He selected one open to possible ambiguity of interpretation; viz. the ‘Entry of Alexander the Great into Babylon.’ Time pressed, and the work was thrown off with more than common ardour and inspiration. While seen piecemeal in his studio the execution had an unfinished appearance, but no sooner was the frieze placed at the appointed height than all connoisseurs felt the perfect harmony between composition and effect. Napoleon never visited Rome, and the Quirinal walls never received this tribute to the conqueror. A marble copy was subsequently ordered by Napoleon, intended, it is believed, for his projected Temple of Glory, now the Church of the Madeleine. But Moscow and Leipsic, with all their inexorable results, intervened. The rebound of all things at the abdication was felt in many an artist’s studio, and the frieze was one of the numerous objects diverted from its original destination. In vain was it offered to any sovereign who would pay for it. Ultimately it became the property of Count Sommariva, who placed it in his villa on the Lake of Como, where, surrounded by scenes of peace and beauty, it remains to this day.

Another work by the sculptor had an analogous lot. Napoleon’s speech at Warsaw, in 1812, had raised the confidence of the Poles in the re-establishment of their kingdom; and a monument to perpetuate the Emperor’s words had been ordered of Thorvaldsen. It consisted mainly of two Caryatides figures, supporting an inscribed tablet. But by the time it was completed the kingdom of Poland had ceased to exist, and the Caryatides now support the throne of the Danish king at Christiansborg.

We have alluded to Thorvaldsen’s rise in society as well as in fame, and it had one fortunate result: it roused him, namely, to a sense of his own utter want of education. He had not even acquired the power to speak his own language grammatically, and only wrote with difficulty. He now applied himself earnestly to supply these deficiencies, and there is something touching in the fact that among his surviving papers of this period were found sheets covered with the most elementary exercises in grammar. Like many another artist of humble origin and full employment, he never used his pen oftener than he could possibly help. He acquired, however, knowledge

enough, especially in languages, to pass muster in society, and to transact the business of the studio. His friends admired a certain simplicity, not unaccompanied by shrewdness and homely wit, and such is the fascination, real and imputed, of the artist nature, that no man ever enjoyed greater popularity among the choicest society in the world than our phlegmatic and unlettered Dane.

Let us not, however, disparage the value of phlegma—always a reserve fund of power, either for endurance or resistance. When left at its own natural temperature it is matchless for a stolid patience which gains the race in the long run; when heated to the due degree, no rashness is a more irresistibly propelling power. Each extreme was exemplified in the annals of our sculptor. Meanwhile his northern origin was rather favourable than not to his advancement. The Russians, in virtue of it, acknowledged him as a sort of countryman, while the Germans claimed him absolutely for their own. In point of person, indeed, he was a fine specimen of the Teuton type. He was fair and blue-eyed—‘never,’ as Gibson has recorded, ‘lost a tooth;’ tall and commanding in figure, with a strikingly picturesque head. In mind and habits also the resemblance was continued. The briefest toilet—the dirtiest apartment—a perennial atmosphere of tobacco, and a predilection for odes, music, and laurel crowns, kisses, vivats, and titles, left no doubt as to his German proclivities. It was from an Italian source, however, that his first public distinction proceeded. A visit to Florence was followed by the honorary appointment of Professor to the Florentine Academy. Thence ensued that sound so sweet in Teutonic ears, and, as it happened, so welcome to his Italian friends, who gladly exchanged the to them impossible articulation of his northern patronymic for the softer syllables of ‘Signor Professore’! Ultimately the bestowal of a Danish order by his own sovereign changed his name again for that by which he was to the last familiarly known, of ‘Il Cavaliere Alberto.’

As a specimen of the cosmopolitan nature of the society in which he moved, it is curious to glance over the list of those who sat to the sculptor for busts or statues—nationalities and celebrities hardly to be gathered together except in such a centre of both as Rome. For instance, Gallitzin, Woronzoff, Bariatinsky, Butera, Potocki, Rantzau, Struense, Zoega, Celenschläger, Augustenburg, Moltke, Metternich, Schwarzenberg, Esterhazy, Humboldt, Bunsen, Gonsalvi, Sommariva, Camuccini, Torlonia, Benvenuti, Horace Vernet, Sandwich, Exmouth, Bentinck, Agar Ellis, Sutherland, Byron, and

Walter Scott. Of Byron, who sat by desire of his friend Lord Broughton, then Mr. J. Cam Hobhouse, it is said that immediately on placing himself he assumed a look of misery, and on Thorvaldsen's request that he would call up a more cheerful air, he replied that such was the usual expression of his countenance.

To these notabilities from all countries might be added a few representatives of royalty, wandering out of their sphere; and among them that most original of all personages who ever mounted a throne, whose homage for art, poetry, and friendship, though sometimes bordering on the ridiculous, was always genuine; who was volatile, eccentric, and exaggerated, but never *blasé* or heartless—we mean the late King Ludwig of Bavaria. As Crown Prince he visited Rome several times, and formed an enthusiastic friendship for our sculptor, who on one occasion organised an artist fête in his honour. A letter in return, from the Prince after leaving Rome, quoted by M. Plon, will not easily be surpassed in the records of royal gushings. It begins thus:—

‘Herr Councillor of State! No, no, not that—dear, great and good Thorvaldsen! For kings are powerless to give what that name means. Long after military glory—bloody glory that is—shall have ceased to make a disturbance, the name of a great artist still lives, pure, sublime, blest of Heaven, and his immortal works eternally beget others, to be, like them, immortal.

‘The last hours I spent in Rome were brightened by the fête which my excellent Thorvaldsen gave me.’

And the letter ends thus:—

‘Adieu—meet again,

‘Louis, Prince Royal,

‘(who thinks a great deal of his Thorvaldsen).’

But it is only just to observe that not only the foreign society of Rome paid homage to the fashionable artist, but even Roman churchmen were so far above the prejudices usually imputed to them as to extend their patronage to the alien and heretic sculptor. Not that those who knew Cardinal Gonsalvi will wonder at a liberality which emanated chiefly from him. That prelate and statesman had provided by his will a sum to be devoted to a monument to Pius VII., whose trials he had so faithfully shared; directing that its execution should be confided to the Marchese Canova, and, failing him, to the Cavaliere Thorvaldsen. The Pope, however, died before the testator, and Canova before the Pope. The Cardinal accordingly resolved to be his own executor in the matter of the monument, and summoned Thorvaldsen to execute the com-

mission. It was truly no small tribute to a Protestant artist that a monument in honour of the head of the Roman Church, and destined to be erected in St. Peter's, should be confided to him; and in that light Thorvaldsen regarded it. The circumstance occasioned of course much surprise, and some inevitable illwill. To this may possibly be attributed the want of a due understanding between the sculptor and the ecclesiastical authorities who presided over the commission. The first design represented the Holy Father with a palm-branch in his hand, and two angels holding a crown of stars over his head. This sufficiently commonplace idea was rejected on the score of the branch and the crown—attributes proper only to a canonised Saint. A second design was of a higher character. The Pope was depicted stript of his sovereign grandeur, seated, bent beneath the weight of his sufferings, and with his tiara in the dust. The composition was simple and touching, but again objected to as inconsistent with the dignity of the Holy Office. Finally, a third design, showing His Sanctity seated in his pontifical robes, with his right hand raised in benediction accompanied by two figures, personifying Strength and Wisdom, was adopted. Gonsalvi himself died long before even these preliminaries had been adjusted; but with the practical sense and perfect honour which distinguish the highest type of the Italian race, he had so arranged the allotted funds that though the laggard sculptor protracted the completion of the work till 1835, he had never a moment's difficulty on the score of payment.

Nor was this the only instance of liberality on the part of the Roman Church. Canova had been president of the Academy of St. Luke, and Camuccini, the historical painter, had filled the chair after him. But, according to the rules of that body, the painter, after three years, was bound to be replaced by a sculptor. In the light of merit there was no one so entitled to the office as Thorvaldsen. A strong party, however, embittered, not only by his having had the commission of Pius VII.'s monument, but by his delay in doing it, were opposed to his election, on the ostensible plea that only a Catholic could properly fill the chair. In this objection there was a strong colour of justice; for the president of the Academy was bound, *ex officio*, to attend mass on certain solemn occasions. At length, in expectation of a '*non possumus*' from the highest quarter, it was decided to refer the case to Leo XII. himself, whose answer is perhaps the only record of that little-known pontiff's excellent sense. He first inquired whether Thorvaldsen was actually the first sculptor then in Rome—a

fact which was immediately admitted. 'Well then,' said the Pope, 'there can be no question that he is the right man for your president; and, as to those solemn occasions to which you refer, he will, no doubt, always see fit to be indisposed.'

Thorvaldsen was therefore elected, and, shortly after, the Pope testified his favour to the new president by announcing his desire to inspect the monument to his predecessor, then in process of execution. Accordingly this most unprecedented visit took place, when the Holy Father seized the opportunity to inspect everything else in the studio, and especially paused before the bas-relief of the 'Ages of Love.' This is a composition—suggested by the antique picture found at Stabia of the 'Sale of Cupids,' and the only instance in which a vein of humour is traced in his works,—in which the sculptor has represented Psyche in the character of a vendor, distributing the little Amorini to her customers. One maiden welcomes the winged child with outstretched arms; another lifts him eagerly to her lips; a third, more prudent, is walking sedately away, holding a very crest-fallen little urchin firmly by both wings. An aged man seeks in vain to catch his purchase as it disdainfully escapes from him; while a middle-aged man, seated, bent forward, in pensive attitude, with a little god firmly planted on his back, was known to point a moral drawn from the experience of the artist himself.

Anna Maria was, indeed, the Old Man of the Sea to this modern Sinbad. To one of Thorvaldsen's phlegma the trial of a jealous and violent woman was at once intolerable to bear and impossible to get rid of. The birth of a little daughter had meanwhile further riveted his chains, and he could hardly propose to leave Rome, even for a friend's neighbouring villa, without producing a scene which usually ended by a surrender on his part. It is no wonder that his friends, among whom were some English families, should have desired to detach him from so uncomfortable a *liaison* by a tie of a lawful kind. A peaceful life was alike necessary for his work and his health, and for this desirable end a happy marriage was the best project that could be devised. It was at this time—1818—that a young lady visited Rome who seemed fitted to promote this view. Miss Frances Mackenzie belonged to a well-known Scotch family. She was of a fine nature, highly educated, and enthusiastic in her love of the arts, and especially of sculpture. She was accompanied by a married aunt, and like everybody else she visited the studio, and soon conceived an ardent admiration for the sculptor. In due time a warmer sentiment was brought about in the most approved fashion.



On an excursion to Tivoli, in which both the lady and the artist were included, Thorvaldsen was attacked by fever, and thence removed to Albano. The ladies in question happened to be located in the vicinity, and finding their attention and care welcome to the invalid, they transferred their residence to Albano itself. Under these circumstances the air of the place soon worked wonders; gratitude assumed a tenderer aspect, and the middle-aged man—he was then forty-eight—found himself as deeply enamoured of his fair nurse as if he had been half that age. Great artists are common property in Rome, and the fact of his engagement to a charming woman soon became known, and excited, with one exception, universal gratulation. With this one exception in view there were reasons why the sculptor was in no hurry to return to Rome, and a journey to Naples, in the company of Miss Mackenzie and her aunt, further prolonged the happy hours. The romance, however, was destined to come to an end, and that not in a way the reader might expect. Of course the domestic volcano had been heaving with fury, and threats to murder the sculptor, his daughter, Miss Mackenzie, and herself had occasionally shot their lightnings through the blissful firmament. But Anna Maria soon found that such extreme measures were not needed. Some of Thorvaldsen's biographers are anxious to impress on us the moral that an artist idle, and an artist at work, are not to be judged by the same strict rules, and that it was the return to the studio which dissipated the delightful dream in which he had allowed himself and induced another to indulge. But we agree with Herr Thiele, that in the second act of this romantic drama the sculptor 'flung from him every consideration of duty and 'honour, while his good angel turned away his head and 'wept.' The return to Rome did not so much dissipate a dream of love as develope another. A flashy Viennese woman, far handsomer than good Frances Mackenzie, but otherwise not worthy of the remotest comparison with her, had meanwhile arrived in Rome. She lodged directly opposite Miss Mackenzie, and with most men this fact would have been embarrassing. But nothing ever hurried or impeded Thorvaldsen whether in a duty or a desire—and his visits to this woman were daily paraded before the eyes of the excellent lady his engagement to whom was publicly known. Miss Mackenzie was worthy of herself on the trying occasion. She left Rome, and took refuge in Switzerland; not feeling able to return to her native country where her approaching marriage with Thorvaldsen had been announced in the news-

papers. On the way she wrote him a gentle and dignified letter, concluding thus, 'If you enjoy all the good I wish you, 'you will be much happier than I ever could have made 'you. Farewell.'

It is here especially in the career of the sculptor that we miss that high moral sense which no breeding had instilled and which nature had not bestowed. It was well for this admirable lady that the affair terminated as it did. Like many a confiding countrywoman of our own, willing to unite her lot to a foreigner, especially if to one of northern race, she had no conception of those countless and nameless differences in thought and habits which should ever interdict such unequal yokes; and thus had no means of counting the cost. The home Thorvaldsen would have given her was not one fitted for an English lady. He earned fame and wealth—was fêted and caressed, and smiled and caressed in return; but those whom circumstances led to strike deeper down, found that they soon came upon that hard rough pan which lay shallow beneath his exterior life.

Thorvaldsen remained unmarried. The Viennese lady was not one to be thought of in the character of a wife, and Anna Maria vanished in some way from the scene. Thus set at liberty, and with some compunction, it is believed, for his conduct, he was glad to leave Rome, and took the opportunity to pay a long-promised visit to his native country. On the way he visited Lucerne for the purpose of inspecting a fitting site for the famous monument to the Swiss Guards who fell at Paris on the 10th August, 1792. Thorvaldsen had accepted the commission, and made the design of the lion who lies mortally wounded, with his head and one paw resting on the shield of France. It is said that the sculptor had never seen a living lion—a story that has too much the appearance of the marvellous to be readily credited. He had, at all events, already modelled one both in the 'Triumph of Alexander,' and in the bas-relief of 'Cupid and the Lion,' and in neither is any deficiency apparent in his conception of the king of beasts. The intention was to have executed the monument in bronze, and placed it in some prominent part of the picturesque city of Lucerne; but his presence there altered his views. He saw at a glance the capabilities of the peculiar rock in the vicinity, in which the lion, solidly hewn in an excavated niche, has a far finer effect than any separate structure of marble or bronze could have produced.

On occasion of this visit of the sculptor to his native city he experienced a foretaste of the honours and glorification which

ultimately awaited him there. That his popularity was immensely exaggerated was but natural. To have produced a great artist is a legitimate source of pride to any country, and it is inevitable, on such occasions, that what is understood only by the few should be rapturously taken on trust by the many. In Denmark, where eminence in art on the part of her sons had been, if not entirely unknown, yet certainly uncared for before, the art became a wonder, and the artist a gazing stock. When we measure, therefore, the merits of Thorvaldsen as a sculptor against the regal honours they procured him, we lose all sight of their genuine appreciation in an extravagance of homage which was only its parody. It was the pleasure of his countrymen to fire salutes, present addresses, and harness themselves to his triumphal car. But no one knew so well as Thorvaldsen how little the real estimate of his art had to do with these demonstrations, and how much more he was the representative of the national vanity than of the national discrimination. Had he lived in Copenhagen no such enthusiasm would have been generated. But distance had lent enchantment to the scene, and everyone, however ignorant, felt a reflected honour in the person of a countryman who had earned fame at the world's great capital of art. There is plenty of evidence that, after a time, he was greatly bored by these demonstrations, which soon took the form of intrusion and interruption. Still, it is only just to add that no national vanity ever continued more constant to its object, or gave more solid proofs of patronage. The royal family and the government filled his hands with commissions; every building in which the introduction of sculpture was possible gave employment to his chisel; and the metropolitan church, or Frue Kirke, now rebuilt after the bombardment of 1807, was converted into a field for his labours of which we shall speak further.

Thorvaldsen remained about a year in his native city, visiting Warsaw on his way back. Here he was presented to the Emperor Alexander, who, by the sculptor's request, sat to him for his bust. From the Poles also he received the commission to execute an equestrian statue of Prince Poniatowski, which, in the end, proved rather an unfortunate illustration both of the habits of the sculptor and of the history of that unhappy nation. The Poles, elated with the prospect of a national monument, were impatient for its completion, while the sculptor, on his part, had no intention to depart from his usual comfortable and leisurely process. Deaf, therefore, meanwhile to patriotic appeals, which began in heroics and

ended in indignation, Thorvaldsen took his time, and the monument was not placed in Warsaw till the year 1830, where it was destined to occupy but a short-lived position. In 1831 General Paskévitch compelled the city to capitulate, when Poniatowski disappeared from his pedestal: according to some to be melted down into guns for the conqueror, while others believe him to still exist under the slightly altered form of a St. George, which adorns a country seat belonging to the Paskévitch family in the province of Mohileff.

In the December of 1820 Thorvaldsen was back in Rome, not to leave it again for eighteen years. The follies and dangers of life were now over, and little remains to be told except the succession of works and honours through which the artist tranquilly ran the remainder of his course. Meanwhile the ardour of his countrymen never relaxed. Sons succeeded to fathers on the throne of Denmark and in private life, but there was no break in the national adoration of Thorvaldsen. On his part too, in the absence of any legitimate heir to his works, the old man felt more and more that he and all he had achieved belonged to the land of his birth. The great desire of his heart was to see some museum erected in which replicas or casts of all he had executed could be collected. His friend, King Ludwig of Bavaria, had volunteered to give him a Walhalla within the precincts of Munich, all to himself; but Copenhagen claimed the prior right. Accordingly at sixty-eight years of age the veteran sculptor solemnly prepared to return with the children of his art to the land that had sent him forth. As a fitting preliminary he made his will, bequeathing all his collections of whatever kind to the Copenhagen Academy, on condition that a museum bearing his name should be erected to receive them, and this museum he promised to endow with a sum of about 8,000*l.*, his entire fortune consisting of upwards of 17,000*l.* These dispositions were ardently responded to in Copenhagen, where a public subscription was immediately raised to assist the outlay. Finally, as the last appropriate act in the earthly apotheosis, the King of Denmark despatched a royal frigate to Leghorn to await the pleasure of the subject he delighted to honour. On board, therefore, of the 'Rota,' after the shipment of countless cases of enormous size and weight, containing the labours of a long and busy life, the artist himself was received with naval honours, and weighed anchor for Copenhagen on August 13, 1838.

A supplemental act in the drama was, however, destined to follow. Sated with native adulation, he yearned to breathe

the air of Rome once more, and in May, 1841, he again set his face towards the home of so many years. His journey through the principal cities of Germany was one triumphal progress; fêtes, feasts, dramatic performances, illuminations, *Fackelzüge*, choruses, serenades, epilogues, orations, crowns, wreaths and medals, create now in their retrospect an almost ludicrous impression of disparity between cause and effect. Once in Rome, he was sorely tempted to revoke his last bequest of all to his native country—namely that of his bones. But he had been accompanied from Copenhagen by a devoted and resolute Danish dame—this time a perfect Platonic connexion—and she had determined, *coûte qui coûte*, that he should accompany her back again. An amusing account, given in Gibson's *Life*, shows the struggle it cost the stout Baroness von Stampe to propel in the desired direction a procrastinating, wavering, and obstinate man. The tidings of the approaching completion of the new museum at Copenhagen finally secured her the victory. The lady started with her recovered prize, and looked sharp after it on the way. No more fêtes or banquets were allowed to retard his progress to Kiel. Again a royal frigate bore him to his native city, where the ugliest building that ever was wreathed in garlands in honour of genius met his delighted gaze. This was his last journey: surrounded by all a grateful country could supply, his decline was gentle and his death painless. He died suddenly in his stall at the theatre, in March, 1844, and rests in the centre of the 'Thorvaldsen Museum,' with all his works around him.

These works must now receive a short analysis at our hands. In the absence of all letters or memoranda by him upon art—and it may be fairly assumed that he had no habit of expressing such, nor is there a word uttered by him quoted by his biographers that is worth repeating—his works remain their own sole glossary.

We know from his early life that he had a ready gift of composition; that while others were discussing the subject, he had already thrown it into form. The next question was the direction this faculty would take, and that was immediately decided on his reaching Rome. Here there was no wavering in favour of the picturesque effects of the Renaissance sculpture, of the dramatic flutter of Bernini, or of the exquisitely finished sentimentality of Canova. The antique riveted his gaze at once. In this tendency we recognise therefore the source of the inspiration of his grander works, and account for the insipidity of a host of minor pro-

ductions which have nothing but what we may call the respectability of a general antique principle to recommend them. It is on this account that the collective view of them in the Thorvaldsen Museum—casts and replicas supplying the place of such originals as have found a home elsewhere—does not convey the sense of sustained power or inspiration, still less of any strong individuality. Certain compositions of original thought and power vindicate his title to plastic genius of a high order, but the mean level of the majority, however careful in anatomy, modelling, and drapery—and this is far from being always the case—is not high. The antique style, in its strict conditions of beauty of form and limit of subject, is the true basis of all sculpture, properly so called, but its interest to the mind depends on the individuality, and therefore originality, of the artist, which clothes itself within these appointed bounds. Thorvaldsen's excellence consisted in a certain power and thought; where these were not called forth by the nature of the subject there was but little taste or poetry of feeling to supply the place. His statues of Jason, Adonis, Bacchus, and others are academic figures in that strict antique keeping, the mere revival of which, in an age satiated with the picturesque in marble, obtained them popularity. It is not, however, on these we have noted, but on his statue of Mercury, that his reputation for original thought rests. We have in this instance a single figure before us, wearing the winged cap and modelled on a high standard of antique beauty—in short, with all those conditions of form and attribute which fulfil the laws of Greek propriety, but nothing more. The real charm and interest are supplied by the sculptor's own thought, which suggests a figure which is invisible, and moments not only present, but past and to come. Mercury's eye, with a beautiful turn of the head, is intently watching Argus, whom, unseen, we know to be at his side. The pan's pipe that has just lulled the creature to sleep has but this moment quitted the lips of the demigod—the sword with which he is about to slay him is only now being drawn from the sheath. A world of careful thought, which each spectator may flatter himself that he helps to discover, expresses all this. Had Mercury still been playing, even his last and softest notes, we should not know that Argus and all his eyes were sealed in slumber, and, what is worse still in the sense of art, the syrinx would have disfigured the mouth of the player, and hidden part of his face. Again, if he were not careful, having but one hand free, how he draws the sword, the noise would awake the enemy. But here the necessity for caution has given rise to a stealthy action of the highest cha-

racter. The sword cannot rattle as it leaves the sheath, and the sheath cannot fall, for it is pressed tight between the heel of Mercury and the trunk of the tree on which he is seated. In this way the action of drawing the just started weapon is steadied and controlled, and we feel the intense intelligence between the eye that watches the slumbering creature and the motion of the hand that is regulated by it. All truths, whether in Poetry or Art, are fertile in more than their actual word or action; and here the moment so admirably chosen entails a beauty of lines, an intenseness of expression, and that sense 'of a voice that is still' which, growing naturally out of the design, distinguish this work as one speaking the utmost language of which the art is capable.

Again, as regards both power and thought his 'Triumph of Alexander' is sufficient to establish the fame of any artist. Here in a bas-relief, sixty feet long and four feet high, a sphere for style, action, and consistency of representation was offered which only the highest ability and that philosophy of art which grows from experience could fill. In no work did Thorvaldsen feel himself so much at home as in this. He had reached that point of knowledge—too little perceptible either in modern sculpture or wall-painting, but in which both Greeks and old Italian masters were great—namely, the just calculation of the effect of distance from the eye, whether upon form or colour. No superfluous detail, therefore, here encumbers the first condition of all representation—its distinctness. The stream of the composition, the facts of which are taken from Quintus Curtius, flows in a natural and poetic form. Alexander, having conquered Darius in the battle of Arbela, has summoned the city of Babylon to surrender. Mazæus, the governor, anxious to spare blood and to save his children, has unwillingly opened the gates. Bagophanes, the treasurer of Darius, urged by meaner motives, is preparing to deify the conqueror. Two currents of life are moving towards each other,—the Greeks are advancing to enter the city, the Babylonians are leaving the city to meet them. The narrative begins with simple ingenuity, transporting us into the plains around; and to a certain primitive barbarian element—also, in the sense of art, providing that contrast of tranquillity which enhances the effect of the more crowded portions. A group of two figures, standing, with a camel, under palm-trees, have evidently caught sight of the procession, and watch it from afar. A beautiful naked child, in order to see better, climbs the hump of the camel with which its forms offer the strongest contrast. A step farther on takes us to the banks of the

Euphrates, where a single figure, regardless of all but the line in his hand, is seated fishing, with a fish suspended to his line. Next, we are upon the river itself, down which, in a boat, two Persian merchants with bales of goods are hastening, with significant gestures, to avoid plunder. The walls of the city now appear, over which figures of great dignity are sorrowfully gazing and pointing, while a flock of sheep, intended as spoil for the conqueror, defile below. These are succeeded by Chaldean Seers with instruments of astrology in their hands, evidently discussing the fulfilment of their predictions. A group of lion and tiger and their wild keepers, and a troop of beautiful led horses, uncaptured and with flowing mane and tail, follow here as presents to Alexander. Then come youths playing on cymbals and blowing horns, and the figure of Bagophanes directing the erection of a silver altar on which he is preparing to burn incense as to a god. He is preceded by figures of beautiful Persian women strewing flowers, which a lovely cherub presents to them on a tray. Mazæus, finally, heads this procession of the vanquished, followed by his armour-bearers, with dejected gestures, and preceded by his five boys, all holding out their hands in not unmanly supplication; while Peace, an allegorical figure with cornucopia, walks before them, holding forth an olive-branch to the advancing chariot of the conqueror. Here, therefore, the two currents meet. Alexander's car, drawn by four horses, transports us at once to an antique atmosphere. He stands in an heroic position within his light quadriga—the winged figure of Victory at his side beautifully poised as she lightly holds the reins—the horses, with their stiff, clipped manes, as in the marbles from the Parthenon. Two running attendants follow, one looking back on Bucephalus led by two grooms, one of whom is thrown into grand oblique action by the struggles of the spirited animal. Alexander's generals follow on horseback; Hephestion first alone, on a rearing charger; then Parmenio and Amyntas; the two last in eager converse. To these succeed more horsemen, including some of the most striking figures in the procession; the last turning round on his seat speaking to foot soldiers who follow tumultuously. Next comes an elephant laden with the spoils of war—the golden casket, containing the poems of Homer, seen among them. A captive satrap with bound hands walks dejectedly at the animal's side, followed by a few figures who close the procession, among whom, half hidden by a shield, is that of the artist.

The reader will readily see here the scope given for action



and thought—the fine contrast between the two races, and the consistent part played by the antique element. Throughout we perceive his familiarity with the Panathenaic procession, casts of which are in the Vatican—and also with Mantegna's 'Triumphs of Julius Cæsar.' In the figure of Alexander he was slow to please himself, and three different versions are left, of which the last, which places the hero almost fronting the spectator, hand on hip, with a braggart air, is not the finest.

Thorvaldsen excelled in the horse, and his equestrian statue of the Emperor Maximilian at Munich is a sample of the vigour with which he grappled with conditions of reality. In the usual cycle of mythological and allegorical subjects he must be admitted to be very unequal. Even his 'Dances of the Muses,' one of his early and much extolled works, has a heaviness which stands no comparison with Flaxman's treatment of dancing figures. The Muses, it is true, are in full movement, set off the more by their steps being led round an immovable group of the Graces; but they foot the measure in a lumbering way, like German peasant women dancing on a holiday. His readiness of composition by no means implied a playful fancy. Nor does any *passion* animate his subjects, in which respect our Gibson—in his 'Hero and Leander,' or his 'Amazon dragged by her Horse'—is his superior. Or when he attempts violent action, as in the rage of Achilles, doubling his fist, as he is compelled to part with Briseis, it is little better than caricature. It may be suspected that it was not so much the trammels of the antique as of his own phlegma which fettered him in these respects. In his beautiful and well-known circular bas-relief of 'Night,' bearing the two deadly drowsy infants conventionally called Sleep and Death, and herself flitting noiselessly like a night moth, this feature of the sculptor's individuality may be said to have harmonised with his subject. In his 'Day,' on the other hand, the attempt at life and airiness is strained and artificial. The same is seen more strongly in his 'Mercury bearing Psyche to the Heavenly Abodes.' Here the demigod is flying in a position he could not maintain for a moment; and, further, rather in a downward than an upward direction; while Psyche, a plump matron, sits far too comfortably on his hip to be an easy weight. The 'Birth of Venus,' too, a favourite subject with classic sculptors, in the attempt at lightness is rather a caricature of that quality, as she skips out of her shell, a small ill-formed figure, tossing up one foot behind her like a ballet dancer.

Nor is his treatment of allegory, that crucial test of the artist, more fortunate. Here he often overlooks that one in-

dispensable condition of a work of art, namely, that it should explain itself, and the more immediately the better. His composition of 'Rafaello il Grande,' for instance, with one foot on a fragment of a simple plinth, the other on a Corinthian capital, and himself seated on a block, with a representation of the Three Graces from the Siena antique—these three gradations of art being intended as types of his three manners; and, further, receiving from Cupid a rose and a poppy—at once inspiration and death—all this occult, and in Raphael's case false, allusion is beyond the province of any art to convey. Such a subject too as Venus tipping the arrows of love with honey, and Cupid steeping them in gall, requires a glossary to explain which is the honey and which is the gall. The same criticism applies to the group of Diana entreating Jupiter to let her remain unwedded. The action of entreaty is obvious, but whether it is intended to melt a father's heart in favour of celibacy or of Hymen no unlearned spectator could possibly tell. Even in such abstract figures as those of the Caryatides we have mentioned, a recondite allusion, we are assured by his biographers, was intended—the figure with the goat's skin personifying the people; that with the peplum and holding a lock of her hair in her hand, 'the upper classes of society.'

Nor was the sculptor more fortunate in forms of allegory which are more familiar to the world. For instance, in the 'Creation of Man,' where Vulcan (query Prometheus?) a mere academic figure, seated, with conventional drapery on his knees, has no connexion with the inert mass he has just hammered out, and which stands beside him, high-shouldered and clumsy, while Minerva on the other side, by way of endowing man with a soul, claps a butterfly as big as a pigeon upon its head. In comparison with such commonplace as this the efforts of the early sculptors at Orvieto, or of the still earlier mosaicists in St. Mark's at Venice, are living poetry. The biographers of Thorvaldsen are fond of dwelling upon the original and peculiar combination of the Scandinavian and Hellenic elements to be traced in the character of his sculpture. We must confess our inability to discern it. No sign appears in anything by his hand of that primitive strength, wild imagination, or picturesque irregularity to be expected from a descendant of the race of the Vikings or Barsarks; and which, be it observed, would be not a little difficult, if not utterly impossible, to combine with those antique principles within which the sculptor always aimed to work. Thorvaldsen, it is true, is never feeble; for that his northern nature was too rude

and strong: he may rather be said to have aimed too indiscriminately at a certain force, which, in subjects unbefitting it, lapses into heaviness and absence of interest. Accordingly, as compared with Canova, he is as masculine and devoid of affectation, as, compared with Flaxman, he is unrefined and deficient in fancy and taste. It follows further of necessity that with this absence or misdirection of fancy, Thorvaldsen would be still less favourably seen in those nambypambyisms of mythological convention which thronged the studios of the time. Hebe pouring out nectar for Jupiter, or Venus looking at the tip of Cupid's little finger, are accordingly never lower in the scale of their very low interest than in Thorvaldsen's versions of them. Here again he stands below Gibson, who also gave easy birth to plenty of these frivolities, and played the 'thema' of Cupid with numerous variations; but in his hands they were playful and *naïve*, and more of the nature of sprightly *concetti* than Thorvaldsen was capable of imagining.

Thorvaldsen's treatment of religious subjects remains to be considered. Here, as far as personal feeling was concerned, he was utterly out of his element; for one of his biographers has, rather unfortunately, recorded his declaration of as little belief in the God of the Christians as in the gods of the Greeks. Still, with few exceptions, religious subjects have less to do with the faith of the artist than with his æsthetic capacity. In Thorvaldsen's case there were no reasons why he might not be, as he was, successful in sacred representations; they admitted of more expression, both in action and physiognomy, than those taken from mythology, while at the same time the sphere of feeling was larger, and the standards of authority so numerous, especially at the very head-quarters of early Christian art, as to suggest perpetual inspiration. His first attempt at a Christian composition—that of the 'Maries at the Sepulchre,' for the King of Bavaria—was one, however, in which he was so conscious of failure that he broke his model. But later, when in Copenhagen, he accepted, as already mentioned, the commission to supply the sculpture fitted to decorate the restored Frue Kirke, or Church of our Lady. Here, in a Presbyterian place of worship, all legendary subjects were interdicted, and the artist's field was limited to little more than single statues of our Lord and the twelve Apostles. These stand, six on each side of the Christ, in the apse end of the choir of the building. The Apostles, bearing their several insignia, are figures of dignity and simplicity, though not admitting of any originality of treatment. The Christ, however, which is an

impressive and well-known figure, has been supposed by his biographers to represent an original conception on the part of the sculptor—consisting mainly in the action of the outstretched hands. Far, however, from this being a novel idea, no one at all conversant with types of early Christian art can fail to know how familiar the image of our Lord—seated, it is true—with outstretched hands, must have been to the artist. The showing the wounds which this action denoted was intended in a larger sense to typify the offer of salvation to the whole world. And, with the same idea in view, Thorvaldsen has simply and wisely adopted the same arrangement. In like way, in the bas-reliefs which decorate the mausoleum of the Bethmann family at Frankfort, the extended arms of the lamenting mother, one of his most affecting figures, perpetuates an ever-repeated dramatic action of grief which was represented by the Greeks with almost exaggerated feeling on their sarcophagi and funereal objects; which was repeated with scarcely diminished passion by Giotto in the subject of the ‘Entombment’ in the Arena Chapel at Padua; and which came down through early painters to Raphael, as seen in the action of the Madonna in the ‘Spasimo’ at Madrid. In pointing out these appropriations from earlier sources no deterioration from Thorvaldsen’s merits is implied. Where the best rendering of a particular passion has been attained in art, there is nothing better to be done than, as the Greeks did, to adopt it, only giving it that stamp of individuality which each true artist in succession cannot fail to imprint.

As to physiognomical expression—the quality which can hardly be said to exist within the pale of classic sculpture—it was only in Christian subjects that Thorvaldsen could prove his capacity for dealing with it. This he has done with perfect success in his bas-relief of the ‘Preaching of the Baptist,’ over the portal of the Frue Kirke, where a number of figures, seated and standing, are as varied, and almost as fine in their expression of different stages of feeling and conviction, as the group in the Cartoon of ‘Paul preaching at Athens.’ This work, occupying as it does, an exposed external position in a northern climate, is executed, not in marble, but in terra cotta.

We return now to the conviction expressed in our first page, that the successful artist is nowhere so happy—certainly nowhere so successful, for the time—as in Rome. His studio forms part of the Roman scenery; he himself is required as one of the principal *dramatis personæ*. No one can fulfil his or her supposed mission to the Eternal City without art to do,

and art to talk. The artist, therefore, is indispensable equally to the intelligent, the stupid, and the fashionable. Thus, with many admirers, more blind believers, and few sound critics, he breathes an enchanted atmosphere devoid of the usual conditions of man or artist.

No lot perhaps can be outwardly more unequal than that of the artist who is before his time, and beyond his public, who toils for the bread, and struggles for the fame which comes too late for him to enjoy—and that of one, like Thorvaldsen, who entered Rome on the rising tide, and kept his place to the last on the full flood; and who, moreover, had a country to fall back upon in his old age, where the more his works exceeded the comprehension of the multitude the more admiration they excited. Our first allusion, though fitting many a toiling and overlooked child of genius in the Past, is pointed especially at our own illustrious Flaxman, who, unrecognised in his generation—a fact sufficiently exemplified by the appointment on the part of the House of Commons of the time of an inferior but fashionable sculptor to superintend his execution of a national monument—has yet endowed many a sculptor, and even some painters who have succeeded him, with the purity of his style, and the wealth of his fancy. Flaxman, however, stands too high for pity. No career in the eye of the world, no applause of the fashionable, no garnered wealth, can be weighed against that gentle life, devoted to art and letters, to affection and piety, and to the attainment of a good man's modest independence, which he could look back upon. To him but few artists, or men, can be likened. But we have compared, in some instances, the works of John Gibson with those of Thorvaldsen, and we may continue to trace a certain identity of career and character in many points between them. Gibson, however, gains by the comparison. Both sprang from the lowest class of society, and both found their true home and inspiration in Rome; but Thorvaldsen was brought there by no aspiration of his own, and almost against his will; Gibson never rested till he had, as it were, worked out his passage to the great goal of his ambition. Both were either sculptors, or nothing; but Thorvaldsen was phlegmatic and laggard in his work, Gibson had a will which never flagged in the fulfilment of his obligations. Both were easily imposed upon; but in Thorvaldsen's case credulity was accompanied by a strong mixture of suspicion: friends knew all that was in Gibson's mind; no friend ever penetrated into the secrecy of Thorvaldsen's. Both were childlike in indifference to outer appearances, in ignorance of business, and forgetfulness of

their dinner engagements; but Thorvaldsen only mistook at which great house he had to dine, or never rightly understood where he had been dining; Gibson forgot that he had to dine anywhere at all. And when we designate them both as childlike, and admit the charm that each possessed in that respect, we must remember that that characteristic includes somewhat that, in a man, is neither pleasant nor convenient. The indulged child is generally ungrateful, the praised child, vain. Neither of these great artists was entirely free from the fault, or the foible. But, as regards the fault, Gibson must not be included in the same category with one who kept his first patron—him, from whom, humanly speaking, all his subsequent success flowed—waiting twenty-six years for the fulfilment of his engagement. Further, neither were tested in their lives and conduct by those family obligations which are entailed by marriage; but Gibson at all events did his duty by such as belonged to him, while Thorvaldsen let his own father die in an almshouse, while he supported the faithless wife of another man. Finally, both bequeathed their works, and their fortune—Gibson nearly all, and Thorvaldsen nearly half of his—to the Academy of their native country; in Thorvaldsen's case to be received with gratitude and augmented with liberality; in Gibson's, without any token of adequate recognition, and to this day without the fulfilment of the conditions annexed to the gift.

We have come to an end of our allotted task, having endeavoured to review Thorvaldsen's life, character, and works with an equal hand. Yet, it may gladly be added, that, after all, it speaks volumes not only for the atmosphere of Rome but for the power that dwelt in the Danish student, that, out of the raw material which left Copenhagen in 1796, pipe in mouth and dog at heels, caring only to eat and to sleep, and no longer with the malleability of first youth, the Thorvaldsen we have presented to our readers should have been evolved.

ART. II.—1. *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*. By Sir HENRY SUMNER MAINE, K.C.S.I., LL.D., F.R.S. London: 1875.

2. *The Ancient Laws of Ireland*. Dublin: 1865–1873.

OF the influences which, in the present age, have given historical thought its peculiar character, two may be deemed of especial importance. The European world, during the last hundred years, has been fascinated by the display of force, on a scale previously quite unknown; it has witnessed gigantic wars of conquest; and it has beheld dominant nations extend power and empire over other races, with a success matched only in the annals of Rome. It would be easy to say, even before experience, what ideas would be inevitably diffused from the contemplation of these great events; and the results are now apparent throughout the sphere of Letters, and most distinctly in that department of it which records the fortunes of the families of man. A Philosophy of History has sprung up in our day which announces that, in human affairs, strength is the one test of superior excellence; and we could point to more than one writer of note who, when commenting on the progress of mankind, has regarded the people of Imperial States as beings essentially of a higher order, and has described conquered and subject races as collections of mere degraded savages. It would be superfluous to dwell at length on the bad effects of these pernicious doctrines, for they must be evident to the dullest observer. Not to speak of the too wide sanction they have gained for acts of national wrong, they have blinded millions to the true relations and affinities that exist between them; they have sealed up some of the deepest sources of sympathy common to the estate of man; they have created a wholly unjust impression as to the characteristics of various races; and they have caused citizens even of the same state to regard each other with distrust and aversion. This theory, in a word, makes harsh divisions and distinctions in the domain of History, in opposition to the nature of things; it has thrown an obscuring veil of falsehood over many important tracts of Time, and several most interesting social problems; and flattering as it is to the arrogance of power, it is, like every other immoral teaching, productive of weakness in the province of Government. Happily, however, other intellectual forces, directly hostile to this evil faith, have been developed of late years; and they have already profoundly affected thought. The science of Ancient Language, in its bearing at least on

our own great part of the Human Family, distinctly proves that the races which spread from the Ganges to the Western Isles of Scotland, and have peopled and settled two-thirds of the globe, must have all sprung from a common stock; and it demonstrates that, before the remote age when they left their original seats in the East, they all stood on the same level as regards civilisation and the arts of life. This discovery goes a long way to dissipate the notion, for one instance, that the Frank or the Roman is by nature nobler than the Slave and the Pole; yet it yields in importance to the revelations of a kindred science on the same subject. Ancient Law shows, by the most convincing tests, that the primitive institutions of these very races were in all essential respects the same, and that they had a community of usages, ideas, and beliefs; it indicates clearly that the first stages of all on the path of progress were really alike; and it makes it all but certain that the marked differences of condition and fortune now seen among them are in the main due to external circumstances.

The operation of the two forces, to which we have already referred, appears in the estimates formed in our time of the land which we have heard described as the 'erring sister of 'the Aryan race.' We can boast with pride that this generation, as far as lies in the power of statesmen, has redressed the once numerous wrongs of Ireland; and her present condition, compared with the past, attests the power of justice and good government. Still it is vain to deny that intense prejudice against the Irish people exists in this country; and the sentiment has been lately aggravated by applying to Ireland, in the most offensive way, the false theory we have before condemned. We have read histories written, it would seem, to prove that Norman and English settlers in Ireland were specimens of an ideal humanity, and that the subjugated children of the soil were only fit for slavery, and delighted in it; and we could quote passages, even from journals of note, which, in their treatment of Irish affairs, reflect the spirit of the Roman commander who told the Celts of Gaul that they must put up with ill, because Heaven had marked them out for subjection. We need not comment on the effects of this teaching on a high-spirited race; enough that it forms a distinct impediment to the moral union of the two islands, and, in our judgment, it is as blameable, at least, as what emanates from the Fenian Press. The mischief, however, of this mode of thought has been counteracted in some measure, and will be to a much greater extent, by the influence of the two sciences which rebuke these shallow assumptions of pride. Comparative



Philology proves, beyond doubt, the connexion of the Saxon and Celtic people; and indicates, in a general way, that these two branches of the Aryan stem were united during a great part of their history. It was left, however, to Ancient Law to solve the problem with more completeness, and to determine more clearly the place of Ireland in the great aggregate of Aryan nations. The publication of the Irish Brehon Tracts under a Royal Commission in 1865-73, first directed attention to the subject; and an admirable preface to the third volume of the series—we trace in it the penetrating style of the able and accomplished Mr. Richey, one of the most rising members of the Irish Bar—contains a singularly clear account of the development of the Ancient Laws of Ireland, of their relation with kindred Aryan usages, and of the social life that is reflected in them. The theme has been taken up by Sir Henry Maine; and in the most interesting work before us—the last instalment of his Oxford Lectures—he has treated it with a power and genius that must largely influence current opinions on Irish affairs and Irish history. He has demonstrated that the native Laws of Ireland are a mass of archaic Aryan customs; he has shown that the old forms of Irish life, which he has reconstructed with marvellous skill, have a most striking and curious analogy to those of other races of Aryan descent, in various stages of growth and progress; and he has thus established the true inference, that the supposed barbarism of the Irish people is simply a conceit of undiscerning ignorance; that we may regard Ireland as a plant, of which the development has been checked and arrested, but that she is of the same stock as ourselves; and that we must seek the causes of her misfortunes in circumstances independent of race. His review of the ancient customs of Ireland enables him, also, to throw a flood of light on the institutions of other nations; and to add to our knowledge as to obscure passages in the march of the civilisation of Europe. We shall examine his book chiefly from these points of view, though it contains other important chapters; and we can truly say that, in all respects, it is worthy of the distinguished author of ‘Ancient Law’ and ‘Village Communities.’

Save for the prejudice that attaches to much that is Irish, we should not notice a class of objections that have been made against the Ancient Laws of Ireland. They have been derided as ‘traditions and customs;’ the meaning of the charge, we presume, being that a *Corpus Juris*, not reduced to a code, or, at least, not expressed in a formal text, is undeserving attention and study. It might be enough to say that this

compendious criticism would condemn as useless the whole of English Law, and nine-tenths of the immortal Law of Rome; but in truth, it reveals complete ignorance of the nature of Ancient Law, and its essential character. In the infancy of all Aryan races—and the remark has a wider application—Law, in its present sense, could have no existence; and Ancient Law was nothing but tribal usage occasionally declared by revered authority. The heroic king of the Greek Clan, the head-man of the Hindoo Village, the elders of the Teutonic Township, the Druid priests of the Celtic Sept, administered justice in various ways; but our notion of Law was unknown to them; and their ‘sentences’ simply fell in with the customs in force among the surrounding community. To denounce, therefore, the Brehon Tracts as mere collections of traditional practice, is to misapprehend what Ancient Law is; and, in truth the censure would condemn, as worthless, some of the most precious archives of universal history. Then, again, it has been said that ‘crime’ was ‘a word of no meaning’ in the Brehon ‘code,’ in order to show that there is a special want of moral perception in the Irish people. Here, too, the significance of a fact is missed; and what really amounts to a proof that an archaic body of law is genuine, is made a ground for an attack upon it. In the beginnings of society, as is well known, the true conception of Crime hardly finds a place, for the idea of the State and of coercive Tribunals has not yet come into the minds of men; and the administration of justice is little more than arbitrating, according to current notions, on the feuds and disputes of the ruling Houses which form the heads of the tribe or village. In this state of thought, what we should call criminal trials, are viewed as inquiries into private wrong; if some extraordinary outrage occurs, it is regarded as matter for the vengeance of the gods, perhaps for some awful expiatory rite, not for the cognisance of mortal men; and Ancient Law reflects these notions, and usually classifies, as the same in kind, what in technical language we should now distinguish as Criminal Acts, Torts, and Breaches of Contract. We must add, too, that even Modern Law bears plain traces of this confusion; for example, English Law for centuries deemed embezzlement and fraudulent dealings by trustees merely civil injuries and not crimes; and the Code Napoléon makes similar omissions. We cannot wonder, therefore, that the Brehon Tracts have no definite categories of crime; and what has been urged in this respect as a sign of the imperfection of Irish nature, is really plain imperfection of knowledge. As to the charge made by the

Cokes and the Davises, and reiterated in our own day, that the Brehon Law was a 'damnable custom,' because it did not dabble in blood like the 'honourable law' of good Tudor times, this simply discloses the same kind of ignorance. Compensation for acts that we now call crimes was the universal custom of the Aryan races, as we see them in their early development; the reasons being that archaic justice was generally what is known as consensual—a reference to arbitration, not an enforced process—and, also, that public and private wrongs were not separated even in thought; and the sanguinary codes of later ages, of dominant oligarchies, and feudal orders, mark a different period of Aryan history from that to which the Brehon customs belong. It would be, however, a mistake to suppose that the peculiar lenity of Ancient Law had anything in common with the state of feeling which has softened the Criminal Law of Europe; it was the result of a different class of ideas; but it is curious to find the Brehon Tracts assailed, on this ground, at the present day.

All that has come to us of the Ancient Law of Ireland has not yet been translated and published; but the specimens that have been brought to light probably enable us to judge of the whole. These specimens consist of two famous tracts—the *Senchus Mor* or Great Book of the Law, compiled, it is said, by nine 'pillars of Erin,' under the superintendence, and with the special sanction, of Patrick, the legendary Saint of Ireland, and the Book of Aicill, containing the wisdom of two of the most famous Brehon judges, the Royal Cormac, and the learned Cennfaelah; and there can be no doubt of their great antiquity, even, if we reject myths as to their early origin. The mode in which this archaic law was evolved is a consideration of much interest, for it has left a permanent mark upon it, and Sir Henry Maine's theory is, at least, probable. According to this, the Brehon Tracts show but few traces of what we may call the secular processes, which, in some Aryan races, stiffened the loose usages of the tribe or clan, by degrees into more formal precedents, and thus prepared the way for settled tribunals, for a magistrature and for general legislation. The Irish chiefs do not appear before us, in the shadowy twilight of Celtic tradition, as lawgivers or divine judges; the ill-discerned Irish Tribal Assemblies seem, at no time, to have possessed much power, or to have moulded custom into positive law, like the Patrician Council beside the Tiber, or the Wisemen of the Teutonic Mark; and the Brehon Tracts hardly contain an allusion to influences of this peculiar kind, and are singularly informal, vague, and indefinite, even as

collections of primitive usage. On the other hand, a curious account is given us in the *Senchus Mor*, of the History of the Irish Ancient Law; it tells us that 'poets and priests,' of old, 'spoke the Law of Nature to the men of Erin,' but that, on the coming of Patrick, the Christian Saint 'blessed the mouth 'of Dutha,' the 'judge of the king,' and the king gave Patrick 'the ordering of the Law,' and 'Dutha wove around it a thread 'of song;' and in historical times, we find old Irish Law wholly in the hands of a class of legists, who claimed for their lore a most remote origin, and invested it with a mysterious sanctity. This makes it probable that the Ancient Law, which we see embodied in the Brehon Tracts, was largely developed by a peculiar caste; and, without saying that there is an exact identity between the Hindoo Brahmins,\* the Druids of Gaul, and the old 'poets and priests' of Celtic Ireland, there is reason to think that Ancient Irish Law was evolved, to a considerable extent at least, under the authority of a sacerdotal order, for centuries known by the title of Brehons, and transmitting their name to a race of lawyers. Thus Law, in Ireland, in some measure grew up, under the same conditions as Law in India; and internal evidence confirms this view, for the Brehon Tracts, like the Brahminical Texts, have strange references to material portents, are overlaid with obscure glosses, and have an occult and oracular aspect. Yet though Ancient Law may have been formed in Ireland and India by like methods, the points of difference are most strongly marked, and the development of each was not exactly the same. The Brehon Tracts partake of the style and character of the Brahminical writings; they even dwell upon common usages hardly found elsewhere in old Aryan Law; but they are not debased by the foul superstition and idolatry of the Hindoo priesthood, by Suttee sacrifices and revolting rites. Christianity, doubtless, was the cause of this; for in the language of the *Senchus Mor*, 'the bright word of blessing' and the 'Law of the Letter' came in to amend the 'Law of Nature;' and the change is, probably, marked in the legend, in which the Saint is shown as revising the usages of a Pagan race, and the Pagan judge gives the shape of law to his teaching. The old Law of Ireland, too, unlike that of Hindostan, escaped ultimately from priestly

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\* Sir Henry Maine has not noticed that the '*Senchus Mor*,' vol. i. pp. 14, 15, seems to give the name of 'Druids' to the poets and priests of King Laeghaire; and this strengthens his view of the close connexion at least between the order of Druids and that of the sacerdotal Brehons of Ireland.

control, and became the heritage of a class of lawyers; and this must have had considerable effect, more especially as there is much evidence that the Brehon lawyers of the Middle Ages had some acquaintance with Roman Law, and grafted part of it on their own system. Still a strong resemblance of form exists between Ancient Irish and Indian Law; and unquestionably these archaic records prove that the tribes on the Indus and those on the Shannon had, at one time, many ideas in common.

The Ancient Law of Ireland, therefore, was probably a mass of Aryan usage, owing little, if anything, to what we may call the government and legislation of nascent society, developed, in long past ages, under priestly influence, and becoming at last the special craft and appanage of a learned profession. These antecedents explain its character, and account for its peculiar type and complexion. The Brehon Tracts, like the Brahminical Codes, have but the faintest ideas of courts of justice, and of positive institutions of any kind; as, in the case of the most venerable Aryan customs, their conception of the mode of doing right is by arbitration and a consensual process; for a caste, that was the depository of law, would expound it as a revelation from on high, would dislike to commit it to human tribunals, and would trust to its own enormous power to secure obedience and respect for it. Again, the Brehon Tracts, like the Brahminical Codes, run out into diffuse commentaries, hide simple rules under clouds of conceits, and speculate curiously on legal puzzles; for an order that had a monopoly of law, would naturally make its art a mystery, and would elevate it into a kind of philosophy, especially in an age devoid of criticism, and ignorant of true legal experience. On the other hand, the Brehon Tracts disclose some really fine conceptions of Law, and lay down valuable legal doctrines; they show a consciousness of the importance of general rules, and of marking distinctly exceptions to them; they contain principles, in several respects, more mature and enlightened than those known to English lawyers in the seventeenth century; nor is it necessary to ascribe these results to an admixture of the civilised Law of Rome, even if we suspect this foreign influence. For experience proves that a body of men who have devoted themselves to a peculiar science, and are free to deal with it almost at will, will often strike out discoveries in it, and may advance it to a high point of excellence; and it may well be that what even hostile critics called the 'natural justice' of the Brehon Law was due to the unaided exertions of the exclusive profession of the

Brehon jurists, especially after they had ceased to be priests, and when they would seek for the sanctions of their authority, not in the superstitious terrors of men, but in the approval of the human conscience. It must, nevertheless, be added that all that is good in the Brehon Tracts is found intermingled with much that Bacon would describe as vaporous, with fanciful musings, and idle distinctions: and this, too, is in exact accordance with what seem to have been the circumstances in which the Ancient Law of Ireland was shaped. To sum up, we shall quote from Sir H. Maine on the characteristics of the Brehon Tracts:—

‘The Brehon Law does not altogether disappoint the expectations of the patriotic Irishmen who, partly trusting to the testimony of Edmund Spenser, the least unkind of the English critics of Ireland, though one of the most ruthless in his practical suggestions, looked forward to its manifesting, when it was published, an equity and reasonableness which would put to shame the barbarous jurisprudence of England. . . . When the Tracts are disincumbered of archaic phrase and form, there are some things remarkably modern in them. I quite agree with one of the editors that in the ancient Irish law of Civil Wrong, there is a singularly close approach to modern doctrines on the subject of Contributory Negligence; and I have found it possible to extract from the quaint texts of the book of “Aicill” some extremely sensible rulings on the difficult subject of the Measure of Damages, for which it would be vain to study the writings of Lord Coke, though these last are relatively of much later date. But the Brehon Law pays heavily for this apparent anticipation of the modern legal spirit. It must be confessed that most of it has a strong air of fancifulness and unreality. It seems as if the Brehon lawyer, after forming (let us say) a conception of a particular kind of injury, set himself, as a sort of mental exercise, to devise all the varieties of circumstance under which the wrong could be committed, and then to determine the way in which some traditional principle of redress could be applied to the cases supposed. This indulgence of his imagination drew him frequently into triviality and silliness, and led to an extraordinary multiplication of legal detail. . . . But I repeat that all this is mixed up with much that even now has juridical interest, and with much which in that state of society had probably the greatest practical importance.’

In other words, the evolution of the Ancient Law of Ireland made it, in many respects, obscure and mystical, and the pure gold that may be found in it can scarcely shine through the surrounding foliage.

The Brehon Law, we have said, bears a close resemblance to that of Ancient India in type and structure. Its contents, however, had a great deal in common with the usages of other Aryan races; and the old forms of family and social life embodied in its archaic remains connect it with many primitive

institutions. Sir Henry Maine has by no means pursued this analogy to its limits; and we venture to hope he will recur to the subject, and show how the Native Law of Ireland is associated with that of early Rome, of Gaul, and of the Teutonic tribes, in its conception of purely domestic relations, and of the natural spheres of Contract and Status. He has, however, proved, in a masterly way, that the Brehon Law is a witness to the fact that Society in Ireland, viewed as a whole, was organised, in the Celtic age, on models common to the Aryan family, and in its progress followed an order essentially Aryan in its character; and we wish to direct especial attention to this most valuable part of his work. What is most instructive, perhaps, in the Brehon Tracts is, that they give us a vivid picture of the social relations of an Aryan people at a very early stage of its youth; that they assure us of the existence in Ireland of the tendencies, the ideas, nay, of the very customs, which, in other communities, under happy auspices, have been the germs of modern civilisation; and that they demonstrate how much that appears without the least connexion in Aryan history may run up ultimately to the same origin. In the organisation of the numerous units into which the Irish race was divided, we find distinctly the various groups from which all Aryan nations have sprung, when, after their strange wanderings, they had settled in the land, and developed themselves out of kindred families. The Irish Tribe, or rather, we should say, the 'Sept,' bears plain marks of society founded on a real or traditional relationship of blood; and in this respect it has a strong likeness to those bodies which formed in Greece, in Rome, in India, and among Teutonic people, the seeds and beginnings of Aryan life. Yet in the Irish Tribe, or 'Sept,' we can perceive the growth of progress upon the very pattern of other branches of the Aryan stock; and the institution of separate property in land, one of the first conditions of civilisation, though still fettered by strange restrictions, emerges in Ireland, as in other countries, out of archaic collective ownership. The old structure of Celtic Irish society even gives proof of the ill-discerned process known as the general feudalisation of Europe; and indicates that that immense change, to which we owe much of the life of the West, may have been due, in some measure at least, to instincts common among Aryan nations. From the Brehon Tracts we can dimly gather that the revolution through which sovereignty, and the ascendancy of certain dominant orders, and the subjection of the great mass of the people, replaced gradually, in so many countries, the old patriarchal Aryan

community, was, to some extent, in operation in Ireland, though it was as yet only in its first development; and this is a point of much importance in considering the march of Irish history. Nevertheless, in Celtic Ireland, as elsewhere, certain tribes appear attaining supremacy and gradually expanding into what we may call empire; whole tribes have been plainly reduced to vassalage, and are in a degraded and serflike condition; and in most of the dominant tribes, and even among the inferior units, we behold the Chief extending his power, gaining a firmer hold on the land and the people, surrounding himself with bands of retainers—in a word, growing into a half-feudal Lord or Sovereign.

The following is Sir Henry Maine's description of the Irish Tribe or Sept from the *Brehon Tracts*:—

‘I have formed this impression of the agrarian organisation of an Irish Tribe. It has been long settled, in all probability, upon the tribal territory. It is of sufficient size and importance to constitute a political unit, and possibly at its apex is one of the numerous chieftains whom the Irish records call Kings. The primary assumption is that the whole of the tribal territory belongs to the whole of the tribe, but in fact large portions of it have been permanently appropriated to minor bodies of tribesmen. A part is allotted in a special way to the Chief, as appurtenant to his office, and descends from chief to chief according to a special rule of succession. Other portions are occupied by fragments of the tribe, some of which are under minor chiefs or “flaiths,” while others, though not strictly ruled by a chief, have somebody of a noble class to act as their representative. All the unappropriated tribelands are in a more especial way the property of the tribe as a whole, and no portion can theoretically be subjected to more than a temporary occupation. Such occupations are, however, frequent, and among the holders of tribe-land, on these terms, are groups of men calling themselves tribesmen, but being in reality associations formed by contract chiefly for the purpose of pasturing cattle. Much of the common tribeland is not occupied at all, but constitutes, to use the English expression, the “waste” of the tribe. Still this waste is constantly under tillage or permanent pasture by settlements of tribesmen, and upon it cultivators of servile status are permitted to squat, particularly towards the border. It is the part of the territory on which the authority of the chief tends steadily to increase, and here it is that he settles his “fuid-hir,” or stranger tenants, a very important class—the outlaws and “broken” men from other tribes who come to him for protection, and who are only connected with their new tribe by their dependence on its chief, and through the responsibility which he incurs for them. There is probably great uniformity in the condition of the various groups occupying, permanently or temporarily, the tribal territory. Each seems to be more or less a miniature of the large tribe which includes them all. Each probably contains freemen and slaves, or, at all events, men varying materially in personal status, yet each



calls itself in some sense a family. Each one possibly has its appropriated land and its waste, and conducts tillage and grazing on the same principles. Each is under a chief who really represents the common ancestor of all the free kinsmen, or under somebody who has undertaken the responsibilities devolving, according to primitive social idea, upon the natural head of the kindred.'

The terms 'Tribe' and 'Sept' are indifferently used by many writers on Irish antiquities; but Sir HENRY MAINE thinks the first applies to the larger unit of the above description, and the second to the minor groups it includes; and we shall, of course, adopt his language. In the striking picture he has here given us we have an interesting type of Aryan society, still characterised by archaic forms and reflecting extremely old ideas, and yet evidently developing itself into a growth of a more modern kind, in some points resembling the order of things existing in Europe in the dark ages. To understand this, let us first observe the peculiarities of the lesser aggregate—the 'Sept' of Sir Henry Maine's analysis. The 'Sept' was known by a second name, the 'Fine' or 'Family;' and it was evidently a distinct organic group in the main connected by the ties of blood and claiming descent from a common ancestor; yet certainly containing other elements, introduced by adoption and like processes. In this respect it had much affinity with the Roman 'Gens' and the Hellenic 'House;' and it was singularly like the Hindoo 'Joint Family,' united in kindred, worship, and estate, and one of the earliest monads of Aryan life. The 'Sept,' however, had for ages settled on the land; the Heads of the Households of which it was formed, and possibly even individuals in it, had acquired rights of independent ownership; and this drew a broad line of distinction between it and the 'Joint Family' in which the possession of land was always in common; and assimilated it to a great extent to the Hindoo Village Community and the Germanic Mark, in which separate property in land is or was recognised. Still, except perhaps in the case of the Chief, the representative of the common ancestor, the idea of individual claims to land was viewed by the 'Sept' as an innovation, and encountered older hostile ideas. Large portions of the territory of the 'Sept' was held collectively in the primitive way; and as the tradition of a common ownership survives in the Indian Village-Community, and appears in the 'shifting severalties' of the Mark, so in the Sept a notion prevailed that all the members had some joint right in the land; and this was maintained, as to part of the lands, by a process of redistribution, to be noticed hereafter, and repeatedly found among Aryan races, and perhaps by a

veto on alienation, except with the assent of the whole community. In this last respect the 'Sept' and the Hindoo 'Joint Family' had also one striking feature in common. The veto of the 'Sept' on alienation implied that the land was, in a sense, the common property of the entire 'Sept;' but this notion did not extend, or extended only in a low degree, to what we may call the clansman's peculium to what he had acquired by his own industry. A like rule exists in the Hindoo 'Joint Family':—

'Under the Brahminical Indian Law, whenever a member of a joint family has acquired property through special scientific knowledge, or the practice of a liberal art, he does not bring it into the common fund, unless his accomplishments were obtained through a training given to him by his family or at their expense. . . . The very counterparts of the Indian rule, and of the Indian exception, are found in the ancient Irish law. If the tribesman be a professional man—that is, if the property be acquired by judicature, or poetry, or any profession whatever, he is capable of giving two-thirds of it to the Church . . . but if it was the lawful profession of his tribe, he shall not give of the emoluments of his profession but just as he could give of the land of his tribe.'

The primary conception of the 'Sept,' therefore, was that of a group connected by blood, and of a primitive Aryan type; but gradually acquiring the proprietary rights which seem to be the first signs of progress, though they were still overshadowed and controlled by ideas of more ancient modes of ownership once dominant among Aryan races. As in the case, however, of the 'Gens' and the 'House,' other elements besides the related kinsmen had entered, as we have seen, the 'Sept;' and it contained classes, which, though regarded as component parts of the collective 'Family,' were, nevertheless, in various degrees of dependence. Celtic Ireland certainly abounded in slaves; and in the landed arrangements of the 'Sept' we find orders of free and servile clansmen, known in the Brehon Tracts by the curious names of 'Ceile,' 'Sacr-stock,' 'Daer-stock,' and 'Fuidhir' tenants, and evidently analogous in some respects to the freemen and villeins of the feudal manor. In addition, the power of the chief of the 'Sept' had a constant tendency to extend itself, and to supplant every other kind of authority; we see the chief absolute in his own domain, encroaching on the common lands of the 'Sept,' and increasing the number of 'Fuidhir' vassals; and here, again, we perceive an approach to the peculiarities of the feudal system. It is evident, therefore, that the 'Sept' bore marks, in some of its features, to what we can only call the growth and progress of

Feudalisation, and these small units of Celtic society at once disclosed what is most archaic in the venerable forms of Aryan life, and the effects of comparatively modern changes. We proceed to examine the characteristics of the 'Tribe,' the larger and more comprehensive group of which Sir Henry Maine has described the outlines. In this aggregate the primitive notion of original kinship had largely died out; and though many of the families of the Tribe were, doubtless, related in various degrees, a new order of things was arising, and society was being formed, in some measure at least, on principles different from those of the ties of blood. The institution of separate property in land, especially in the case of the Chief, was more complete perhaps in the Tribe than in the 'Sept;' and if large parts of the tribal region were still occupied in the old way—in common, and usages denoting collective ownership still prevailed to a considerable extent, unquestionably whole tracts of tribal territory belonged to individuals and leading families, and were held by them against all other persons. Again, the Tribe, even more than the 'Sept,' had its gradations of free and serflike classes; and, apart from the effects of other causes, the influence of the Chief of the Tribe like that of the 'Sept' was ever advancing, by the appropriation of land, and through his servile retainers. Within the Tribe, accordingly, as within the 'Sept,' we find feudalisation developing itself, and additional circumstances made the change more evident in the large than in the small unit. The Tribe, in the proper sense of the word, always included a considerable number of 'Septs;' in most instances these had been reduced to a greater or lesser degree of subjection; and thus it usually comprised inferior chiefs, and a set of communities of which the members were to some extent in a condition of thralldom. In this state of things the chief of a tribe would have much in common with a feudal ruler; his authority would extend over his own society, and over all others dependent on him; he would have an order of noble vassals and multitudes of degraded subjects; he would naturally appropriate large domains, and plant them with settlers on whom he could trust; and, especially, if he was successful in war, he would quickly become extremely formidable. In fact, had any one tribe in Ireland become dominant and overpowered the others, it certainly would have presented an image, in many points, of a Feudal Monarchy.

The tribal organisation of Ireland, then, connects the oldest remnants of Aryan life with the foundations of the modern world of Europe. This leads us to examine the important

question whether the inchoate feudalisation of Ireland may not throw light on the more perfect changes of a similar kind in other countries, and illustrate the growth of mediæval Feudalism. The Brehon Tracts, in Sir Henry Maine's judgment, afford information of extreme value on this difficult and obscure subject, and in this way are of the greatest interest to the student of Ancient Law and History. They contain indications of a most pregnant sort as to the origin and position of the noble orders; they even explain some of the means probably through which feudalism enlarged its power; and all this certainly gives us a fresh clue to the mysteries of an historical maze in which every hint of the path is worth attention. How, then, did Nobility arise in Europe, and what were the characteristic marks of it? One account of the matter ascribes it wholly to the barbarian conquests of the Roman Empire, and to the peculiar institutions of the victorious invaders as they settled upon its subject provinces. According to this view, the barbarian leaders parcelled out the territories which had fallen to their swords, among subordinate chiefs and retainers, who gradually became an hereditary caste, supreme over conquered and hostile races; and Nobility is derived from these dominant orders, at least in its main and most ancient source, its true type being august descent, and ascendancy over masses of vassals. This description, assuredly, contains much truth, and accurately represents the most striking features of Feudalism, as it appeared on the Continent; but modern research has clearly shown that it does not cover the field of inquiry. We have now the strongest reason to believe that the origin of Nobility must be sought in causes of a more general kind, and that it runs up to the very first beginnings of primitive society in Aryan races. The honour given to the Heads of the Houses, which everywhere formed the primary mould of the Aryan community, in its diverse aspects, was certainly one great source of Nobility; this was the patent, so to speak, of the Roman Patrician, of the Greek Eupatrid, of the Teutonic Warrior; and it is impossible to doubt that it had much to do with the development of Nobility in feudal Europe, though other influences were more prominent. The noble orders, however, which thus grew up were not isolated hereditary castes; in the case of several Aryan nations, they became true leaders, sometimes elective; if they were venerated for their ancient lineage, they were also remarkable for their possessions; wealth as well as birth determined their rank; and very frequently the acquisition of wealth gave its owner a right to obtain their privileges, and, in turn, to become noble.

Now it is very remarkable, and of extreme interest, that the Brehon Tracts, as to Celtic Ireland, confirm, in almost every particular, this view of the earliest growth of Nobility, and corroborate, in this respect, the testimony gleaned from the annals of Greece, of Rome, and of the German people. The Irish chief was usually of noble birth, but he was not seldom the choice of the tribe, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter; he was the head of the tribe but still one with it; he was rich in the riches of primitive times, and riches were, perhaps, required to maintain his position; and, most curious of all, the possession of wealth enabled men, even of low estate, in the old arrangements of Irish society, to attain the dignity and high place of the Chief. A more perfect confirmation could not be found of the more recent and learned theories as to the true origin of Nobility among the Aryan races.

This matter is of such great importance that we must quote at some length from this volume what Sir Henry Maine has written upon it:—

‘The circumstance of greatest novelty in the position of the Chief, which the Brehon Law appears to bring out, is this:—whatever else the Chief is, he is, above all things, a rich man, not, however, rich as popular associations would lead us to anticipate, in land, but in live stock, in flocks and herds. . . . The Brehon Laws suggest that the possession of personal wealth is a condition of the maintenance of chieftainship, and they show with much distinctness, that through the acquisition of such wealth the road was always open to chieftainship. . . . There are few passages of greater interest spoken of in these laws than the *Bo-Aire*, literally, the “cow-nobleman.” He is, to begin with, simply a peasant, who has grown rich in cattle, probably through obtaining the use of large portions of tribe land. The true nobles, or *Aires*, are divided into seven grades . . . at the bottom of the scale is the chief, or noble, called the *Aire-desa*; and the Brehon law provides that when the *Bo-Aire* has acquired twice the wealth of an *Aire-desa*, and has held it for a certain number of generations, he becomes an *Aire-desa* himself. The advantage secured to wealth does not, you see, exclude respect for birth, but works into it. . . . The primary view of chieftainship is evidently that it springs from purity or dignity of blood, but noble birth is regarded as naturally associated with wealth, and he who becomes rich gradually climbs to a position indistinguishable from that which he would have occupied if he had been nobly born . . . So the heroes of the Homeric poems are not only valiant, but wealthy; the warriors of the *Nibelungen Lied* are not only noble, but rich. In the later Greek literature we find pride of birth identified with pride in seven wealthy ancestors in succession, *ἑπτὰ πάππα πλούσιοι*; and you are well aware how rapidly and completely the aristocracy of wealth in the Roman State assimilated itself to the aristocracy of blood. . . . Nobility has many origins, but its chief source seems to have been the respect of co-

villagers or assemblages of kinsmen for the line of descent in which the purest blood of each little society was believed to be preserved.'

The Ancient Law of Ireland, therefore, gives new weight to the most profound theories of the beginnings of Nobility among Aryan people, and of some of the earliest forms of it; and it increases our distrust of the purely feudal view of the origin of Nobility in modern Europe. It also throws additional light on the early existence of a kind of Nobility which grew up in the later stage of Feudalism, and has had a very remarkable history. Royal power in the mediæval Monarchies became another parent of noble privilege, and has so continued down to our day; and the notion that the Crown is the fountain of honour has long taken root in law and opinion, though it would have seemed strange to that proud order which had among its devices, 'ante mare undæ,' and 'Roi je ne puis,' 'Rohan je suis.' The first creations of royal Nobility had probably for their objects the Household, and personal following of the feudal Sovereigns; and it is hardly necessary to remind our readers what a part these functionaries have played in history:—

'The Mayor of the Frankish palace became king of the Franks. The Chamberlain of the Romano-German Emperors is now the German Emperor. The blood of the Steward of Scotland runs in the veins of the kings of England. The Constables of France repeatedly shook or saved the French throne. Among ourselves the great officers of the Royal Council and Household still take precedence either of all peers or of all peers of their own degree.'

Nevertheless the origin of the Household was mean; and great as the power and rank became of the nobility which grew out of it, the Companions at first were serfs and dependents:—

'It seems certain that the Household sprang from very humble beginnings. Tacitus describes the Companions of the Germanic chief as living with him in his house, and supported by his bounty. Mr. Stubbs, when stating that the "gesiths of an English king are his "guard and private council," observes that "the free household servants of a ceorl are also in a certain sense his gesiths."'

The aggrandisement of the Companions was, doubtless, caused by their share in the warlike spoils of the monarch; we find, in fact, large Benefices conferred on them; and thus the development of this order was, though a tardy, a potent feudal influence. It certainly is a most curious circumstance that the very same class, in its essential features, reappears in old Celtic Irish society. The Irish Chieftain had his Companions resembling those of the Teutonic King, and apparently of the same servile condition; nor, is it improbable, had Ireland been permitted to grow in her own way, that these would ulti-

mately have become a real nobility, the feudal supporters of a supreme Ruler. This is Sir Henry Maine's account of the Irish Companions:—

'The Companions of the king appear also in Irish legal literature, but they are not noble, and they are associated with the king's body-guard, which is essentially servile. The king of Erin, though he never existed, strictly speaking, save for short intervals, yet always, so to speak, tended to exist, and the *Crith Gablach*, a Brehon tract, contains a picture of his palace and state. . . . In this edifice the king feasts his guests, from kings and kings' sons to a ghastly company of prisoners in fetters, the forfeited hostages of subject chiefs or sub-septs who have broken their engagements. The Companions are there also, and they are stated to consist of his privileged tenantry and of his body-guard, which is composed of men whom he has delivered from death, jail, or servitude, never—a significant exception—of men whom he has saved on the battle-field.'

The Brehon Tracts give us, besides, an account of more than one of the various processes by which Ireland was in part feudalised, and thus illustrate the whole subject. As is well known, one of the principal modes by which the feudal lord augmented his power, was the usage through which men of humble estate 'commended' themselves to a greater superior, and, in consideration of benefits of different kinds, became his 'vassals,' and did him homage. The benefits so conferred were, in many instances, protection from outrage and oppression of class; but they were, also, sometimes, advances of money, or its equivalent in a primitive age; and 'commendation' often grew out of the ordinary relations of debtor and creditor, a fact that reminds us of the immense influence of the Roman patricians and the Athenian Eupatrids who kept the poorer citizens in debt. The tribal arrangements of Celtic Ireland disclose customs extremely like 'commendation' and its result 'vassalage,' and reflect much light on these growths of Feudalism. The Irish chiefs, we have seen, were, for the most part, rich in the flocks and herds that formed the wealth of antiquity, and were usually owners of great droves of cattle—the spoils, doubtless, of wars and raids—too numerous even for their large domains. Many clansmen, therefore, would be in need of these animals necessary, perhaps, in these times; and the Chief often made loans and grants of cattle to tribal or alien clansmen, who in turn became dependent on him, and were subjected to homage, renders and service. This was 'commendation' and 'vassalage' in all essential points; and it is remarkable that the subjection of the clansmen to the Chief was in proportion to the amount of 'stock' received, that is to the hold of the Chief upon him. The process is fully described in the Brehon

Tracts; and it is marked by the distinctions drawn between the free, the 'Saer-stock,' and the 'Daer-stock' tenant, the first being the independent tribesman, the second the tribesman becoming a vassal, the last the tribesman in a state of vassalage. We quote from Sir Henry Maine:—

'The new position which the tribesman assumed through accepting stock from a Chief, varied according to the quantity of stock he received. If he took much stock he sank to a much lower status than if he had taken little. On this difference in the quantity accepted there turns the difference between the two great classes of Irish tenantry, the Saer and Daer tenants, between whose status and that of the free and base-born tenants of an English manor there is a resemblance not to be mistaken. The Saer-stock tenant, distinguished by the limited amount of stock which he received from the chief, remained a freeman, and retained his tribal rights in their integrity. . . . But the arrangement entitled the chief to receive homage and manual labour; and it is stated that, in lieu of manual labour, the vassal might be required to follow his chief to the wars. Any large addition to the stock deposited with the Saer-stock tenant, or an unusual quantity accepted in the first instance by the tribesman, created the relation between vassal and chief called Daer-stock tenancy. The Daer-stock tenant had unquestionably parted with some portion of his freedom, and his duties are invariably referred to as very onerous.'

It may appear strange that the simple process of lending or granting domestic animals should have tended to a great social change. We need hardly, however, remind our readers of the extraordinary importance of cattle, and of their great value in ancient times; the terms 'chattels,' 'capital,' and even 'pecunia' show that they were property of the most prized kind; and they were for ages the principal measures of value, and general instruments of exchange and commerce. We can understand, therefore, when land was a drug, and the herds upon it the great source of wealth, that advances of cattle would give a Chief remarkable influence over the tribe, and would produce some of the effects of feudal subjection:—

'The ownership of the instruments of tillage other than the land itself was, in early communities, a power of the first order, and, as it may be believed that a stock of primitive capital larger than usual was very generally obtained by plunder, we can understand that these stocks were mostly in the hands of noble classes, whose occupation was war, and who at all events had a monopoly of the profits of office. The advance of capital at a ruinous interest, and the helpless degradation of the borrowers, were the natural results of such economical conditions.'

Taking stock, therefore, promoted Feudalism in its primitive and inchoate form in Ireland; and another cause had a like con-



sequence. The 'Sept' and the Tribe, as we have seen, always contained servile and degraded classes; and these in their relations with the Chief were known, to a great extent at least, by the singular name of 'Fuidhir'\* tenants. These unfortunate beings, for the most part, doubtless, the remains of conquered and broken septs, were in a state of ignoble serfdom; they were the thralls and villeins of Celtic Ireland; and probably they were the peculiar victims of the 'cuttings,' the 'cosh-erings,' the 'coyne and livery' indignantly denounced by Tudor lawyers. The number of the 'Fuidhirs' continually increased, owing to the disordered state of Ireland, and, perhaps, also to other causes; and the result was to enlarge the power of the chief, and to encourage the tendencies to feudalisation. The multiplication, too, of this order of serfs would react unfavourably on the Tribe or 'Sept;' for it would enable the chief to encroach on the tribal waste and it would facilitate his demands for renders and service, in short, would add to his means of influence. It is curious to see a similar process going on in India at the present time.

'The migratory husbandman,' says Mr. Hunter, 'the Fuidhir of modern India, not only lost his hereditary position in his own village, but he was an object of dislike and suspicion among the new community into which he thrust himself. For every accession of cultivators tended to better the position of the landlord, and *pro tanto* to injure that of the older cultivators. So long as the land on an estate continued to be twice as much as the hereditary peasantry could till, the resident husbandmen were of too much importance to be bullied or squeezed into discontent. But once a large body of immigrant cultivators had grown up, this primitive check on the landlord's exactions was removed.'

We thus see how the Ancient Laws of Ireland suggest much that is interesting as regards Feudalism. As we pass from the subject let us remind our readers how the account given in these archaic records of the old organisation of Irish society in part clashes, and in part falls in with, the theories of several writers of note. The statement that in Norman and Tudor Ireland the members of the Tribe or 'Sept' were all free landowners, can be accepted only with large exceptions; it is true of the 'free' and independent clansmen, but it is untrue as to the other classes who formed the bulk possibly of the entire community. Again, the notion that the relations between the Chief and the rest of the Tribe or 'Sept' resembled that of modern landlords and tenants, is not unfounded, if we confine our view to the 'Saer-stock' and 'Daer-

Some authorities connect 'Fuidhir' with 'feu,' 'feudalism.'

stock' holders only; but it falls to the ground if we take into account all the elements of the tribal unit. Lastly the Chiefs, doubtless, in many instances, were harsh oppressors of the 'Fuidhir' tenants, and 'rack-rented and cessed them just as 'they pleased;' but the Spensers and Davises, who have described this as the normal conduct of the Chief to the tribe, were evidently ignorant of the true state of the case, and had no conception of the curious gradations of rights and privileges in Celtic Ireland. These different theories, in a word, contain some truth mixed up with a great deal of error; and, like all incomplete and unreal views, they misinterpret the facts of Irish history. We must add that a closer acquaintance with the ancient tribal arrangements of Ireland, as we see them disclosed in the Brehon Records, only brings out more fully than before the gross injustice too often displayed in the great confiscations of the Irish soil. In most of these violent changes of conquest the various rights of the clansmen in the land were disregarded and swept away; and if the Chief was involved in 'rebellion' or 'treason,' the free tenants and the dependent occupiers were alike reduced to mere tenants at will often under rude and alien superiors. The process, in a word, was as if, in India, the fall of a Rajah were to annihilate all landed interests within his territory, from those of the Zemindar to those of the Ryot; and we know from history that it was the cause of bitter, though usually fruitless remonstrance. It is but just, however, to say that, in many instances, the destruction of the rights of the 'Tribe' or 'Sept' was effected with the connivance of the Chief himself, who, if he surrendered his lands to the Crown, on the condition of obtaining a regrant of them, was deemed, in the opinions of English lawyers, to have put an end to all native tenures, and to have converted the clansmen into tenants at will.

We turn to other usages of the Brehon Tracts which convey lessons of general value. The modes of Descent in Celtic Ireland open a very interesting course of inquiry to the student of Ancient Law and History. Let us first take that mode of the succession of the Chief, which seemed so monstrous to Tudor lawyers, to whom, nevertheless, the exclusion of the half-blood appeared the perfection of legal reason. Spenser tells us, how, on the death of a chief, an Irish Tribe or 'Sept' was wont to assemble, and 'to choose in the stead of 'the lord deceased, not the eldest son, but the next of blood,' provided he were 'the eldest and worthiest;' and 'Tanistry,' as this way of inheriting was called, was, soon afterwards, abolished as a 'lewd practice.' Nevertheless this primitive

form of succession was but a variation of that Primogeniture, the history and development of which for so many reasons deserves attention. It is not difficult, we think, with our present knowledge, to connect Tanistry with Primogeniture, and to show how primogeniture came into use, in the instance of Dignities and the higher Honors. The beginnings of society, in Aryan races, almost always show us some one House pre-eminent among the Heads of the Houses, which form the 'Gens,' the 'Village,' or the 'Tribe;' and its representative is supreme in the surrounding community, no doubt because he is supposed to be the nearest in kinship to the common ancestor from whom the whole settlement in theory sprang. This personage is the Heroic King, or Chief, and his august title is transmitted in his line, for the most part from father to the elder son, so long as the tradition of his descent is strong, or perhaps so long as the community is not exposed to war, or other disturbing causes. By degrees, however, as the tradition weakens, as the 'Gens,' the 'Village,' or the 'Tribe' expands, and takes in all kinds of foreign elements, a new principle of succession appears, especially if military or other needs require the leader to be strong and skilful, and election, and not the claims of descent, decides, at least within certain limits, the devolution of the old ancestral dignity. The rights, however, of the revered House of the hereditary ruler are still respected; the community, when it makes a choice, selects from the race which it is taught to honour, and frequently it makes no choice at all, and the title is transmitted by the ancient method. The history of the descent of the Crown in several countries of modern Europe shows phenomena very similar to these, and they explain the nature of Tanist succession, and how Primogeniture is related to it. It is far from improbable that, in remote ages, Irish chieftaincies passed from father to son, and that primogeniture was the general rule observed in transmitting the Honor of the chief. The changes, however, which, in the course of time, must have taken place in the Tribe or the 'Sept,' dissolving, as they did, more or less, the ties of a relationship of blood within these units, and, above all, the continual want, in a country torn by disorder and strife, of capacity and mature age in the chief, doubtless introduced the mode of election; and the 'eldest and worthiest' of the blood of the Chief would be chosen instead of the next heir, for this would be the fittest choice for the office. Yet even if we accept as correct, what probably is the doubtful statement, that Tanistry was the universal rule of succession, the principle of hereditary descent was observed; the election was always

made from the line of the Chief; we may feel confident, other things being equal, that a son of the Chief was often preferred; and thus Tanistry, so to speak, grew out of Primogeniture, and was a branch of it. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, if the state of Ireland had been one of more security and repose, that what may have been the more ancient mode of the succession to chieftaincies would have been general, that the usage of Tanistry would have been rare, and Primogeniture would have been common.

It is, in truth, curious, and a striking proof of the prejudice that marked their views of Ireland that Tudor politicians did not perceive how something extremely like the custom which seemed to them so barbarian and rude, had existed in civilised states of Europe. The succession to the Empire was elective, and yet it had always had a tendency to run in the line of certain families, and it was becoming the inheritance of the House of Austria. So, too, in France, and in England, the title to the Crown passed, as a general rule, from father to son; but it had been subjected, more than once, to what we may call an elective process; and the notion that the dignity must not deviate from the course of strict hereditary descent was as yet by no means fixed in opinion, though it was accepted as the prevailing principle. The very order of things which they saw around them might have taught Spenser and others that there was nothing shocking in the mode of transmitting Irish chieftaincies; it had something in common with the conditions which gave Charles V. and his descendants power, much with the reigns of the Houses of York and Lancaster, much with several Tudor settlements of the Crown. This leads us to the important question of Primogeniture apart from Dignity, as a mode of succession to Private Property. The origin of this usage which we cannot trace to the institutions of the classical world, yet which, if not so general as we are disposed to think, still forms the land law of several nations, is confessedly obscure in the highest degree; and it probably ascends to various sources. Primogeniture, in this sense, may be, probably, due to instincts inherent in the Germanic tribes which overran and settled the Roman Empire; and it is undoubtedly connected with the great change which established Feudalism by degrees in Europe. Yet possibly the neglected customs of Ireland, and analogies already noticed by us, may give a hint on this difficult subject. The tribal wars and confusion of Ireland promoted, as we have seen, Tanistry, and may have interfered, in the case of the chiefs, with the natural order of succession by descent; and had the island been more

tranquil, and brought under more orderly rule, the hereditary principle, we may almost presume, would have determined the rights of its native leaders. It is indisputable, too, that the title to the Crown did not depend merely on lineal descent until the States of Europe had become settled; and the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right grew up only in modern Monarchies. In communities, therefore, the fortunes of which were not similar to those of Ireland, which were peaceful in their early development, or stationary and quiescent from whatever cause, it is not impossible that hereditary claims may have acquired peculiar force; and usages originally, even in them, connected with the transmission of high power, may have been gradually transferred to property, and become the modes by which it devolved. In other words, primogeniture, as a title to land, may, to a certain extent at least, have grown out of prevailing notions of primogeniture as attached to honors; and it deserves notice, with reference to this, that the rule of primogeniture, as regards property, has been usually confined, except in England, to the property of dominant and noble orders.

We have been obliged to deal with this subject briefly, and we may say, in passing, that we have slightly differed from Sir Henry Maine on one or two points. We now come to a mode of succession which seems, at first sight, to have nothing in common with modern ideas of the transmission of rights, yet really is connected with them. We are informed by Davis that the rule of Tanistry was confined to the Honor and demesne of the Chief; and that, in Celtic Ireland, 'the inferior tenancies were partible among all the males of the "Sept," the chief making a new partition of all the lands of the "Sept," upon the death of any one' of the clansmen. This primitive usage which, we need not say, was shocking in the eyes of a true believer in the 'stable course of English inheritance,' was obviously, as described in these terms, that redistribution of the lands of the 'Sept,' of which we have already spoken, as illustrating, and, in some measure, maintaining, the system of collective ownership, in opposition to that of separate property. It is not probable that 'Irish Gavelkind,' as it was designated with especial contempt, was quite as general as Davis supposed, and the practice, we should observe, seems to have existed within the 'Sept' alone, and not in the Tribe; but there can be no doubt that it was a widespread custom, nor yet that it marked another link between the Irish race and the great Aryan Family. As our readers know, the redistribution of land,

under certain conditions, and in different ways, was universal among Aryan people, as we see them in the first part of their history, and the usage is to be clearly traced to dominant ideas implanted in them. As the Aryan community always sprang by tradition from the Family and its Head; as the 'Gens,' the 'Tribe,' the 'Village,' the 'Township,' were originally collections of Heads of Houses, the supposed offspring of a revered parent; so we find the settlements of these groups on the land affected by the notion of a common descent; rights were collective and not individual; and frequent redistributions of land took place, especially when death occasioned a change, for it appeared fitting and natural that the kindred brotherhood should, as far as possible, have equal shares in the heritage of the remote common ancestor. Accordingly partitions essentially like those described by Davis have always been characteristic of ancient Aryan society; and though the processes vary a good deal, and at last give place to a different system, when the tradition of ancient kinship dies out, and separate rights in land are firmly established, we have proofs of the usage in full force. Sir Henry Maine says:—

'There is nothing extraordinary in our finding among the ancient usages of the Irish an institution favouring so much of the "natural communism" of the primitive forms of property as this Irish Gavelkind. This "natural communism," as I have repeatedly urged, does not arise from any theory or *à priori* assumption as to the best or justest mode of dividing the land of a community, but from the simple impossibility, according to primitive notions, of making a distinction between a number of kinsmen solely connected by their real or assumed descent from a common ancestor. The natural solvent of this communism is the land itself upon which the kindred are settled. As the common ancestry fades away into indistinctness, and the community gets to consider itself less an assemblage of blood-relations than a body of co-villagers, each household clings with increasing tenacity to the allotment which it has once obtained, and redivisions of the land among the whole community, whether at fixed periods or at a death, become rarer and rarer, and at last cease altogether, or survive only as a tradition. . . . Nevertheless, surveying the Aryan world as a whole, and looking to societies in which some fragments of the ancient social organisation still survive, we can discern forms of succession or property which come surprisingly near to the Irish Gavelkind described by Davis. The best example of this occurs in a practice which existed down to our own day over a large part of Russia. The principle was that each household of the village was entitled to a share of the village-lands proportioned to the number of adults which it contained. Every death, therefore, of a grown-up man diminished *pro tanto* the share of the household, and every member of it grown to manhood increased its lot in the cultivated area.'

The point, however, which appears to us of most interest as regards this subject, is that Irish Gavelkind, so to speak, prefigured the most general mode of modern succession. In fact, we distinctly trace to the redistribution of the land, in use among early Aryan communities, the origin of the rules by which, at the present time, Personal Property is made to devolve with us, and Property of all kinds devolves in a large part of Europe. The steps of the change are not always well-marked ; but they seem to follow a certain order corresponding to the march of social progress repeatedly seen in Aryan nations. So long as the idea of a general descent from a common ancestor survives in force in the primitive assemblages of the Aryan races, and the groups of kinsmen are not large, every individual, or every male at least, of the brotherhood obtains an equal allotment whenever the land is redistributed ; and the new division is *per capita* in legal language. By degrees however, as the ancient tradition of a community of descent is lost, and as the expanding units grow and disintegrate, above all, perhaps, as separate rights in the land become completely acknowledged, the redistribution follows only the lines of the households forming the branches or stocks derived from the original stem ; in other words, the division is no longer *per capita*, but, as we say, *per stirpes*. Finally, as the old ideas wholly die out, as the memory of the ancestral connexion vanishes, as the units throw off their early forms, enlarging into nascent states and nations, and property in land is fully established, the process of redistribution, as between the households themselves, comes to an end ; and each household becomes a new stem in itself, of course represented by its natural head, the owner of what is now its separate property. This is his, whether absolutely or not, for life ; but on his death the image of the old division reappears ; and his possessions are distributed among his next of kin in modes, often extremely diverse, but still presenting a general likeness. One great kind of modern succession is thus plainly referable to the archaic usage of partitioning the land among Aryan people ; and Irish Gavelkind has a marked connexion with the rules which determined the course of descent in the Roman and even the Greek world, which appear in our Statute of Distributions, and which govern this province of Law in France and in Germany.

Sir Henry Maine thus describes the gradual process through which the ancient usage of redistribution led up to the system derived from it :—

‘In the most archaic forms . . . these distributions are *per capita* ; no one person, who is entitled, takes more than another,

whether the whole estate or a portion is divided, and no respect is paid to the particular way in which a given individual has descended from the common ancestor. Under a more advanced system the distribution is *per stirpes*; careful attention is paid to the lines into which the descendants of the ancestor of the joint-family have separated, and separate rights are reserved to them. Finally, the stocks themselves escape from the sort of shell constituted by the joint-family; each man's share of the property, now periodically divided, is distributed among his direct descendants at his death. At this point, property in its modern form has been established.'

Irish Gavelkind was summarily declared illegal, like Tanistry, by those energetic reformers who believed that the only way to civilise Ireland was to uproot completely the native customs. It is probable, indeed, that both modes of descent did tend to 'confusion and bad husbandry;' the advantage, certainly, of hereditary rule compared to election is not doubtful; and a system of frequent redivision of land must have been injurious to agriculture, which beyond question is best developed when individual rights are fully assured, and no traces remain of old collective ownership. Yet the reckless abolition of what were recognised as modes of inheritance by a whole people, caused bitter heartburnings and discontent, and must have led to a great deal of injustice. Sir Henry Maine says:—

'I do not think that the disaffirmation of the legality of Tanistry, and the substitution for it of the rule of Primogeniture, can justly be reckoned among the misdeeds or crimes of the English in Ireland. . . . Probably Sir John Davis does not speak too harshly of it when he charges it with "making all possessions uncertain, bringing confusion, barbarism, and incivility." The decision against the Irish Gavelkind was far less justifiable. Even if the institution was exactly what Davis supposed it to be, there was injustice in suddenly disappointing the expectations of the distant kindred who formed the sept of the last holder; but it is probable that several different modes of succession are confounded under the name of Gavelkind, and that in many cases a number of children were unjustifiably deprived of their inheritance for the advantage of one.'

We pass to other parts of the Brehon Tracts which present features of general interest. Our space precludes us from even glancing at that singular arrangement of the Irish family—known as the five-fold, *Fine Division*—and can only remark that Sir Henry Maine finds in it, and in Borough-English descent, an analogy to the *Potestas* of the Roman Father, and the Privileges of the Emancipated Sons. We must, however, say a few words on two ancient Irish social relations, the significance of which has been little understood,



yet, when rightly interpreted, is full of instruction. Among the primitive customs of Ireland particularly disliked by the English settlers—no doubt probably because they strengthened the bonds of union between the clans—were those of Gossipred and Fosterage, of spiritual affinity, and the parentage of the Nurse; and though the words ‘godfather,’ ‘godson,’ might, we should have thought, have afforded a clue, Tudor critics professed themselves unable to comprehend ‘these beastly ‘devices,’ and the feelings of affection which grew out of them. Yet Gossipred and Fosterage, and all that belonged to both, were congenial to the order of thought and sentiment which prevailed in Ireland in ancient times, and, what is more, show a close union between Irish and other Aryan tendencies. In an archaic community like tribal Ireland, the few ideas that shaped society would necessarily possess extraordinary force; and the Family idea, as we may call it, retained, we have seen, a great deal of its power, and largely pervaded the social structure. This idea, accordingly, by a common process, would extend itself from its natural objects to those artificially connected with them; and the ties of spiritual parent and child, and of nursing mother and nursed infant, would become assimilated, in a great measure, to the strong bonds of actual kinship apparent in so many relations of life, and would produce a corresponding train of sympathies. In the same way, in other Aryan races, we find whole classes of relations expressing ideas derived from connexion by blood, and embodying them, so to speak, in their incidents, though at first sight having nothing in common with them:—

‘Dr. Sullivan claims for the word “Guilds” a Celtic etymology, and he traces the institution to the grazing partnerships common among the ancient Irish. However this may be, it is most instructive to find the same words used to describe bodies of co-partners, formed by contract, and bodies of co-heirs or co-parceners formed by common descent. As regards guilds, I certainly think, as I thought three years ago, that they have been much too confidently attributed to a relatively modern origin; and that many of them, and much which is common to all of them, may be suspected to have grown out of the primitive brotherhoods of co-villagers and kinsmen. . . . Let me now observe that one or two other of the great Roman contracts appear to me, when closely examined, to afford evidence of their having been gradually evolved through changes in the mechanism of primitive society. . . . Look at the peculiar contract called by the Romans “*societas omnium*,” or “*universorum bonorum*.” . . . It appears to me that we are carried back to the joint-brotherhoods of primitive society, and that their development must have given rise to the contract before us. Let us turn again to the contract of Mandatum or Agency. . . . It seems to me probable that we have in it a shadow of that thorough coalescence

between two individuals which was only possible, anciently, when they belonged to the same family. . . . It seems to me, accordingly, in the highest degree natural that Spiritual Relationship, when introduced into a tribal society like that of the ancient Irish, should closely assimilate itself to blood-relationship. . . . It seemed to English critics monstrous that the same mother's milk should produce in Ireland the same close affections as did common paternity in their own country. The true explanation was one which is only now dawning on us. It was that fosterage was an institution which, though artificial in its commencements, was natural in its operation; and that the relations of foster-parent and foster-child, tended, in that stage of feeling, to become indistinguishable from the relation of father and son.'

This probably, too, in part accounts for the peculiarities of the old Irish Church. The Family idea stamped its image upon it and gave it many of its characteristics, as the Feudal idea almost transformed the Church in most European countries:—

'One of the great Irish or Scotie Missionaries, who afterwards nearly always reappears as a Saint, obtains a grant of land from some chieftain or tribe in Ireland or Celtic Britain, and founds a monastery there, or it may be that the founder of the religious house is already himself the chieftain of a tribe. The house becomes the parent of others, which again may in their turn throw out minor religious establishments, at once monastic and missionary. The words signifying "family" or "tribe," and "kinship," are applied to all the religious bodies created by this process. Each monastic house, with its monks and bishops, constitutes a "family" or "tribe;" and its secular or servile dependents appear to be sometimes included under the name. The same appellation is given to the collective assemblage of religious houses formed by the parent monastery and the various churches or monastic bodies sprung from it. These make up together the "tribe of the saint," but this last expression is not exclusively employed with this particular meaning. The abbot of the parent house, and all the abbots of the minor houses are the "conharbas" or co-heirs of the saint, and yet in another sense the "family" or "tribe" of the saint mean his actual tribesmen or blood-relations.'

The force of Family and Tribal ideas may also be reckoned among the causes which changed the Norman noble in Ireland into what was called the barbarian chief, making him, in the words of an indignant censor, 'Degenerate and metamorphosed, like Nebuchadnezzar, who, although he had the face of a man, had the heart of a beast':—

'The fact, stated in this bitter language, is not especially marvellous. We have seen the general complexion of Irish society giving its colour to institutions of all sorts—associations of kinsmen shading off into assemblages of partners and guild-brothers, fosterparentage and spiritual parentage taking their hue from natural paternity—ecclesiastical organisation blending with tribal organisation. The Anglo-Norman captain who thought to conquer for himself an Irish signory

passed insensibly in the same way into the chieftain of an Irish tribe. The dependents who surrounded him did not possibly draw any clear distinction between the actual depositary of power and the natural depositary of power, and, as the contagiousness of ideas is in proportion to their fewness, it is intelligible that he was affected by the mental atmosphere in which he lived.'

As the whole of the Ancient Law of Ireland is not contained in the published Tracts, we cannot yet, perhaps, exactly determine all the remedies it supplied for the redress of wrong. The only remedy, however, we at present know of is a primitive yet interesting system of Distress, extended to injuries of every kind, breaches of contract, torts, and even, as we should call them, crimes; and it is not improbable that this was the principal, if not the sole means through which the Irish suitor, under his native Law, could obtain, or perhaps apply for, justice. We have here again a curious analogy between Irish and other Aryan usages. The old Roman action of *Pignoris Capio*, the Teutonic practice of taking *namts*, and a well-known proceeding of our Common Law, are simply different forms of Distress; and no doubt can exist that this mode of redress was general among many Aryan people. The rules, in Celtic Ireland, as regards Distress—considering it as a direct remedy and legal method of enforcing a claim—had a striking resemblance to those once in force on the same subject in other countries, except that they were rather more refined, and in one point, to be hereafter noticed, they bring Ireland and Hindostan into evident relations. To understand this we need only refer to this account of Distress in the Brehon Tracts:—

'The plaintiff or creditor, having first given the proper notice, proceeded, in the case of a defendant or debtor, not of chieftain grade, to distrain. If the defendant or debtor were a person of chieftain grade, it was necessary not only to give notice, but also to "fast upon him." The fasting upon him consisted in going to his residence and waiting there for a certain time without food. If the plaintiff did not within a certain time receive satisfaction for his claim, or a pledge thereof, he forthwith, accompanied by a law-agent, witnesses, and others, seized his distress. The distress, when seized, was in certain cases liable to a Stay, which was a period varying according to fixed rules, during which the debtor received back the distress, and retained it in his own keeping, the creditor having a lien upon it. Such a distress is a "distress with time;" but under certain circumstances and in particular cases an "immediate distress" was made, the peculiarity of which was that during the fixed period of the Stay the distress was not allowed to remain in the debtor's possession, but in that of the creditor, or in one of the recognised greens or pounds. If the debt was not paid by the end of the Stay, the creditor took away the distress, and put it in a pound. He then served notice of the distress on the debtor whom he had dis-

trained, letting him know where what was distrained was impounded. The distress remained in the pound a certain period, fixed according to its nature (*dithim*, translated "delay in pound" is the name of this period). At the end of the delay in pound, the Forfeiting Time began to run, during which the distress became forfeited at the rate of three "seds" per day until entirely forfeited. If the entire value of the distress thus forfeited was exactly equal to the original debt and the subsequent expenses, the debt was liquidated; if it was less than this, a second distress was taken for the difference; and, if more, the surplus was returned. All this proceeding was managed by the party himself, or his law-agent, with the several witnesses of the various steps, and other necessary parties. But if, instead of allowing his cattle to go to pound, the debtor gave a sufficient pledge, *e.g.* his son, or some article of value, to the creditor, that he would within a certain time try the right to the distress by law, the creditor was bound to receive such pledge. If he did not go to law, as he so undertook, the pledge became forfeited by the original debt. At any time, up to the end of the "dithim," the debtor could receive his cattle by paying the debt and such expenses as had been incurred. But, if he neglected to redeem them until the "dithim" had expired, he could only redeem such as were still unforfeited.'

No wonder Sir Henry Maine observes, with this remarkable sketch before him:—

'The very existence in ancient Ireland of the law thus summarised is almost enough by itself to destroy those reckless theories of race which assert an original, inherent difference of idea and usage between Teuton and Celt. The Irish system of Distress is obviously, in all essential features, the Germanic system. It wears, on its face, a very strong general resemblance to the corresponding branch of our Common Law; and I have seen some very ingenious attempts to account for the differences between the two by suggestions that the primitive contour of the English law of Distress has been impaired. . . . The virtual identity of the Irish law of Distress with the Teutonic law is best brought out by comparing it with the Teutonic systems of procedure collectively. Thus the Distress of the *Senchus Mor* is not, like the Distress of the English Common Law, a remedy confined in the main to demands of the lord on his tenants; as in the *Salic* and other Continental Germanic Codes, it extends to breaches of contracts; and indeed so far as the *Brehon Law* is already known, it would appear to be the universal method of prosecuting claims of all kinds. The Notice again to the person whose goods are to be distrained, which it strenuously insists upon, though not found in the surviving English Common Law, fills an important place, as I stated, in other Teutonic collections of rules. So, too, the attendance of witnesses is required by the Continental Codes; and, though the presence of the *Brehon* law-agent is peculiar to the Irish system and very characteristic of it, certain persons having much the same duties are required by some of the Teutonic systems to be present during the process of distraint. Further, the Stay of proceedings, which has been compared to an Attachment, seems to me better ex-

plained by certain provisions of the "*Leges Barbarorum*." Under some of them, when a person's property is about to be seized he makes a mimic resistance; under the Salic Law, he protests against the injustice of the attempt; under the Riparian Law, he goes through the expressive formality of standing at his door with a drawn sword. Thereupon, the seizure is interrupted, and an opportunity is given for inquiring into the regularity of the proceedings and, probably also, the justice of the claim. The Lien or charge upon the distrained property, which the Irish law confers on the creditor during the currency of the Stay, is not found in the Continental Teutonic Law in this exact shape; but, at a particular stage of the Salic proceedings, the creditor has the power of interdicting the debtor from selling or mortgaging any part of his property until the debt has been satisfied. On the other hand, several features of the Irish system, which are wholly absent from the Continental Teutonic procedure, or very faintly marked in it, belong conspicuously to the English law. Among these may be placed the impounding, and the "taking in withernam," but the great resemblance of all, and the common point of dissimilarity from the most ancient of the *Leges Barbarorum*, lies in the fact that the Irish procedure, like the English, requires neither assistance nor permission from any Court of Justice. In all the Teutonic bodies of custom, except the English and the Lombardic, even when the greatest latitude of seizure is allowed to litigants out of Court, some judicial person or body must be applied to before they proceed to extremities. With us, however, the entire seizure is completed before authority is called in; and the Irish law has exactly the same peculiarity. Not only so, but the Irish Law of Distress, corresponds to the English in a very advanced stage of development. It does not employ the seizure of cattle merely as a method of extorting satisfaction. It provides, as we have seen, for their forfeiture in discharge of the demand for which they are taken; and thus is distinguished by an improvement which was only added to the English Law by statute after the lapse of several centuries.'

One feature, however, of the Irish law has nothing like it in that of the Western world. In the case of a person of high degree, the claimant in Ireland, we have seen, was required to 'fast on his debtor' before distraining, that is, to wait at the debtor's door without food, and persistently make demand for payment, the idea being that dread of Divine vengeance, in the event of the creditor being left to starve, would compel the debtor to settle the claim. The very same usage, called 'sitting dharna,' still exists in India for the same purpose:—

'The Brahmin who adopts this expedient proceeds to the house or door of the person against whom it is directed; he then sits down in dharna. . . . In this situation the Brahmin fasts, and by the rigour of the etiquette the unfortunate object of his arrest ought to fast also, and thus they both remain till the institutor of the *dharna* obtains satisfaction. In this he rarely fails; for if the party thus arrested were

to suffer the Brahmin sitting in dharna to perish by hunger, the sin would for ever lie upon his head.'

Sir Henry Maine thus comments on this singular link between two divisions of the Aryan race now at the extremes of Asia and Europe :—

'If there could be a doubt of this remedy for supposed wrong by distress being a legacy from the primitive Aryan usages, it would be removed by the remarkable detail which connects the Irish with the Hindoo law. The Irish rules of distraint very closely resemble the English rules, less strongly resemble the Continental Teutonic rules, but they include one rule not found in any Teutonic Code, almost unintelligible in the Irish system, but known to govern conduct even at this hour all over the East, where its meaning is perfectly clear. This is the rule that a creditor who requires payment from a debtor of higher rank than himself shall "fast upon him." What possible explanation will cover all the facts except that the primitive Aryans bequeathed the remedy of distress to the communities which sprang from them?'

Distress, however, was, in Celtic Ireland, not merely a direct remedy, or lawful method of enforcing a debt; it was also, perhaps, the only way to found jurisdiction, as we may call it, to enable the ancient Brehon judge to bring suitors within his cognisance, and to adjudicate on their disputed rights. From this point of view Distress would be a mode of procedure; and the ceremonies accompanying a real Distress, when put in force as a substantive remedy, would be simply employed as matters of form to attract causes within the sphere of justice, and to permit decisions to be pronounced upon them. In this respect, also, old Irish usage was akin to that of other Aryan people, though it did not follow the course of development seen in some branches of the Aryan Family. As is well known, many bodies of law, especially in the domain of Procedure, contain formalities expressing in themselves ideas remote from their present uses, yet adapted to them by long custom; and the jurisprudence of several nations has laid hold, so to speak, of more than one practice significant of dispute and contention, and has embodied it in its own system, in order to facilitate its special objects. Thus the most celebrated of the Roman Actions, representing incidents which implied a quarrel, and the intervention of a sober mediator, became a formula by which a tribunal determined the claims of adverse litigants; thus the martial Norman Wager of Battle was taken into the Common Law of England, and made the means of asserting a right, within the precinct of English Courts; and, in the same way, a formal Distress was recognised in the Brehon Tracts as

a method of giving a judge jurisdiction. In other respects, however, what we may call the Irish Procedure contrasted ill with the procedure of other Aryan races remarkable for their general progress, though this matter of Distress distinctly establishes the right of Ireland to a place in the Aryan brotherhood. Distress possibly was the only mode by which an Irish suitor could vindicate his claims, and an Irish judge get possession of a cause; and it is unnecessary to say that this must have been a clumsy and very imperfect process. Though Distress, too, as a mode of procedure, was no doubt common to many Aryan people, it soon ceased to be a prevailing mode in the case generally of European nations, and it has been gradually all but superseded by methods of infinitely greater efficacy. The main reason of this marked distinction is not to be sought for in Irish 'barbarism,' but in the circumstances of the evolution of law in Ireland, as apart from the rest of the Western world. In Ireland the administration of rights was, we have seen, secured to a professional caste, and possibly there were no regular Courts. In other parts of Europe, viewed as a whole, fixed and powerful tribunals grew up by degrees under influences of a very peculiar kind; and thus, in the one country the mode of procedure remained archaic, cumbrous, and weak, in the other it developed into the known methods established in modern civilised states for enforcing civil and criminal justice.

Ancient Law, then, connects at all points the Irish race with its Aryan kindred. The Brehon Tracts have a striking likeness to the Brahminical Codes in form and structure; and they demonstrate that the Celtic tribes of Ireland had a social organisation and social life, nay, primitive usages, ideas, and tendencies, which unite them to the foremost Western nations, and to the civilisation of the Indian Peninsula. They prove, too, that Ireland and a large part of Europe moved from a common point along the path of progress, and went for a time the same way; and they throw clear and instructive light on most important phases in European History. With this guidance before us we may regard the Irish as a people retarded in its development; but prejudice itself cannot deny them a place in the famous group of mankind which includes the Roman, the Gaul, and the Teuton among its members. The question then arises, how did it happen that Ireland was backward in the advance of the West, and that she has long presented the mournful aspect of stunted growth and prolonged childhood? To answer this fully would be to write her unhappy history for many centuries, and to enter upon a dreary

narrative of almost uninterrupted wrong and misfortune. We may note, however, a few of the causes, confining ourselves to our special subject, why the progress of Ireland was checked and arrested. Sir Henry Maine has pointed out one in the following just and striking passage :—

‘The Anglo-Norman settlement on the east coast of Ireland acted like a running sore, constantly irritating the Celtic regions beyond the Pale, and deepening the confusion which prevailed there. If the country had been left to itself, one of the great Irish tribes would almost certainly have conquered the rest. All the legal ideas which, little conscious as we are of their source, come to us from the existence of a strong central government lending its vigour to the arm of justice would have made their way into the Brehon law; and the gap between the alleged civilisation of England and the alleged barbarism of Ireland during much of their history, which was in reality narrower than is commonly supposed, would have almost wholly disappeared.’

Two other general causes, besides, apart from the details of her history, co-operated, we think, to keep Ireland back in the march of the civilisation of Europe. The enormous influence of the Roman Empire did not, as we know, completely efface the traces of primitive Aryan life within the circle of its wide dominion; it did not wholly destroy the tribal system, the old collective ownership of the soil, the chieftain's rule, and the consensual justice which characterised the growth of Aryan communities. But it substituted, to a very great extent, an enlightened and general system of law for the archaic usages of an earlier time; it broke up and largely dissolved the ancient forms of Aryan society, introducing those definite rights of property which seem essential to speedy progress; it established strong and settled tribunals, regular government, and supreme authority, in the place of loose patriarchal sway; and thus, throughout the far-spreading region from the Severn to the Adriatic Sea, and from the Danube to the Pillars of Hercules, it facilitated the growth of that order of things to which modern Europe owes its existence. Again, the barbarian conquests led, in conjunction with the surviving power of the Empire, and of the institutions which attended its fall, to Feudalism and its prodigious results, to the rise of the mediæval Monarchies, and to the existing relations of States and their subjects; and though tendencies common to the Aryan race have produced phenomena the same in kind, the great events in question were potent agencies in bringing the West to its present condition, and in giving its civilisation its peculiar character. But Ireland was never a part of the Empire, nor was she overrun by the barbarian hordes; and the



circumstance that she was scarcely affected by the two great influences which have done so much to mould the life of the European world may, in part, account for her seeming backwardness, and for her tardy and apparently checked development.

It is a point of interest to the social inquirer whether the Irish race has, at the present day, any sympathy with its ancient customs; whether it still reverences what we must call its primitive institutions and laws. In parts of the island outside the Pale, especially in the recesses of Munster and Connaught, traditions certainly as yet linger of the organisation of the clans and tribes, and traces of the ownership of the soil in common, perhaps, survive in what is generally known as 'rundale' occupation and 'rundale' tenure. In many counties, too, the people still honour the memory of their long-lost chiefs, or at least treasure their names with affection; and a vague recollection of widespread wrong done by confiscation, in past centuries, has sunk deep in the Irish mind, and is one of the causes of agrarian crime. It has been supposed, moreover, that the strong tendency of the Irish peasantry to subdivide their farms and parcel them out among their families, is a relic of their ancient mode of succession; and there is, perhaps, reason to think that the undoubted willingness of the Irish tenant to pay rent, and his repugnance to other landed contracts, have something to do with the old conditions under which land was held of the Chief. On the whole, however, we do not believe that the archaic usages of Celtic Ireland have much influence on the Irishmen of this day; they have been obliterated, in a great measure, by the operation of conquest and violent change, by education and social progress, and, above all, by a different system of law working through tribunals supreme in power; and it cannot be said that they largely fall in with modern Irish demands and tendencies. Nor is there anything to regret in this; nor is it desirable, from any point of view, that those primitive and obsolete customs should retain vitality in the nineteenth century, or that they should be thought of as the cherished remains of an age golden in the hues of fancy, as the legendary towers of other days, to be gazed at through the submerging waters. The system of social life and habits disclosed to us in the Brehon Tracts was incompatible with all that is known as civilisation in this age; it was, we know, connected with internal strife, confusion, and trouble of every kind; and though it, doubtless, had a good side of its own, it was at best simply a state of preparation for what might have been a higher development. It would be as

ridiculous to lament this old order of things as to sigh for the Heptarchy or the Roman Gentes; and though its extinction was attended by a great deal of wrong-doing and suffering, and though Ireland might, perhaps, have flourished had she worked out her own path for herself, we need not ask whether the train of events which have made her a part of one Imperial State have not conduced in the long run to her welfare. The true moral of the Brehon Laws, and the real lesson they teach, is very different from the silly fancies we have mentioned to condemn; by establishing the identity beyond dispute of the Irish with other Aryan races, they refute the false philosophy of force which Ireland has a right to consider an insult; they tend to remove barriers of evil prejudice which divide the people of the three kingdoms; and by assuring rulers and ruled alike within the limits of a large part of the world, that they are associated in a real brotherhood, they add to the force of those moral sympathies which are not the least securities for the happiness of man.

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ART. III.—1. *The Chinese Classics: with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and copious Indexes.* By JAMES LEGGE, D.D., of the London Missionary Society. Vol. II., containing the Works of Mencius. Hong Kong: 1861.

2. *The Chinese Reader's Manual: a Handbook of Biographical, Historical, Mythological, and General Literary Reference.* By WILLIAM F. MAYERS, Chinese Secretary to H.B.M.'s Legation at Peking. Shanghai: 1874.

‘As jade is to crystal so is Confucius to Mencius,’ says the popular proverb; but the two sit on equal chairs in the temple of fame, and the badges of honour which the great Master wears are alike worn by his rival. They are the great twin brethren of Chinese philosophy; but in spite of our increased acquaintance with the literature of the Middle Kingdom, Mencius is still a mere name to the majority of European readers. When we consider, however, the enormous influence which his philosophy has exercised over thought in his native land for two thousand years, we are assured that some knowledge of his doctrines is essential to the comprehension of Chinese character and Chinese institutions. For the maxims on government which he enunciated are to this day referred to as absolutely authoritative in all causes, religious, political, or commercial. He would supply arguments to the provincial

scholar when disputing with a Christian missionary on Original Sin, and he would afford axioms and illustrations to the Peking official when criticising the opium traffic, opposing the right of audience, or discussing with a Japanese envoy the difficulty in Formosa. Dr. Legge, to whose erudition and perseverance we are indebted for a translation of Confucius,\* has given us an opportunity of presenting our readers with a companion sketch. Though of course in Chinese scholarship Dr. Legge goes before his critics, we may venture to express an opinion as to the general character of the work. It is not free from the stiffness and hardness of style which were noticeable blemishes in the translation of Confucius. There is no air of antiquity and no aroma of the East about its pages. The English is the English of an ordinary newspaper reporting the questions of a counsel and the answers of a witness in an ordinary trial. There is no attempt to get inside the various speakers and to make the phrasology they employ accidentally reveal their characters. We must not require too much, however. The interlocutors at the courts of Hwuy and Seuen were not Greek dialecticians, and Mencius was not Plato; therefore if we miss the quick play of intellectual fence, and the vivid insight almost unconsciously displaying the nicest peculiarities of character which we meet with in the Search Dialogues, we must not charge it all on the translator. A graver fault than an unwieldy style is the unfortunate adoption of a dubious compound term for one of the key-words of his author's system. Of this, however, we shall have to speak further on. It is more satisfactory to note the many excellences of the volume before us. Mencius is evidently a greater favourite with the learned doctor than Confucius was. He addresses himself in the prolegomena to the task of bringing out the really strong points in the philosopher's teaching, and in the biographical sketch he is animated by that natural and appropriate desire to exhibit his hero in a favourable light which becomes a biographer. The tendency to find fault with Mencius for not being cognisant of truths which were revealed more than three hundred years after he was buried, is occasionally visible; but on the whole the sage is, we conceive, fairly and honestly dealt with, and Dr. Legge has earned the gratitude of all those who desire to see China's place in the history of Thought ascertained and vindicated.

Confucius had been laid in his grave for more than a century when Mencius was born. The state of China had waxed

See the article on 'Confucius' in the *Ed. Rev.* for April, 1869.

worse and worse during the interval ; between the two, in fact, the condition of the country was one of almost unexampled disorder. The men who governed the various petty states were ever at war with each other. Now and then a prince of peculiar valour and conduct was able to take the lead for a time, but in a very brief space he was overthrown and succeeded by a rival. Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Tidal, king of nations, 'the combined kinglings' of Genesis, as Coleridge calls them, were probably very fair representatives of the heads of the clans Loo, Ch'ing, Wei, Woo, Ch'in, and Sung, whose endless treacheries and truces, combats and conferences, fill up the dismal annals of the time.

Into this chaos Mǎng-tsze, the philosopher Mǎng, known generally by his latinized name of Mencius, was born B.C. 371. The materials for his biography are scanty, and we may sum up very briefly the more important incidents of his life. He lost his father early, but he was one of the many remarkable men who were fortunate in possessing a mother alike affectionate and sensible ; indeed the fame of Chang-she, the mother of Mencius, extends all over China. The memory of her virtues is as dear to students of the classics as is the memory of Monica or Nonna to the heart of Christendom. At the risk of repeating a well-worn tale we quote three of the standard anecdotes illustrating the mode in which the future sage was taught propriety.

'At first the mother and son lived near a cemetery, and Mencius amused himself with acting the various scenes which he witnessed at the tombs. "This," said the lady, "is no place for my son," and she removed to a house in the market-place. But the change was no improvement. The boy took to playing the part of a salesman, vaunting his wares and chaffering with customers. His mother sought a new house, and found one at last close by a public school. There her child's attention was taken by the various exercises of politeness which the scholars were taught, and he endeavoured to imitate them. The mother was satisfied. "This," said she, "is the proper place for my son." There is another story of this period. Near their house was a pig butcher's. One day Mencius asked his mother what they were killing the pigs for, and was told that it was to feed him. Her conscience immediately reproved her for the answer. She said to herself, "While I was carrying this boy in my womb, I could not sit down if the mat were not placed square, and I ate no meat which was not cut properly ;—so I taught him when he was yet unborn. And now, when his intelligence is opening, I am deceiving him—this is to teach him untruthfulness !" With this she went and bought a piece of pork in order to make good her words. As Mencius grew up he was sent to school. When he returned home one day, his mother looked up from

the web which she was weaving, and asked him how far he had got on. He answered her, with an air of indifference, that he was doing well enough, on which she took a knife and cut through her web. The idler was alarmed, and asked what she meant, when she gave him a long lecture showing that she had done what he was doing—that her cutting through the web was like his neglecting his learning. The admonition, it is said, had the proper effect; the lecture did not need to be repeated.’

There is a gap in the early life of Mencius. We hear these traits of his boyhood and then we find him a man of forty, the master of a school of philosophy, vigorously opposing the doctrines of certain fashionable state counsellors, and labouring to restore to their proper place in public regard the almost forgotten precepts of Confucius. The seed-plot into which his maxims were cast was the court of a principality called Tsé, the seat of government of a sovereign known by the honourable title of Seuen, ‘the Illustrious.’ It is conjectured that the sage was invited by the king, and as we have many instances of his somewhat arrogant assertion of his own dignity, we may well believe that he was not an unbidden guest at the palace. The king and the philosopher did not get on much better than another king and another philosopher two thousand years later. Mencius and Seuen did not live together like their contemporaries Alexander and Aristotle, but like Voltaire and Frederick the Great.

Dr. Legge gives a long and tedious story of a dispute on a subject of etiquette which occasioned the final rupture between the ill-assorted pair. Large offers of emolument were made to the philosopher, but he refused them with indignation. It had been his earnest wish to instil noble principles into his patron’s mind, and to raise his ideal of the duties and responsibilities of a throne; but in order to obtain influence over Seuen, Mencius would have had to waive certain rights and privileges which he believed to be the sage’s inalienable due. He desired that the king should come and consult him on occasions instead of summoning him to the palace and bidding him wait his royal pleasure for an audience. This idea the sovereign would not entertain for a moment, and so at last, despairing of being able to effect any good, the philosopher, ‘with a slow and lingering pace,’ departed from Tsé. He regretted the necessity which seemed to compel him to break with the king, and he hesitated long and anxiously before he took the step. Seuen appeared to him to have the capacity for doing great things, and he was reproached for his delay in making up his mind to depart. He cared little however for

popular censure. 'The king,' he said, 'is, after all, one who may be made to do good. If he were to use me, would it be for the happiness of Tsé only? It would be for the happiness of the people of the whole empire. I am hoping that the king will change; I am daily hoping for this. Am I like one of your little-minded people? They will remonstrate with their prince, and on their remonstrance not being accepted they get angry, and, with their passion displayed in their countenance, they take their leave and travel with all their strength for a whole day before they will rest.' He did not return to Tsé for seven years, during which period he visited other states, holding the position of adviser to the reigning dukes and princes, and liberally supported by their gifts and allowances. Only one incident of special importance can be referred to this epoch. This was the memorable interview with the disciples of Heu-Hing. Though scarcely known even by name to European philosophy and political economists, this barbarian of uncouth speech was probably the first man who assumed a character so familiar to modern times—he was the first vindicator of the working man's rights, the earliest champion of labour and the labouring classes. Of course there is a certain crudeness in the doctrines of Heu, but nevertheless it must be confessed that the arguments employed at the interview between him and Mencius have been repeated a thousand times by disputants who never heard of the existence of the Chinese communist, and perhaps little more than the name of his immortal opponent. Some circumstances attending the colloquy are preserved, which put it before us with a certain vividness of presentment that is lacking in the reports of the other dialogues.

Before the gates of the dukes crowds of strangely-dressed enthusiasts suddenly present themselves. They wear clothes of hair-cloth, and carry plough-handles and shares on their backs. They are prepared to discuss the profoundest political problems, but it is their pride to labour with their hands at humble vocations, and when not disputing they make sandals of hemp and weave mats for their living. Mencius, at this time residing under the protection of the Duke of T'äng, is confronted with a band of these innovators. Their spokesman begins by declaring that the philosopher's patron, though a worthy prince, is ignorant of the doctrines of antiquity, for wise and able princes should cultivate the ground equally and along with their people, and eat the fruit of their labour. They should prepare their own meals morning and evening, while at the same time they carry on their government, whereas the

Prince of T'ang and the other chieftains and rulers of the day have granaries, treasuries, and arsenals. This is an oppressing of the people to nourish self, and the prince who does such things cannot be regarded as really doing his duty. It is clear that the disciples of Heu-Hing were actuated by the spirit which, according to Shakspeare, inspired the followers of Jack Cade. What says George Bevis in 'Henry VI.'? \* 'O miserable age! Virtue is not regarded in handicraftsmen.' To which John Holland replies: 'The nobility think scorn to go in leather aprons.' George adds: 'Nay more, the King's council are no good workmen.' 'True,' says John; 'and yet it is said, Labour in thy vocation: which is as much to say as, Let the magistrates be labouring men; and therefore should we be magistrates.' Mencius meets the argument in a perfectly orthodox way. 'Does your master,' he asks, 'sow grain and eat the produce? Does he weave cloth and wear his own manufacture? Does he make his own cap?' 'No,' says the innovator, 'he gets it in exchange for grain; to weave it would interfere with his husbandry.' 'Then,' says Mencius triumphantly, 'is it the government of the empire that alone can be carried on along with the practice of husbandry? Great men have their proper business, and little men have their proper business. Moreover, in the case of any single individual, whatever articles he can require are ready to his hand, being produced by the various handicraftsmen: if he must first make them for his own use, this way of doing would keep the whole empire running about upon the roads. Hence, there is the saying, "Some labour with their minds, and some labour with their strength." Those who labour with their minds govern others; those who labour with their strength are governed by others. Those who are governed by others support them; those who govern others are supported by them. This is a principle universally recognised.'

This is the sum of the famous colloquy between the sage and the man whom Dr. Legge improperly calls 'a heresiarch.' Mencius unquestionably exposed a palpable fallacy; but it is conjectured that the Prince of T'ang may, from inclination or policy, have been disposed to favour the new doctrines, and that he was not pleased with the decided line taken by his counsellor. At all events we find Mencius soon afterwards removing to another of the petty states governed by a King Hwuy. The name of this prince is a household word in China, for the first sentence of the first book of the 'Colloquies of

'Mencius' contains the words he addressed to the sage when coming to his court: 'Venerable sir, since you have not counted it far to come here—a distance of a thousand *le*—may I presume that you are likewise provided with counsels to profit my kingdom?' The reply would not disgrace any of those to whom the name 'philosopher' has been assigned by mankind. Mencius answered: 'Why must your majesty use the word "profit"? What I am likewise provided with are counsels to benevolence and righteousness, and these are my only topics.' The unfortunate craving of the king for warlike renown, however, rendered him deaf to the wise suggestions of his guest. The resources of the country had been wasted by long and useless contests with the neighbouring states. Hwuy, though his martial spirit was still untamed, was broken in health and worn out with disappointments and disasters. He died shortly after the arrival of Mencius. His son Seang succeeded him. With this prince he had but one brief interview. When he came out from it, he observed to some of his friends, 'When I looked at him from a distance he did not appear like a sovereign; when I drew near to him I saw nothing venerable about him.' Satisfied that he could not hope to do good to a man who lacked the first quality needed by the occupant of a throne—dignity—his thought reverted to his old patron, and he returned to the court of Seuen. His bearing at Tsé during his second visit illustrated the *αὐταρκεία* of the true philosopher. We do not know enough about the internal politics of the court or the characters of the courtiers to form an accurate opinion, but certainly he appears to have acted with a rudeness to some of the king's favourites that only exceptional provocation would seem to have warranted.

Going into mourning is an important event in every Chinaman's life, and therefore it is proper to record that during the second sojourn in Tsé Mencius was called on to follow his mother to the grave. True to the precepts of Confucius, he celebrated the obsequies with great pomp. His most intimate disciples were surprised at the expense he lavished on the coffin, and we may well believe that the incense, the yellow candles, the china-asters, the white robes, and all the paraphernalia of a funeral in the Middle Kingdom were provided by filial affection to adorn the burial of the virtuous Chang-she. For three years the pious son absented himself from court and council-board, and dwelt, nursing his sorrow, beside the tombs of his ancestors in the province of Loo. He returned to find Seuen preparing for an important military enterprise, the subjugation of the rival kingdom of Yen. We



are obliged to acknowledge that we cannot approve the conduct of the philosopher in connexion with this expedition, and we are surprised that Dr. Legge, whose moral sense was so offended by the fact of Confucius telling his servant to say he was out when he was at home, should not be scandalised at the contemptible attempt of Mencius to justify a piece of servile advice worthy of Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah himself. The facts of the case are briefly these. King Seuen makes up his mind to annex Yen. He sends a high official to ask the opinion of Mencius. The philosopher replies that Yen might be smitten. The king is, of course, confirmed in his purpose by this reply. He puts himself at the head of his army and invades the country. The people make a feeble resistance and are easily conquered. But rival princes dread the growing power of Seuen and combine against him. The people rise against the invader, welcome the confederates as deliverers, and his new acquisition is lost to the illustrious king almost as soon as it is gained. Mortified at his defeat, Seuen reproaches Mencius with advising him to engage in the war. Dr. Legge tells us that his hero ingeniously repudiated the accusation. We confess his reply appears to us to merit a less favourable mention:—‘I answered Shin T’ung that Yen ‘might be smitten. If he had asked me who may smite it, I ‘would have answered him—He who is the Minister of Heaven ‘may smite it. Suppose the case of a murderer, and that one ‘asks me—May this man be put to death? I will answer him ‘—He may. If he ask me who may put him to death? I ‘will answer him—The chief criminal judge may put him to ‘death. But now, with one Yen to smite another Yen? ‘How should I have advised this?’ It is in vain to apologise for a subterfuge like this by excuses that are palpable afterthoughts. We know that Mencius had a very high idea of the responsibilities of the regal office, and it is possible that had Seuen ruled according to his adviser’s idea that the people would never have rebelled and opened their arms to the allies as liberators; but we cannot get over the fact that the sage counselled an act of unpardonable aggression, and when he counselled it gave no hint of a subsequent policy of beneficence to the conquered which should redeem the character of this particular invasion, and raise it above the countless deeds of violence which were the disgrace of the age. Dr. Legge says that after the rebellion of Yen, Mencius quitted Tsé, as ‘the king felt ashamed before the philosopher;’ we should rather incline to the belief that it was the philosopher who had reason to feel ashamed before the king; at all events the tie

between the two was now finally dissolved, and Mencius quitted Tsé never to return.

Thence he repaired to Loo, the kingdom which in the time of Confucius had been the resort of all the scholars of the empire, the Athens or Benares of China, and which was now administered by a pupil of Mencius, Yoching. Here we find the intrusion of one of those ever-recurring difficulties on a subject of etiquette which render Chinese biography so unintelligible and distasteful to the European reader. Mencius goes to Loo, hoping, perhaps, that a prince who had committed the government of the state to one of his disciples might be willing to listen to the counsels of the master. The duke is informed of his arrival by Yoching, and also told that the sage requires his host, whatever his rank may be, to go out and meet him. The duke is setting out on his way, and his chariot is at the palace door, when a courtier reminds the prince that the mother of Mencius had a more sumptuous funeral than was becoming—the great offence appearing to have been that the coffin was of an unusually expensive wood. This was enough. At once the duke relinquished his intention of visiting the sage, and orders his horses to be unharnessed. Yoching apprised his master of the change in the duke's plan and of the alleged accusation against him. He bore the disappointment with dignity, and replied in a sentence that has been frequently quoted:—‘A man's advancement is effected, it may be, by others, and the stopping him is, it may be, from the efforts of others. But to advance a man, or to stop his advance, is really beyond the power of other men; my not finding in the prince of Loo a ruler who would confide in me, and put my counsels into practice, is from heaven. How could that scion of the Tsang family cause me not to find the ruler that would suit me?’ Still he was deeply affected by the rebuff, and henceforth relinquished his idea of influencing kings and princes by his counsels. He had made four great experiments—two at Tsé, one at Leang, and one at Loo, and he could not congratulate himself upon the success of any of his attempts. The princes were either ambitious soldiers who would not be thwarted in any projects of rapine and oppression, or timid pedants who were zealous for the observance of the letter of the ancient laws but were utterly ignorant of their spirit. Wearied out, Mencius retired from courts and offices, and devoted the rest of his days to the society of a select company of disciples. He spent twenty years in this retirement, teaching his system and elaborating the reports of the conversations with great men, which form the bulk of his works. We know nothing scarcely

of the circumstances of his death. He attained to the ripe age of eighty-four, the age of Plato, then he passed away.

A superb temple at Tsiu-Hien in Shantung marks his resting-place. Conspicuous in the centre of a hall supported by eight marble pillars, stands the statue which is said by tradition to preserve his lineaments most faithfully. 'The figure,' says a recent traveller,\* 'represents a man of middle stature, stout, and having a ready-for-anything appearance, with a round full face, thin closed lips, and a large flattish nose. The effigy conveys the idea of a man thoughtful, resolute, out-spoken, and experienced in disappointment and sorrow.'

The sovereigns of China have vied with each other in presenting tablets to adorn the shrine of the hero-sage. Kang hi and Kien loong, the two greatest emperors, have distinguished themselves by the splendour of their offerings. In the immediate neighbourhood is a statue of his favourite pupil Yoching, and at a little distance is a tablet in honour of his mother, with an engraving representing her cutting the web to give the memorable lesson in perseverance. His descendants live around the tomb of their illustrious ancestor, and a representative of the seventy-second generation now greets the traveller from the barbaric West, and reminds him, by the peculiar marks of distinction which he bears, that he is visiting a land where learning and virtue are the only passports to the highest honours of the state and the permanent gratitude of the people.

We must not imagine, however, that the extraordinary merits of Mencius were acknowledged immediately after his death. Confucius was no sooner laid in the grave than he was eulogised and extolled by princes who had systematically neglected his counsels while he was alive. Many centuries, however, elapsed before the works of Mencius were admitted amongst the classics. At last, however, the tide turned, posthumous titles of honour were given him by successive emperors, and he was assigned a place in the Temple of Confucius next to the throneless king himself. The Emperor Wantsung gave him the style of 'Duke of the Kingdom of Tsow.' In 1372 the founder of the Ming dynasty was offended by one of the sage's bold sayings against tyrants and degraded him from his post of dignity, but a storm was raised amongst the men of letters that the emperor could not resist. The saying of one of the officials: 'I will die for Mencius and my death will be crowned with glory,' became the

\* Dr. Williamson's 'Journeys in North China.'

watchword of the literary class, and he was reinstated in the place of honour. It seems strange to European ears to hear of a fierce discussion raging, not as to the literary merits but, as to the precise title due to a man dead and buried sixteen hundred years!

Mencius had no Xenophon or Boswell to record the minute traits of character that unconsciously revealed themselves in his conversation and bearing. We know scarcely anything of his peculiarities of voice, manner, and dress. His works remain to us, and nothing more. Some hints, however, as to the practical tone of his mind may be gleaned from the illustrations which he most affects, and from the personal preferences he oftenest avows. Like Socrates he is fond of referring to handicraft trades and the common appliances of life. The toil of the carpenter and the carriage maker, the watchman and the scullion, are all alluded to when it is needful to help a dull listener to comprehend an argument. There is no attempt to maintain an artificial or stilted dignity. If he wants to assert the doctrine that benevolence and righteousness are no unnatural products of man's nature, he quotes a parable about fashioning cups and bowls from willow branches. When treating of the influence of external circumstances on character, he finds a simile in the barley crop which is abundant or scanty as the soil and the seasons are favourable or otherwise. When desiring to express in the strongest way his resolution to hold to righteousness even if it cost him his life, he illustrates his preference by the homely saying that he likes fish and bears' paws, but if he cannot get both he must give up the fish, for bears' paws are not on any account to be surrendered. Speaking of a man who is parleying with evil and retains one or two pet vices, he compares him to a thief who had been addicted to stealing his neighbour's fowls wholesale, and who considers it a great reformation to take only one fowl a month. When judging of a man's greatness or smallness of character, he noted the most trifling acts, and declared that though vanity had induced a man to make some great public and heroic sacrifice, real meanness of disposition was discerned when he ate his dish of rice and swallowed his platter of soup.

But it is time to give the reader an outline of his more prominent political doctrines, and a sketch of his ethical teaching. Mencius devoted himself to two great subjects: the relations of the governor and the governed, and the moral nature of man. The two studies seem naturally adapted to the two periods of his life: the period of publicity and action, and the period of retirement and reflection. The results of

his courtier and official life are found in his speculations on politics, the results of his solitude and introspection are found in his system of ethics. It appears to us that few writers on government have laid down simpler and more accurate foundation principles than this ancient instructor of the Chinese.

His first axiom is this: 'The people are the most important element in a nation.' This sentence kindles even Dr. Legge, the gravest of editors, into a temporary burst of enthusiasm, and he cannot help exclaiming that it is 'a bold and ringing affirmation.' When we consider how weighty are the political consequences which are wrapped up in this axiom, we may very heartily echo the eulogy bestowed upon it. Indeed if we recollect the time at which Mencius wrote, it strikes us as a marvellous utterance. We are apt to think that liberty is Grecian by birth, and to believe that the great doctrines of freedom, the

' thoughts  
That born in rugged commonwealths of old  
Have started from the sceptred sleep of years  
To shake our monarchies,'\*

owe their origin to Hellenic inspiration. Here, however, in an Eastern land which has the reputation of being the cradle of conservatism and tradition we find a sentiment which contains the germs of rational liberty accepted as the first of political truths. Next to the people Mencius places 'the kingdom,'† and then in the third and last place 'the sovereign.' Nor does he fear to carry out his principles to their furthest results. His enthusiasm for the welfare of the people and his high ideal of a sovereign's duties explain and justify his severity to the kings who misuse their opportunities, and he advocates *tyrannicide*! The grounds on which he does so are worth noting as they are identical with those taken by Milton. King Seuen once asked, 'Was it so that Táng banished Kee and that King Woo smote Chow?' Mencius replied, 'It is so in the records.' The king asked, 'May a minister put his sovereign to death?' Our philosopher's

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\* 'The Castilian,' by Sir T. N. Talfourd.

† Several sinologues and some of the best native scholars take this view of the passage, and regard the peculiar expression in the text, 'the spirits of the land and grain,' as a figurative way of speaking of the kingdom, the whole land. The literal translation is unfortunate, as it might induce the English reader to imagine that he has detected a reference to the popular doctrine of Feng Shuey, which was a Taoist importation into China, and did not become popular for fifteen hundred years after the time of Mencius.

reply was : ' He who outrages the benevolence proper to his nature is called a robber ; he who outrages righteousness is called a ruffian. The robber and ruffian we call a mere fellow. I have heard of the cutting off of the fellow Chow, but I have not heard in his case of the putting a sovereign to death.'

Compare with this the well-known passage in the ' Tenure of Kings and Magistrates ' :

' If I write against tyrants, what is that to kings, whom I am far from associating with tyrants ? As much as an honest man differs from a rogue so much I contend that a king differs from a tyrant. Whence it is clear that a tyrant is so far from being a king, that he is always in direct opposition to a king ; and he who peruses the records of history will find that more kings have been subverted by tyrants than by subjects. He, therefore, that would authorise the destruction of tyrants does not authorise the destruction of kings, but of the most inveterate enemies of kings.'

China is the land of schools and schoolmasters, and therefore, as we should expect, the duty of educating the masses is recognised by the sage as an obligation of the first importance. Here, however, Mencius only expands the lesson of his master. We are reminded that when Confucius was passing through Wei in company with Yen Yew, he was struck with the populousness of the state. The disciple said, ' Since the people are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them ? ' Confucius answered, ' Enrich them.' ' And when they have been enriched what more shall be done for them ? ' The reply was, ' Teach them.' Mencius follows out this hint, and only adds to it a few practical counsels. His idea of education is the enforcement of reverence to parents. The crowning evil of bad government is that the people are impoverished, and so prevented from assisting their fathers and mothers. Whether by legislation, or by benevolence, or better by legislation governed by benevolence, the people must be cared for. ' When pulse and grain are as abundant as water and fire, how shall the people be other than virtuous ? ' for Mencius believes devoutly with the modern poet, that

' Being good comes after being fed.'

Mencius became a teacher of ethics because the mischievous character of the various theories of morals that were in vogue in his day forbade him to keep silence. It is clear that a strong and burning conviction of the perilous character of the current opinions drove him into the arena. He directed all the powers of his masculine intellect against the doctrines that were gaining ground in the schools, and, as he believed, corrupting the nation. Three teachers specially aroused his anger, and

these he devoted himself to expose and demolish, sometimes by subtle argumentation, sometimes by keen sarcasm. No disputant ever had a sharper eye to detect a showy fallacy, and no rhetorician an intenser power of scorn, than Mencius. His irony has been compared to that of Pascal, and indeed there are many points of resemblance between the Chinese philosopher and the author of the 'Provincial Letters.' But we cannot conceal the fact that many of his arguments are cogent to Chinese, and Chinese only, and that the overpowering sway which Confucius and the old sages exerted over his mind made him often blindly intolerant of all novelty. In order, however, to form a correct idea of the scope and character of his teaching, we must give some account of the views of his opponents.

The first of these was Yang-Choo. This philosopher, called by Dr. Legge 'about the least erected spirit' who ever professed to reason concerning the life and duties of man, took the most hopeless view of the world and humanity. 'Vanity' of vanities' is the melancholy refrain which makes itself heard through all his utterances. Life, he says, lasts at best but one hundred years. Of this period the weakness of age and infancy and the oblivion of sleep neutralise a large portion. Sorrow and sickness make a considerable part of what is left actually undesirable; indeed he is a happy man who can say that in a life extending to a century he has passed ten really happy years. With those who resolve to live laborious days, and strive to sustain themselves by the ennobling passion for fame, Yang-Choo has no sympathy. For the greatest heroes and sages of antiquity have had to submit to intolerable hardships. Look how wearily and miserably Confucius himself, the sage of sages, went down to the grave. After passing years of toil, he had, it is true, posthumous fame, but what does this profit a man? We should expect that having arrived at this point, Yang-Choo would, like the Cyrenaic Hegesias, counsel his disciples to flee from a world so full of disappointments, and seek refuge in suicide. He sinks even lower still, however, and says that as fair fame or infamy matter little, and as the worst men have often contrived to extract the largest amount of pleasure from life, we had best throw all moral considerations to the winds and live for self, and self alone. It is obvious that the spread of such doctrines as these was to be resisted at all hazards by every highminded teacher, and Mencius addressed himself to the task with his wonted energy. The objection he takes to his opponent's theory is characteristic and peculiar. He sees at once that

this maxim of 'Everyone for himself' interferes with the claims of the sovereign and so is 'against all proportion of 'subjection.' Patriotism and loyalty are duties of the highest importance. The essence of both is self-sacrifice. Yang had said, or been made to say, 'if he could save the empire by a 'single hair, he would not pluck it out.' Such principles were clearly of a nature to disturb most seriously the relations of the monarch and the subject, and must be crushed as pernicious to the national well-being, as well as ruinous to the morals of the individual. Hence Mencius has no language strong enough to denounce the propounder of such theories. 'If the principles of Yang and Mih are not stopped, and the principles of Confucius not set forth, then those perverse speakings will delude the people, and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness. When benevolence and righteousness are stopped up, beasts will be led on to devour men, and men will devour one another.'

But severe as the sage was to the advocate of self-interest, he was, if possible, more indignant with the great preacher of unselfishness. During the century which elapsed between the death of Confucius and the birth of Mencius, the field of philosophy had not been altogether unproductive of original speculation. Though the times, as we have seen, were stormy and disastrous, a few thoughtful men sought escape from the scenes of violence and rapine that surrounded them and strove to breathe in an unfriendly atmosphere the pure air of science. Of these the most important was Mih-Teih or Mih-Tsze. Of his life little is known, and his doctrines can only be gleaned from the works of his disciples. But judging from their testimony we have no hesitation in saying that he was the most original thinker that the Middle Kingdom has produced, and it is perhaps to be regretted that he has not exerted wider influence, for this officer of the State of Sung, who lived six hundred years before Christ, dared to preach to the turbulent chieftains of distracted China the doctrine of Universal Love. He sees king warring with king, ministers caballing against sovereigns, brother drawing the sword against brother, lawless banditti with their hand against every man and every man's hand against them. What is the fount and origin of all these evils? Self. The sage then, to whom men and nations naturally look for counsel, and whose business it is to effect the good government of the empire, is bound to find a remedy for this state of moral and political anarchy. It is found in Universal Love. Once establish this in men's hearts, and all the miseries, usurpations, enmities, and hatreds in the world will



cease. The objector of course admits all this, but affirms that it is too difficult a thing to attain unto. The reply is it is difficult because men have never set about trying to love each other with fervour, but have employed all their energy in giving expression to the last utterance of hate. If kings and princes would give but half the attention they bestow on injuring each other to the kindlier occupation of conferring mutual benefits the difficulty would vanish. The king orders his soldiers to besiege a city. It is a hard task, but they make no objection. So in matters of fashion. If it be once known that a monarch likes to see his courtiers in a particular dress, never mind how unsightly or uncomfortable it is, they force themselves to comply with the wish of their chief. If a ruler sets himself to work to carry out extensive engineering works, to pierce mountains, or to divert the course of rivers, the labourers will execute his designs though they seem at first almost impossible. What Yu, for example, did in altering the character of the physical world, the sage should strive to do in the moral world. He should divert the passions from running into destructive channels, and turn them into those directions which he sees will benefit the human race. He then proceeds to contrast the two principles. The one now prevalent he calls the principle of preference, the other the principle of universality. The man who follows the former will see his friend hungry, but will not feed him; cold, but will not clothe him; sick, but will not nurse him; dead, but will not bury him. The latter will perform all these compassionate actions, for the person of his friend will be to him as his own person. The practical superiority of the pupil of Mih is shown by a very beautiful parable. An officer has been ordered to the field. He puts on his helmet and coat of mail and prepares to go, but he has parents and a wife and child whom he desires to have cared for in his absence. To whom does he entrust them? Surely he would prefer to place them in the charge of one who had been taught to esteem others as himself, than of one who would make a marked difference and in the execution of his trust consider self first. In effect the Mihist would be chosen in preference to another from the nature of his doctrine to fulfil the most sacred obligations and to receive the most solemn charges,—a practical proof of the inherent superiority of those doctrines.

To those who object that this principle may be strong enough to influence those of inferior rank, but is not powerful enough to sway sovereigns and to benefit nations at large, Mih addresses another parable similar to the first. The virtue

which works so much good to the private individual has a far wider scope. Suppose one of two kings holding the doctrine of preferences, and the other the doctrine of universality. The first says life is very short. It may be compared to the fleet steed rushing past in the race. How can I attempt in such a brief space of time to alleviate the suffering there is in the world? And so he sees the people hungry, and does not feed them; cold and does not clothe them; sick and does not nurse them; dead and does not bury them. But the second makes his people the first consideration, and thinks of himself only after them. I apprehend, says Mih, that if a year of pestilence or famine came, every reasonable man would prefer the sway of the prince holding my opinion to the sway of him who held the popular doctrine. They may condemn the principle, but in the time of need they would prefer to live under the sceptre of him who held it. When it is urged that however great and beneficial it may be the spread of this doctrine is hopeless, and that one might as well try to move a mountain—to take up the Tae and leap with it over the Ho—the answer is that all things are possible to the ruler who is resolved to make his subjects do as he wishes, and that greater works than this diffusion of the doctrine of Universal Love have been wrought by the ancient sages and the six kings.

This is a brief summary of Mih's teaching. It may be romantic, but it is the romance of a noble and generous mind, and Mencius would have stood higher in the opinion of the West if he had recognised the nobility and generosity of the philanthropic dream. Had he devoted all his energies to the exposure of its fallacies and the exhibition of the unpractical character of its root idea, he would have been acting fairly, but he surely transgressed all just limits when he classed Mih's doctrine with those of Yang-Choo, and said that they led directly to a state of anarchy. Nor is his great argument against Mih by any means so overpowering as it is popularly supposed to be, for it is an argument the special cogency of which could only be felt in China. 'Mih's principle is to love all equally, which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father.' As the doctrine of Yang would prevent a man from performing his duty to his king, so the doctrine of Mih would prevent a man from performing his duty to his parent. Against the one, as we have seen, Mencius invoked the national spirit of patriotic loyalty, against the other he appealed to that instinct of filial love which, since the days of Confucius, had been the holiest and deepest feeling in the Chinese breast.

It is not difficult to explain the peculiar rancour of Mencius

against the official of Sung, for Mih had dared to question the absolute wisdom of Confucius himself, and had written two volumes fearlessly exposing the errors of the Confucian system. He singles out three points as peculiarly open to objection:— 1st. He assails the pernicious fatalism which pervades the ancient Chinese books, and the Confucian system as well, on the obvious ground that if men are perpetually saying that riches and poverty and life and death all depend on the will of Heaven, they will soon cease to be diligent and industrious, believing that all personal exertion is useless. 2ndly. He proceeds to deal a blow at one of the most cherished doctrines of the school, viz., its reverence for antiquity. This was a heinous and unpardonable offence. Had Mih been a model of orthodoxy in all other respects, a suggestion so revolutionary as this would never have been forgiven or forgotten. The literati revolted with horror from the propounder of the atrocious sentiment that the ancients were all moderns in their turn, and they should not therefore be looked to as patterns merely because they preceded us in order of time. The whole fabric of Chinese politics and ethics was attacked by this doctrine. The throne was subverted, the altar profaned, the hearth violated. If they were not to look back for unerring counsel to Yaou and Shun, whither were they to go? Confucius himself had never ventured to propound doctrines unsanctified by the approval of the sages. Surely if *he* had submitted himself to antiquity and become the pupil of the venerable past, it became all lesser men to acquiesce and keep silence. And Mih was not content with trying to undermine the reverence for the dead sages. He sought to lessen the distance between the living subject and his sovereign. There was a favourite saying on the lips of Confucianists, ‘A bell does not ring unless it is struck.’ This being interpreted was understood to mean that no one should advise his prince on affairs of state unless he were asked. Mih saw in this maxim an excuse for all the servility and obsequiousness that had disgraced the counsellors of kings for centuries. ‘If a man,’ said he, ‘can confer any benefit on his superiors he should not hesitate to do so without waiting until an appeal is made to him. That I am able to benefit another is a sufficient reason for my undertaking to do so.’ There is a frankness about this teaching which it is very refreshing to find, and as we read it we cannot help remembering the conduct of Mencius with regard to the invasion of Yen; seeing by its light the moral flaw in the Confucian proverb, we are compelled to admit that if in advising King Seuen the sage had acted in the independent spirit of Mih he would have left a name free from the darkest stain which now attaches to it.

The third fault found by the Chinese Bentham with the system of the Master was calculated to make him eminently unpopular. He declared that funeral ceremonies were made far too long and tedious, and that an importance wholly disproportionate was attached to the observances of mourners. Here he touched the Confucianist on his most sensitive place. Religion in a true sense of the word he had none, but the substitute for it which his system inculcated was connected entirely with the rites of burial. To this day the free life of a Chinaman is stifled by the gripe of dead hands. A living kinsman is cared for at the expense of a little rice, fish, or millet, but the moment he is laid in the grave he becomes a source of cost and inconvenience that seems incredible. The nearest relative has to sleep by the coffin as a companion to the spirit of the dead; for fifty or sometimes a hundred days he has to bring water to the dead man for him to wash with, and food at mid-day and evening for him to eat. The friends of the deceased are laid under contribution to provide sacrificial offerings. The women of the family swathed in thick sackcloth have often to make long journeys under a burning sun to the tomb weeping and wailing, and for two years they wear the trappings of woe. Moreover civil disabilities are added to personal discomforts. The scholar who has been preparing for the Examination Hall is forbidden to enter it for three years under heavy penalties, and thus the most important step in his literary career is vexatiously delayed; and the government official, be he the Viceroy of a province or the Tao-tai of the smallest town, is compelled, if his parent dies, to retire from office, to seek his native province, and in nine cases out of ten to forfeit his chances of preferment for ever. Many of these customs have grown up since the time we refer to, but there were doubtless sufficient instances at that early date of the practical mischief which the 'obsequious sorrow' commanded by Confucius was doing to justify the protest of Mih against the tyranny of the undertaker!

Now if Mencius valued one of his Master's commands more than another it was the command which enjoined solemn and costly funeral rites. He had made a protest to this effect when he buried his mother, and on all occasions he advocated adherence to the old forms. As we have seen, there were vital points of difference between the two philosophers, but the attack on Mih was probably exasperated by the attempt to change the burial ritual, for in all ages men have fought with keener temper about questions of ceremonial than about matters of principle.

The third sage whose doctrines excited the opposition of Mencius was his contemporary Kaou. He denied that there was any essential distinction between virtue and vice: 'Life,' he said, 'is what is to be understood by Nature.' This is just one of those fallacies which Mencius loved to combat. He is seen at his best when exposing a showy theory and wielding that trenchant weapon in strong hands, the *reductio ad absurdum*. In dealing with this opponent he does not appeal to the sentiments of patriotism or loyalty, but goes to work in the plainest way, inducing Kaou to make his meaning plain by homely illustrations, and then 'capping' these similes by others homelier still. Kaou avers you can make man's nature incline to virtue or vice as you can turn a stream of water in any direction. Mencius replies that notwithstanding water has a tendency to flow downwards, and that when you force it up a hill you are thwarting its tendency; so when you lead a man into vicious courses you are thwarting his natural tendency, which is towards virtue.

We have now arrived at the distinctive tenets of the sage, and having reached this point we need not any longer present him carrying war into the countries of opponents. The time is come to show him as a constructor, and to endeavour to ascertain the distinguishing features of his own system.

1. 'The Book of Three Characters,' a sort of children's catechism in verse, commences with the sentence '*At man's beginning his nature is radically good.*' This fundamental doctrine lies at the root of all Chinese philosophy, and it is the basis of the teaching of Mencius. 'If,' he says, 'men do what 'is not good, the blame cannot be imputed to their natural powers. The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving. The feeling of commiseration implies the principle of benevolence; that of shame and dislike, the principle of righteousness; that of reverence and respect, the principle of propriety; and that of approving and disapproving, the principle of knowledge. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them.' To illustrate this he avers that all men are affected by the sufferings of others. If we see a child about to fall into a well we naturally run to its rescue; and we do this without any second motive. We do not do it to gain the favour of the child's parents, or because it would give us a bad name to have passed by on the other side. Again, in one of his dialogues with King Seuen, he reminds the monarch that

he had been so struck with the misery of an ox being led to the slaughter that he had ordered it to be spared. The kindly impulse that was stirred by the suffering of a brute beast had only to be developed and extended to grow at last into a beneficent philanthropy that would benefit the world. It is impossible to read these passages without noticing that Mencius had anticipated the doctrines of Hutcheson and Hume. The interest in the well-being of others, which the latter philosopher called sympathy and benevolence, could not be shown more forcibly in operation than it is in these two illustrations of the Chinese sage.

2. In the second doctrine which he laid down he agreed with Plato and Butler, that man is formed for virtue, as his nature is a constitution where the higher principles serve the lower. He says:—

‘There is no part of himself which a man does not love; and, as he loves all, so he must nourish all. There is not an inch of skin which he will not nourish. For examining whether his way of nourishing be good or not, what other rule is there but this, that he determine by reflecting on himself where it should be applied. Some parts of the body are noble and some ignoble; some great and some small. The great must not be injured for the small, nor the noble for the ignoble. He who nourishes the little belonging to him is a little man, and he who nourishes the great is a great man.’

3. Hitherto there has been little difficulty in understanding the meaning of the sage, but unfortunately much obscurity hangs over one of his most remarkable doctrines. We refer to that of the principle which Dr. Legge translates the ‘Passion-nature,’ and Stanislaus Julien, ‘*vitalis spiritus*.’ Because he nourished this principle, Mencius declared himself to be greater than other philosophers, for it was the mate and assistant of righteousness and reason, and without it man was in a state of starvation. It is clear that an uncertainty on this subject is an uncertainty on a point of immense importance; but as the last\* Chinese Dictionary gives no fewer than

\* ‘The Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language arranged according to the Wu-fang, Yuen Yin, with the Pronunciation of the Characters as heard in Peking, Amoy, and Shanghai. By Dr. S. Wells Williams, United States Chargé d’Affaires at Peking, Author of the “Middle Kingdom.” Shanghai, 1872.’ We congratulate Dr. Williams on having been enabled to bring to a conclusion this laborious task, a work which has been ‘the life of his life.’ Its publication is an era in the study of Chinese. Dr. Williams calls the disputed term *k’e* ‘a convenient and mobile term in Chinese philosophy for explaining and denoting whatever is supposed to be source or primary agent in producing and modifying motion as if it was animated air.’

twenty meanings to the character Mencius employs to express his meaning, the reader will perceive that some difficulty attends the investigation. Passion-nature is too subjective a term to represent the idea, and conscience conveys to us the notion of a moral principle which does not enter into the conception of Mencius. All we can do is to study the definition and the attributes given to it, and as we do so, though the matter is far from clear, we cannot help inferring that the sage felt the immortality stirring within him—the theophany which God has left in the souls of all those for whom He has done so much more than they can know. It is certainly safe to say that much of this existing confusion has arisen from the commentators, who have expanded a moral principle into an *ἀρχή* of the physical universe; for we must recollect that in China, philosophy, like everything else, proceeded in a contrary direction to that which it took in the West. Philosophy began in Greece with physics, then Socrates taught ethics. In China, Confucius and Mencius began with ethics, and Choo-futsz—until within the last hundred and fifty years the oracle of the orthodox—employed the terms that belonged originally to moral science to the principles which he supposed to guide the universe. The word translated passion-nature has served as a menstruum, in which the Chinese have tried to dissolve every kind of agent in physics and morals. The subject is confessedly obscure; but the more closely we familiarise ourselves with the character of Mencius' mind, we are assured that he would not have approved of the employment of one of his most carefully chosen ethical terms indiscriminately for the spirit of the individual man and the spirit of the universe, and we venture to believe that had either of the great sages read the speculations of the schoolmen of the Sung dynasty, they would have said, as Aristotle did of Anaxagoras and Thales: *Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Θάλην καὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους σοφοὺς μὲν φρονίμους δ' οὐ φησὶν εἶναι*, for they would have regarded their knowledge as *ἄχρηστον ὅτι οὐ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀγαθὰ ζητοῦσιν*.

Before concluding this imperfect summary, we are led to ask, what has been the effect of the teaching of Mencius on the opinions and conduct of the Chinese? It is the general belief that many of the faults of the Chinaman of the present day are to be traced to the lessons of the second of the sages. We are reminded that he knew nothing about other nations. China was 'the Central Land'—'All under Heaven' to him. The outside world, if it were inhabited at all, a question which he probably scarcely cared to ask, was inhabited by a race of beings immeasurably inferior to the Chinese. Though in

many of his nobler characteristics he resembled the magnanimous man of Aristotle; for was he not towards men in high station and prosperity lofty, towards men of middle station moderate, and was he ever overbearing to the lowly? Was he not open in his hatreds and his loves; and did he not care more for reality than for appearances? Still, in spite of these superb virtues, he is convicted of a haughty disregard for men of other races. He has embodied in one memorable sentence his opinions concerning those who were without:—‘I have heard,’ said he, ‘of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians. I have heard of birds leaving dark valleys to remove to lofty trees, but I have not heard of their descending from lofty trees to enter into dark valleys.’ This haughty independent tone has been assumed by the rulers of the nation ever since his day. China has been conquered and overrun, but as the philosophy of the country has in turn taken captive its invaders, the lessons of humility and toleration have never yet been learned. The poorest Chinese graduate feels before the Tartar general as the *Græculus esuriens* felt in the presence of the Roman citizen, who, however strong he might be by his command of material forces, was a very boor without the instruction his captive had it in his power to bestow. And even now, though Western energy has forced a way to the presence of the Lord of the Dragon Throne, and though Western engineers are directing every arsenal, and Western steamers plying on all the great rivers, the attitude of the Chinaman is the attitude of Mencius, and he still believes that he alone can teach that which is worth learning. In proud defiance of the teachable spirit of modern science, he regards himself as the monopolist of all philosophical and political truth. Granting, however, that the sage has flattered the conceit of the most conceited of nations, we are disposed nevertheless to think that many of his political maxims have exercised a beneficial and fructifying influence on the character and institutions of his countrymen. The best proof of the excellent tendency of his political doctrines is found in the fact that they have always been held in disfavour by tyrannical and aggressive sovereigns, and have been esteemed, alike by sages and people, as the Magna Charta and Bill of Rights of the Black-haired race. It is not easy to overestimate the value of the assertion that the people are the most important element in a nation, or to reckon too highly the boldness of the teacher who vindicated in an Eastern land, and amidst all the depressing influence of despotism, the eternal right of man



to rise against his oppressor. We believe that it is because Mencius sowed these seeds of truth two thousand years ago that China has preserved, amidst countless changes and revolutions, certain forms and safeguards of liberty. Because the sage never flattered in asserting the prerogative of wisdom to lecture and to rebuke power, we find the Board of Censors making its voice heard to this day when injustice and violence are detected; and because he affirmed so distinctly that Heaven sees according as the people see, and hears according as the people hear, we have never had the idea of a Divine Right to the sovereignty by birth intruding for any length of time into the constitution. That his ethics have not been so productive of good as his politics we are free to confess, but in the field of moral speculation he exhibited extraordinary originality and vigour of understanding. His English translator and editor says with truth that he need not hide a diminished head before any of his Western contemporaries, though there are numbered amongst them Aristotle, Plato, Zeno, Epicurus, and Demosthenes; and the new Calendar of Saints' Days which the Religion of Humanity would introduce, would assuredly contain an imperfect list of the world's intellectual benefactors if it omitted the venerable name of *MENCIUS*.

The reader who, in glancing over these pages, has gathered a few of the leading propositions of the Eastern sage, may almost suspect us of the design to satirise under this disguise the political and ethical systems of modern Europe, and to present to him the Hegelism, Benthamism, and Positivism of the nineteenth century in a Chinese masquerade. But this is only a fresh proof that there is nothing new under the sun. These theories of morals and philosophy have been taught in China for more than 2,000 years. They still retain the authority of classics in the schools of the Flowery Land; and the intellectual and moral condition of that most remarkable people is precisely that which we should have anticipated in a community governed by these principles of philosophy.

- ART. IV.—1. *Children of the State: the Training of Juvenile Paupers.* By FLORENCE HILL. London: 1868.
2. *Report of Mrs. Nassau Senior as to the Effect on Girls of the System of Education at Pauper Schools.* Third Annual Report of the Local Government Board. London: 1874.
3. *Copy of Observations on the Report of Mrs. Senior to the Local Government Board as to the Effect on Girls of the System of Education at Pauper Schools.* By EDWARD CARLETON TUFNELL, Esq., late Inspector of Poor Law Schools in the Metropolitan District. Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated February 8, 1875.
4. *Copy of a Letter addressed to the President of the Local Government Board by Mrs. Nassau Senior, lately an Inspector of the Board; being A Reply to the Observations of Mr. Tufnell, also a former Inspector, upon her Report upon Pauper Schools.*

NO one whom business or curiosity has ever led to visit any of the large Metropolitan District Schools for pauper children can have failed to be impressed by the sight. The picture presented by several hundred children drilled into the most perfect order, dressed all alike in a simple neat costume, obeying the word of command with military precision, has always a striking effect on the beholder. Then, the spacious building, the extent of the grounds, the neatness and order reigning everywhere, the completeness of the appliances, all tend to enhance the effect, and to favour the belief that the problem of pauper education has here been successfully solved. Everything seems as delightful as heart could wish. ‘The State spares no expense for its children,’ the visitor-exclaims; ‘with these advantages, how well they must turn out.’ And if he hear them in class, he will be still more struck with the admirable results of their training; he will be astonished at the knowledge they show, answering questions which he would be puzzled to answer. No wonder, then, if he comes away charmed with the system, and in the full belief that things ‘are what they seem.’

But however much we may admire the order and discipline which have been evolved out of such discordant elements as are here brought together, we must on reflection feel grave doubts whether all this elaborate machinery be really suited to the needs for which it is intended; whether, in effect, the artificial routine incidental to a great school be a suitable prepara-

tion for the future life of children who from the age of sixteen must stand alone in the world ; and whether children brought up under such a system—more especially girls—may be reasonably expected to make their own way, and to gain an honest and independent livelihood. And as this is the end which it is now universally recognised that the State is bound to aim at for the children committed to its care, it is of the greatest importance that we should not rest content with any system which cannot be shown to fulfil these conditions. The question of expense must also be considered : there can be no doubt that District Schools are costly ; but we believe that the system which is the most efficacious in training pauper children to become useful members of the community, and so cutting off the ‘entail of pauperism,’ will, however expensive at first, in the long run be found the cheapest. We should not therefore be disposed to quarrel with the expense of these great district schools, if it could be proved that the results were commensurate with their cost. But if it should be shown—paradoxical and unlikely as this would beforehand seem to be—that they are not only a costly but an inefficient system of education, as far at any rate as the girls are concerned, it will be difficult to resist the conclusion that District Schools are not the perfect solution of the problem of pauper education which they have so fondly been supposed to be.

Mr. Stansfeld, when President of the Local Government Board, had misgivings as to the effect of this system of education in large schools on girls ; and thinking it right to have a woman’s opinion in what is peculiarly a woman’s province, female education, he determined on the novel step of appointing a Lady Inspector, choosing Mrs. Nassau Senior for the post. Mrs. Nassau Senior has amply vindicated the wisdom of the appointment. The Report in which she has embodied the result of her inquiries, and which is printed in the Appendix to the Local Government Board’s Annual Report for 1873–74, is an admirable paper, concise in style, lucid in arrangement, full of hearty sympathy both with the children and the hard-worked officials, yet free from all rhetorical artifice, and brimful of suggestions. Indeed, so closely packed are the thoughts and the suggestions that it is not until we have read it two or three times that we fully realise the amount of matter it contains. Upon this Report, Mr. Tufnell, who was for upwards of thirty years one of the inspectors of Poor Law Schools, and who has been the great upholder and defender of the system of District Schools, has made his ‘Observations,’ denouncing, in

no measured terms, both Mrs. Senior's method and her conclusions. Her 'Reply' to his strictures is before us, as is also that of Miss Smedley, one of the ladies who assisted Mrs. Senior in her investigations, and who has collected together into one volume, entitled '*Boarding-out and District Schools*,' Mrs. Senior's and the chief other reports on the subject contained in the Local Government Board's Blue Book for 1874.

But before we proceed any further, it may be well first to get a general notion of the aspect of affairs. According to the last Census, there were in England and Wales alone more than 48,000 children on our hands in the different pauper schools. About one-half of these, roughly speaking, were orphans and permanently-deserted children to whom the State stands *in loco parentis*, and whom it has to educate and provide for up to the age of sixteen. The other half may be termed 'casuals,' many of whom pass in and out of the schools with their parents many times in the course of the year, and towards whom, considering that over their ingoing and their outgoing it has no control, the State cannot be regarded as having by any means the same duties as it owes to the children who are permanently in the schools, and who form the real '*children of the State*.' There are three kinds of pauper schools: The old *Workhouse School*, which has been abolished in the Metropolis and in many of the large unions throughout the country, and which was a building forming part of, or attached to, the workhouse itself; the *Separate School*, a school detached from the workhouse, and to which the children from one union only are sent; and the *District School*, which is a separate school on a larger scale, intended for the reception of the children from several unions.

In all three kinds of school we find the children classified as boys, girls, and infants. We thus have one set of children being trained, often from very tender years, in a school which is their home, seeing hardly anything of the outer world, brought into daily contact with the children of the most abandoned parents; and many of these latter children frequently going away, to unlearn each time the little they have learnt during their sojourn in the school, and coming back more and more '*versed in sin*.' Difficult as the task must be of bringing up the permanent children satisfactorily, it must of necessity be doubled by the perpetual filtering through the schools of the '*casuals*.' And bad as the effect of this running stream of foulness must be in the small schools, where the staff is large enough to admit of thorough supervision, it must be still

worse in the big schools where such effective supervision cannot be maintained. True it is, no doubt, that outward decency and order reign in these establishments; that the casuals are rapidly 'awed' into proper behaviour, and into not using bad language at inappropriate moments. But too often there is reason to fear that a seething mass of iniquity exists under this crust which no inspector or superficial observer is likely even to suspect. A striking illustration of the deceptiveness of outward appearances is furnished by the case of the Eton Workhouse School, cited by Miss Hill in her admirable book, 'The Children of the State,' and by Colonel Grant, R.E., in a pamphlet on the 'Advantages of the Boarding-out System.' 'Seven years ago,' the latter says, writing in 1869, 'the Poor Law and Diocesan Inspectors alike reported most favourably of the Eton Workhouse School, which 'was to all appearance admirably conducted. Some chance circumstance, however, revealed most unexpectedly such an amount of evil existing beneath this apparently satisfactory surface as to cause the Guardians to break up the school at once; and an investigation they instituted into the fate of the children sent thence between January 1858 and December 1861 revealed the dismal fact that 40 per cent. had turned out ill!' This, however, was a workhouse school and not a district school at all.

One of the chief arguments employed in favour of the separation of pauper schools from the workhouse buildings was the contamination of the minds of the young produced by intermixture with the adult inmates. This point has been repeatedly urged by Mr. Tufnell. 'It is perfectly well known to all who have had experience in Poor Law matters,' he says in his evidence before the Poor Law Commissioners in 1841, 'that a very large proportion of the adult inmates are persons of the worst character, the very refuse of the population. . . . That this class, morally infected as it is, should be kept separate from the children is of course of primary importance; and in every union workhouse means are taken to provide for this end, by building separate wards and yards for each class. I am confident, however, that architectural arrangements can never effectually secure perfect classification in a workhouse. Conversation, sometimes of the obscenest description, is carried on over walls and through windows. . . . The atmosphere of a workhouse is tainted with vice; no one who regards the future happiness of the children would ever wish them to be educated within its precincts.' In so far as the Separate and District

schools cut off this source of evil, they were a decided step in advance of the old Workhouse schools. But strangely enough, Mr. Tufnell and other official advocates of the separation of children from adults cannot go a step further in the same direction and advocate the separation of the permanent from the casual children. They cannot see that contact with children coming from the outside world, ever with fresh lessons of deceitfulness and more acquainted with vice, must have almost as pernicious an effect as contact with the adults in the workhouse. On the contrary, they steadily resist any suggestion for separating the two classes of children, opposing it as resolutely as their opponents, the defenders of the Workhouse schools, opposed the taking of the children away from the workhouse.

This is the more remarkable because Dr. Kay (afterwards Sir James Kay Shuttleworth), to whose recommendations, when Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, we mainly owe the establishment of the system of District Schools, distinctly contemplated and proposed such a division as we have indicated. In his Report, in 1838, on the Training of Pauper Children, he speaks of the proposed schools as '*district orphan schools*,' including under the term '*orphan*' all permanently deserted children. He clearly saw that our responsibilities are different towards the two different classes of children—to those who look to us for their whole education and welfare, and to those who look to us only for a transient shelter. He was well aware that so long as the latter could come and go, free as the wind, our responsibilities towards them could not be so great, because our power over them was not so great; and power and responsibility go together. But he does not appear to have distinctly made clear to his own mind what he would do with the '*casual*' children, and he felt the extreme difficulty of sifting the tares from the wheat; this, coupled with the fact that it was much easier to send the whole of the children to the new schools, led to so much of the proposal not being carried out. Moreover, evils cannot be cured all at once. We have often to remove one, before we can discover another underneath, which has existed there all the while, but of whose previous existence we had no suspicion. So with this question. It was not until the contaminating influence of the adult paupers had been removed that the contaminating influence of the casual children could be distinctly seen.

But it is curious how often men who show a clear enough perception of the evils resulting from one state of things are blind to those resulting from an allied but slightly different

state of things. Thus, many of the Poor Law inspectors who are accustomed to inveigh against the evil, which has now to a great extent been removed, are blind to the evil which its removal has disclosed. We find both Mr. Browne and Mr. Tufnell resisting the proposal to board-out orphans and deserted children on the ground that this is 'applying a remedy where there is no disease, and leaving the casuals *who are morally tainted* in a worse plight than before, because it prevents them from associating in school with a better class.' He still evidently refuses to admit that 'morally tainted' children, however large a proportion they may form of the whole number, act as a pernicious leaven upon the mass. He assumes that the influence for good must always be stronger than the influence for evil, and shuts his eyes to facts that tell against him. We are asked to leave the 'permanents' and 'casuals' together in order that the latter may derive benefit from the companionship of the former. And yet, almost in the same breath, it is admitted that the 'inveterate abuse of summering children, as it may be called [that is 'taking them in and out with their parents], is an obstacle to the education of many, to the formation of their principles, moral and religious, and to their welfare in every way.' So that those whom we are bound to educate are to be jeopardized for the sake of a possible good to those whom it is confessedly out of our power to educate! No parent would place his son, still less his daughter, at a school where he knew they would be likely to find 'morally tainted' companions; or would listen to the argument that it was bad for the 'morally tainted' to be excluded from associating with a better class. And the State in its relation of parent is bound not to act differently from any ordinary parent, who cares for the well-being of his children.

The true reason of this opposition to the principle of separation is the difficulty of dealing with the casual children by themselves, when the orphans, who are the flower of the schools, have been removed. Doubtless the question has its difficulties; but there is no reason to imagine they are insuperable. In the first place, it is a mistake to suppose that all the permanent children would or could be removed. Many of those who are classed as 'casuals' are not vagrant. Some of them are the children of sick persons, others of widows who are unable to support them; and although theoretically they are liable to removal at any time, practically they become permanent inmates of the schools. We have therefore in strictness three instead of two classes of children: the 'permanents' proper,

the 'casuals' who become 'permanents,' and the 'casuals' proper; so that the removal of the orphans, or of the orphans and deserted, would not leave the school the bare residuum of floating population which has been described to be 'a Hell upon earth.' Mrs. Senior, moreover, has very wisely suggested that these children, who are most of them accustomed to a roving life, should be trained differently: that they should have more out-of-door\* occupation and less book-work, as confinement to the house must have a bad effect on those unaccustomed to it, and that they should always be dealt with in small numbers; in fact that the schools for the casuals should be more on the Reformatory system.

Dr. Kay's original intentions with regard to District Schools have been departed from in one point, viz., in making these establishments much larger than he had contemplated or desired. We shall now show that they have been equally departed from in others. We may premise that his two main reasons for urging the erection of District Schools were: 1st. that as no child is a pauper through its own fault, it ought not to be degraded by associating with paupers; and 2nd. that the number of orphans and deserted in the workhouses of the various unions would not be sufficiently large to warrant the expense of a separate school for each union, if suitable masters and mistresses were to be provided, and that by establishing county or district schools to which the children from several unions might be sent, first-rate schooling and industrial training might be obtained at the same cost for which only inefficient teaching would be obtained by the individual unions. His idea was that the training in these schools should be made to imitate as closely as possible the natural training of a labourer's child under his father's roof, combined with intellectual instruction and moral discipline; whilst as regards the girls, with whom in this article we are more immediately concerned, he says: '*The whole of the domestic arrangements should be made subservient to the training of the girls in all the arts of household service. . . .* The oldest girls should be employed in rotation in the kitchen, under the superintendence of the schoolmistress, in learning to cook such food as the wages of a labourer could ordinarily supply, in such a way as to ensure the most economical management of his means. The whole of the other duties of the kitchen and scullery should likewise be performed by the girls. . . . The older girls may be employed, not to supersede, but to aid, the proper nurses in attendance on the sick. . . . From time to time they might be occupied in weeding and hoeing in the



‘garden as the means of instructing them in the out-door ‘employments of females in rural districts,’ and so on.

Now it is clear that these intentions have not been carried out. The training of a District School is as unlike as possible to that of a labourer’s child under his father’s roof; and the domestic arrangements, far from being made subservient to the training of the girls in the arts of household service, are made as perfect as possible. Moreover, instead of the chief attention being concentrated on the industrial training, it is concentrated on the intellectual training. But bearing in mind that, with the exception of a few who become pupil-teachers, the girls brought up at pauper schools are nearly all destined for domestic service, it is patent that industrial training ought to take the first place. It may be very well to know the names of all the seas in Europe and the heights of all the mountains, as we have been assured that many of the girls in the Metropolitan District Schools do; but it is of more importance that they should, say, know how to mend their own stockings, which we have been credibly informed they often do not.

Whether the original intentions have been overlooked, or whether as a matter of fact they are incompatible with the working of very large schools, in either case the fact remains the same. We are inclined, however, to think that both reasons have operated, and that the original views have gradually been lost sight of in the difficulty of carrying them out. And if it is difficult to give sound industrial training in schools where the numbers do not exceed four or five hundred (the number we gather to have been contemplated by Dr. Kay as a maximum), no one can doubt that the difficulty must be immensely increased when the numbers rise to seven, eight, or even twelve and sixteen hundred, as they do in the Metropolitan District Schools!

But be it four hundred or sixteen hundred—wide as is the difference—we doubt whether Dr. Kay, if he were writing his report now, would not be as far from recommending the one as the other. At that time the large school seemed the only way to effect the object he had in view, namely, the complete depauperisation of the children by cutting them off from the adult paupers, combined with a thoroughly good education at relatively small cost. Experience had not then shown the evils attendant on large boarding schools; nor had the necessity for ‘individualisation’ in educating the young been realised. It is only very slowly that this has been dawning on the country. Now, however, the weight of authority is gradually turning

the opposite scale. Here and there a Poor Law inspector or a chaplain jealous for the reputation of his school may stand up to defend the system as a system; but we may safely say that all who have impartially studied the subject have come to an opposite conclusion.

We must always recollect that to the orphan and deserted children whom the State has to provide for, the workhouse school is too often a *home* from earliest infancy. It is not only their school, it is their world. In it they have to acquire not only their *schooling*, but their *education*; that is, the general development of their moral and intellectual faculties. But the main part of our education—the education of our senses and feelings—is almost inseparably connected with family life; self-reliance, the spirit of mutual helpfulness, and a knowledge of the ordinary objects of life cannot be implanted in a child immured from its tenderest years between four walls, passing its days in one monotonous round year after year, and forming one amongst several hundreds massed together—a little wheel in a vast machine, instead of a little individual being. It may be possible to give a child really adequate training at a large school, if he be there only for a few short years, having had the previous education of a home, however bad that home may have been; but this is impossible with a child born and bred in a large pauper school, whether workhouse, separate, or district; and many even of the Poor Law inspectors recognise this.

It was a Poor Law inspector, the late Mr. Joseph Fletcher, who more than twenty years ago called public attention to the Farm School system of the Continent, giving, in a paper which he read before the Statistical Society, the history of these establishments in Belgium, France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, and expressing his surprise that the Continental experience of these schools should not have led us to adopt a different system to that of ‘throwing our pauper children together in vast masses, each with its palace of brick or stone, and its comparatively mechanical system.’ It is clear that he was not of Mr. Tufnell’s opinion that ‘nothing can equal or even approach the success of the plan of uniting the children in large schools on the district system.’

Nor is another very well-known inspector, Mr. Andrew Doyle, of that opinion. For in a letter, addressed officially to Mr. Stansfeld, but intended for the chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Swansea Union, he strongly recommends the adoption of the Farm School system for the separate school

then (May 1873) in contemplation at Merthyr Tydvil, and for the district school of Glamorganshire. He admits that the separate schools at Caerlcön and Ely, to which the Guardians of the Newport and Cardiff unions had removed their children, deserved the high praise they had elicited from all who had visited and examined them. ‘Admirable, however,’ he says, ‘as are the separate schools at Caerlcön and Ely, it can hardly be doubted that a great improvement would be effected in the system upon which such schools were organised, if instead of being associated in large numbers, the children could be separated into families; if, for the one huge building in which several hundred children are massed together, you could substitute a village in which they might be distributed in cottage homes, leading, as nearly as may be, the lives of the best class of cottagers’ children.’ It is because it is a return to nature—the organisation being on the basis of the habits of domestic life—that the Continental system, of which Pestalozzi may be regarded as the originator, and of which Mettray, Hamburg, and Düsseldorf are brilliant examples, has been unequivocally successful. The children are divided into groups or families of boys and girls together, generally speaking, with a superintendent at the head of each family, who discharges the duties of father, and whose wife assists in the housekeeping, and in the supervision and industrial training of the girls. A director presides over the whole, and watches over the general interests. Each family lives in a separate cottage; the chapel, the school, the workshops, and the playground being alone common to the whole number, and serving as a bond of association among the different families. The classification into families possesses numerous advantages. As Mr. Fletcher remarked: ‘It facilitates the study of character, and the peculiar treatment, so to speak, of each moral peculiarity; it lightens the weight of surveillance and renders it more efficacious; it binds the members of the family tighter together by fraternal ties; it permits the separation of those who mutually annoy, and the re-union of those who are agreeable to each other, and stimulates emulation.’

At Mettray, which is intended for children of the criminal classes, the sexes are not mixed, and the families are very large, numbering as many as 40; the late M. Demetz, the founder of the colony, though preferring smaller numbers, having been afraid of overweighting the establishment with officials. The superintendent or ‘father’ has two assistants or ‘eldest sons,’ who are elected by the children themselves, and with the best

results—the election made by the children being stated to be ‘as true to the interests of the colony as the appointments to the higher offices that depend upon the care and judgment of M. Demetz himself.’ In the most successful of the Swiss and German schools, the family is restricted to six boys and six girls, a point which is strongly insisted upon by Mr. George Bunsen, of the *Rauhe Haus*, Hamburg, as all increase in the numbers tends to make it more difficult to maintain a genuine domestic feeling, and allow ‘the work of individual education to progress with that of collective education.’ Mr. Doyle recommends for England that the families should consist of eight children of tender age, with four more advanced to assist in the management of them, as elder brothers or sisters, and that the families should be placed under the care, not of highly-salaried officials, but of persons of good character and domestic habits, whose services might be obtained for a moderate remuneration. He does not conceal, however, that difficulty may be experienced in finding suitable persons for the purpose, and that on the power of surmounting this difficulty the success of the scheme greatly depends. By way of demonstrating the difficulty, he cites the experience of the Rev. Sydney Turner in regard to the Reformatory at Red Hill. This experience incidentally illustrates so strikingly the superiority of the ‘family’ over the ‘collective’ system, that we cannot refrain from reproducing it here. After mentioning that they had commenced with an imitation of the family system of the Continent, but had been obliged to depart from it in consequence of the difficulty of finding masters who could work it satisfactorily, Mr. Turner says, ‘But we have been driven from that collective system and compelled to resort to the family system again, and to cope with all the difficulties that we may meet with in finding masters by the evidently unfavourable results which the collective system began to yield.’ He observed, he says, ‘a deterioration of the moral improvement in the boys generally. They were more mechanical, and their voluntary action and moral conduct were decidedly inferior to what they had been. Petty dishonesty, evasion, and acts of cunning became common among them, and the boys themselves became restless, and seemed to lose the affection they used to have, and a great many more endeavoured to escape.’

It is probable that some of the difficulty of finding suitable superintendents may have arisen from too high an educational standard having been adopted; that the managers of the institution looked more for tutors than for ‘fathers;’ and that if

Mr. Frederic Hill's suggestion (in his evidence before the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children) were followed, and the officials selected were themselves working men, a sufficient number of desirable persons would be at once forthcoming. Mr. Hill thought it important that they should be working men, in order that they might not be too refined to associate freely with the children, to work with them, eat with them, and be much in their society.

Better testimony, however, than Mr. Turner's, of the difference in the working of the two systems, could hardly be desired; for although the boys spoken of belong to the criminal class, we have it on Mr. Tufnell's authority that they are the same class of children as are to be found in pauper schools. 'Practically,' he says in a report to the Committee of Council on Education in 1856-7, 'the workhouse schools of London are mostly filled with the same description of abandoned children; and thus I find, in visiting refuges and reformatories, precisely the same characteristics among the inmates, the same difficulties and evils with which I am so familiar in respect to pauper children.' And not only does Mr. Tufnell acknowledge the two classes of children to be practically one, but what is far more remarkable, he makes the following admission about Reformatory children: 'In order to reform a child of that description, you must have the family system.' We rub our eyes with astonishment! Are we dreaming? Is this the Mr. Tufnell who in his last reports emphatically declares, not once, but again and again, that 'nothing can equal or even approach the success of the plan of uniting the children in large schools on the district system.' It was in 1857, apparently, that he made this statement, which is quoted by Mr. Doyle, about the family system. Has he altered his opinion completely since then, or is his one of those minds gifted with the faculty of entertaining at the same time, with equal impartiality, directly conflicting opinions?

We have already alluded to the Eton Workhouse School; how its admirable appearance was found to be delusive, and the result of its training a failure. We should now mention that having thereupon tried sending the children to the Central London District School, the Guardians were still dissatisfied with the condition of their children. Their health was not good, and the cost of their maintenance was almost double, while many of the evils of the workhouse were not avoided. Towards the close of 1863, the Guardians wrote to the Poor Law Board expressing their dissatisfaction with a system which environs a child in an atmosphere of mechanical routine

and compulsory discipline, as different as can well be conceived from that of the family, or from those conditions of outward life upon which it will hereafter have to enter. 'With a training so wholly unnatural,' the Guardians say, 'it is rather matter for wonder that any should turn out well, than that many should turn out very ill.' Finally, they resolved upon boarding out their children with respectable cottagers, the Guardians allowing 3s. 6d. a week, to be paid weekly by the relieving officer of the district, for board and lodging. An outfit was provided, and after three months' expiry, 6s. 6d. was paid quarterly, in advance, for clothes. The children were to attend a Sunday-school, where practicable, and a Day-school during the week (the fees being paid by the Guardians) until the age of thirteen, when they might be employed for wages in any labour approved by the Guardians, two-thirds of the wages being deducted by the relieving officer for his weekly payments, and the remaining third going to the person in charge of the child, in consideration of the extra expense in food and clothing which its employment might entail. After three years' experience of the plan, the Guardians issued a report 'expressing a strong conviction that the system of boarding-out the children was greatly to be preferred both to the old Workhouse School and to the District Schools, such as those of Hanwell and Norwood.' Experience had led them to control the visits of the relieving officer by visits from members of their own body, at least twice a year; a report, in writing, on the condition of each child being furnished after each visit. When practicable, a report was also obtained from the clergyman in whose parish the children were boarded. Thus a continual and permanent intercourse with them was maintained, and the Guardians were kept well informed how they were going on. The relative cost of the three systems was as follows: In the workhouse, the charge per head amounted to 4s. 2½d. per week; at Hanwell it amounted to 8s. per week; and in the cottage to 4s. 2d.!

These two illustrations, drawn from the experience of the Red Hill Reformatory and the Eton Poor Law Guardians, sufficiently demonstrate that in England as well as on the Continent, the practical need for a more natural system of education than is afforded by large boarding-schools has been distinctly felt; and disclose two ways in which that need can be supplied, viz. by boarding-out the children in cottage homes, or by educating them in small schools on the family system. We must, however, mention a couple of points in the administration of the Continental schools to which Mr. Doyle in a

large measure attributes the success they have unquestionably attained. These are: First, that the children are not sent out so young as from our workhouse and district schools; and he suggests as worthy of consideration, whether girls, at least, should not be kept at school until they have reached the full age of fourteen, by which time a more durable impression may have been made upon their character, and they will be better fitted for service. And secondly—and this is the more important point—a direct communication is kept up with the children who have been placed out. It is, for instance, the business of a central bureau in Paris to keep the authorities at Mettray informed of the whereabouts, condition, and conduct of every child who has left the institution. And this is done with so much judgment, that the children, far from trying to shake off the trammels of official questionings, give the fullest information about themselves, and keep up a strong feeling of interest in the ‘home’ they have left. Theoretically, of course, communication is kept up in England with the children who have been placed out; but the theory only assumes such intercourse to be maintained up to the age of sixteen, and the practice is, generally speaking, far from coming up to this moderate standard. There is a want of system in the arrangements, and the matter is very much left to chance. In some unions the children will be well looked after. In others they will be neglected. All depends upon the individuals. But in any case as to what becomes of the children after the age of sixteen, the State does not inquire; and this being so, it is absolutely impossible to judge from the official statistics how far the children brought up at pauper schools succeed in after-life. It is quite evident that percentages reckoned upon the simple plan of counting as successes all who have not come again under the official ken, by returning to the workhouse, must be fallacious; and that by accepting these pleasant statistics without attempting seriously to verify them, we are living in a fool’s paradise.

One part of Mrs. Nassau Senior’s inquiry was directed to this very object, the testing of the success of the system, as proved by the career of the girls in after-life. For this purpose she obtained the names and addresses (as far as these were known) of the 670 girls who had been placed out in service from the Metropolitan District Schools during the years 1871 and 1872; and ‘the history of each girl, as derived from the books or otherwise, was sought to be verified by ‘personal investigation.’ The immense number of visits and inquiries involved in this investigation rendered it impossible

for Mrs. Senior to undertake the work personally; and with the approval of the head of the Local Government Board she entrusted it to some friends on whose accuracy she could rely, and who had great experience in work among the poor. The names of these ladies, which were all submitted to Mr. Stansfeld for approval, are given by Mrs. Senior in her 'Reply.'

The results of the inquiry are shown in the following table from the Appendix to Mrs. Senior's Report:--

DISTRICT SCHOOLS.				SEPARATE SCHOOLS.			
No information, owing to--				No information, owing to--			
Incorrect addresses . . .	} About 71 Girls.			Incorrect addresses . . .	} About 106 Girls.		
Families removed . . .				Families removed . . .			
Letters unanswered . . .				Letters unanswered . . .			
(Information refused in one case.)							
Information received about 215 Girls:				Information received about 215 Girls:			
		Num.	Per cent.			Num.	Per cent.
Class 1. (Good) . . .		28	= 11.42	Class 1. (Good) . . .		51	= 20.81
Class 2. (Fair). . .		61	= 26.12	Class 2. (Fair). . .		81	= 33.06
Class 3. (Unsatisfactory)	106	=	43.26	Class 3. (Unsatisfactory)	82	=	33.46
Class 4. (Bad) . . .	17*	=	19.02	Class 4. (Bad) . . .	31	=	12.65
		245	= 99.82			215	= 99.98
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24 have weak or defective eyesight.				18 have weak or defective eyesight.			
2 are in a reformatory, having stolen.				1 is in a reformatory.			
23 have absconded.				17 have absconded.§			
3 are known to be fallen.†				1 is known to be fallen.‡			
5 have probably fallen.				3 have probably fallen.			

The classification 'good' and 'fair' speaks for itself, but it may be as well to quote the exact words in which Classes 3 and 4 are described:—

'In the *third* class are, first, girls who are not settled in their places on account of some fault, more or less grave; secondly, girls who have been dismissed on account of bad temper, petty pilfering, inefficiency, &c., and who may therefore be said to have failed as servants, although not morally; thirdly, girls who absconded from their situations, but who afterwards either returned to them, or are known to be in others which are respectable. In the *fourth* class are girls who have either been dismissed from their situations for some serious fault, such as extreme violence of temper, dishonesty (by this is meant stealing money or articles of value), or who have absconded and not returned. This class comprehends thieves, those who are known to be living with

\* One had been only nine weeks at school.

† One is in a penitentiary; one is in the Lock ward, workhouse; one leading a bad life.

‡ This girl had only been three weeks in school.

§ One of these had been five weeks in school.

|| In the Lock Hospital



bad characters, the fallen, and in fact all those about whose future the gravest apprehensions must be felt.'

At the same time, Mrs. Senior undertook another investigation of the kind herself. In this case she thought it desirable to limit the inquiry to such girls as had left school five years before (in 1868), and had been there not less than five years; thus eliminating from the calculation all who could be said not to owe their education to the pauper schools. She would have wished to extend the inquiry to all the Metropolitan Schools, but was obliged by the limited time at her disposal to confine it to three; those three, however, being in some degree typical examples. The result is shown in the following table:—

18 Girls doing well.

Under this head are included all girls who are supporting themselves, and doing well and fairly in place. Also a girl who has married, though not very satisfactorily.

7 Girls dropped out of sight of whom the last tidings were satisfactory.

Under this head are included all girls who up to the time they dropped out of sight were supporting themselves in place, and of whom no serious moral fault is alleged.

16 Girls dropped out of sight of whom the last tidings were unsatisfactory.

Under this head are included all girls who when last heard of were not earning their living, and those who are reported to have fallen.

3 Girls incapacitated.

Under this head are included girls incapacitated through insanity, ophthalmia, and fits.

2 Girls of whom there is no record since they left school.

2 Girls gone to relations direct from school.

1 Absconded from school.

2 Dead.

Both these girls died of consumption. One had been on the streets.

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51 . Total.

Now, excluding the 3 who were incapacitated, the 2 of whom there is no record, the 2 who had gone to relations, and 1 of those who were dead, there still remain 18 out of the 51 who have turned out unsatisfactorily, or 35 per cent.! And considering that amongst those who are classed as doing well, we find one girl who has had an illegitimate child, and another whom the chaplain reports to be 'sullen and untruthful,' and the mistress to be 'ignorant of how to set about anything, and very dirty;' and who was found on one occasion 'when told to sweep her bedroom with tea-leaves, treading them into the carpet with

'her feet instead of using the broom,' we cannot fairly accuse Mrs. Senior of undue harshness in her judgments, nor of applying too rigorously high a standard. Another of those considered to be 'doing well' was so obstinate and sullen in her first place that nothing could be done with her. 'She had 'no idea how to use house-flannel or a duster. On one occasion she would do no work, but sat biting her nails and 'screaming till a crowd collected round the house.' After this, we are not surprised to learn that her mistress took her back to school. A fourth girl placed in the same category was married, but was 'believed to be leading a bad life with her 'husband's connivance.' If these are to be reckoned successes, one is tempted to ask what must the failures be?

Turning back to the first table, and dividing the girls into two classes—Satisfactory and Unsatisfactory—we perceive that out of the 245 girls from the District Schools who were traced, no fewer than 153, or more than 62 per cent., fell within the latter category, whilst there were 113, or 46 per cent., from the Separate Schools. No information, it will be observed, could be obtained respecting 74 girls in the one case, and 106 in the other. It may be, as Mr. Tufnell contends, that these girls had all turned out well; that it was only to shake off the 'pauper stamp' that they had shrouded themselves from official observation and eluded all inquiries; and that they may hereafter be found occupying high positions in the world, as Mr. Tufnell assures us is often the case. All this *may* be—we do not say it is not so; but, unfortunately, we have no means of verifying the statement. But even for a moment granting Mr. Tufnell's assumptions, and reckoning the disappearances as *successes*, the numbers will still stand:—

	Separate Schools.	District Schools.
Satisfactory . . .	238 . . .	166
Unsatisfactory . . .	113=32 per cent.	153=48 per cent.
	<hr/> 351	<hr/> 319

In other words, by the end of two years, out of a total of 670 girls, 266 were found not to be in a satisfactory condition; whilst of 180 more there was no trace or knowledge at all. Whether they had risen or fallen, the State, their guardian, had equally lost sight of them.

In strange contrast with these figures are those of another table appended to Mrs. Senior's Report. The girls to whom it refers were educated at a Free Day School. The children at this school are said to be of a low class, and would in the event

of their parents dying be sent to one of the metropolitan pauper schools. The mistress, at the request of one of Mrs. Senior's friends, one of the managers of the school, made inquiries about *all* the girls who, having been not less than three or four years in school, left it during the years 1870 and 1871. The cases, therefore, were not selected. As, however, Mr. Tufnell impugns its correctness on the ground that 'the free school children were examined *by their own mistress* [*the italics are Mr. Tufnell's*], who finds her own work all but 'perfection,' and asks 'what confidence can be placed in an investigation conducted after this fashion?'—we may mention that Mrs. Senior, in her Reply, states that the managers of the school were personally acquainted with each case, and were in constant communication with the 27 girls. The duty of the schoolmistress in the matter was simply to obtain a distinct report from the various mistresses in whose service the girls were employed; and unless, therefore, deliberate falsehood is to be attributed to her, the fact of her having been their mistress cannot in any way tell against the trustworthiness of her reports, on which the statistics were based. No industrial training is given at this school, so that the only preparation for service was that which 'very poor homes in very low neighbourhoods could afford;' and yet the difference in the result is startling:—

## FREE DAY SCHOOL.

*Inquiries made about 27 Girls.*

	Number.	Percentage.
Class 1. . . . .	15	= 55·55
Class 2. . . . .	10	= 37·03
Class 3. . . . .	2	= 7·4
Class 4 . . . . .	—	—
	27	= 100

The moral to be drawn from these tables seems to be that schools of moderate size offer the best chance of success; Separate Schools even having the advantage over District Schools; and that bad as poor homes may be, the training afforded by the worst of them, aided by good education at a Day School, is better than that afforded by the large Boarding School with all its magnificent arrangements and elaborate appliances.

So severe a commentary on his own statistics could not be passed over in silence by Mr. Tufnell, who has 'never been able to discover that more than four per cent. fail to gain an

‘honest and independent livelihood;’ and who ‘does not believe that one per cent. of the orphan class, who are usually ‘the only thoroughly trained children from these schools, ever ‘come to grief when placed in situations;’ and he attacks Mrs. Senior’s figures in a manner altogether his own. He first complains that the evidence was collected by ‘anonymous ‘inquirers from anonymous witnesses, regarding the fate of ‘anonymous girls brought up at anonymous schools;’ and declares that when he asked Mrs. Senior to supply the names of the girls, so that the truth of the evidence might be tested, ‘she positively refused all information.’ He next charges her with condemning these poor girls on evidence of which the following, he alleges, is a ‘fair sample:’ ‘P. N. has been seen ‘sitting on a doorstep.’ Finally, he refuses to recognise as ‘failures’ any girls who are not *positively known* to have fallen, or who are not proved, by their being in reformatories or prison, to have stolen. We will take these four points *seriatim*.

1. So far from Mrs. Senior’s assistants having been anonymous, it appears that their names, although not mentioned in her Report, were all submitted to and approved by the head of the Local Government Board. Moreover, two of her principal assistants appear to have met Mr. Tufnell and discussed their work with him!

2. Mrs. Senior did not ‘refuse all information.’ On the contrary, under the advice of Mr. Stausfeld, whom she consulted in the matter, she offered to allow any thoroughly qualified person to examine her books, herself, and her friends, suggesting that Mr. Tufnell should, if he liked, be a party to the inquiry. But Mr. Tufnell was of opinion that ‘no good ‘could accrue’ from such an investigation, and declined the offer, accompanying his refusal by the suggestion that Mrs. Senior should suppress her Report! And a subsequent proposal from Mrs. Senior to take him to the persons from whom she had received information, of which he doubted the correctness, met with a similar fate.

3. Of the ‘fairness’ of Mr. Tufnell’s sample let the reader judge from the context. The account given of P. N. by Mrs. Senior is as follows:—

‘The chaplain’s report after two visits was that she was clean, could do well if she chose, was honest but bad tempered, and that her mistress was willing to try her a little longer.

‘Mistress told me that P. N. knew the work she had to do very fairly; her work was scrubbing and cleaning about; no cooking; the girl was very respectable in conduct. They were obliged to part with

her because of her temper. She was like a wild beast when angry, and when she had one of her angry fits the daughter of the house was afraid of sleeping without locking her door. Sometimes she would have a fit of doing nothing for a whole day. Except for her temper they liked her. They have seen her once since she left. She came with a girl, who was, she said, an old school companion. The girls were going to Kew for the day with a man. P. N. said he was her friend's father, but he was very well dressed, and did not look at all like a man who would have had a daughter at a pauper school. The master and mistress don't believe that he was the father of P. N.'s friend, and did not like the look of it altogether. They have not heard of her since; but she has been once to the school since then, and said she was waitress at an eating-house. Other girls, who knew her in school, report that P. N. and another girl were living together, and had been seen sitting on a doorstep in the east of London. On being questioned by their old companions they said their husbands were in Switzerland, *but they wore no wedding rings*, and the informants do not think they were married.'

4. Those girls who are classed by Mrs. Senior and her assistants as 'unsatisfactory,' and whom most people would regard as failures, at any rate when viewed as the outcome of a system designed to train them for domestic service, Mr. Tufnell will in nowise admit to be such; though it is difficult to see how girls of whom the reports are of the following kind can be reckoned as successful specimens of training: (1.) 'A pilferer, untruthful, idle, incorrigibly dirty in habits. Can scrub a floor, but has no other accomplishment.' (2.) 'Very dishonest and dirty. Mistress (a kind person) keeps her because she cannot give her a character.' (3.) 'Dishonest, untruthful, very sullen, very bad as regards housework. Very dirty in all her habits.' (N.B. The girls in these three cases had been at school respectively from infancy, for seven years and for eight years.) Mr. Tufnell, in dealing with the first table, not only classes girls of this order with those doing well, but even rejects all those classed as 'bad,' with the exception of four who are stated positively to have fallen, and two of the three who are in Reformatories. He will not admit into the calculation either the eight who are said to have *probably* fallen, or the one in a Reformatory who had been only three weeks in school. Thus, having eliminated the 188 unsatisfactory, and reduced by his very simple and summary process the 78 bad to 6, he arrives at rather less than one per cent. of failures! His successes, therefore, include girls of whom the characters read after the following fashion:—

'IN SCHOOL FROM A CHILD.

'Dishonest; untruthful; very sullen. Very clean, but very slow as

regards housework; knew nothing about it but scrubbing when she came. Dismissed for stealing. Stole a sovereign first, and was forgiven, but afterwards took some half-crowns.

‘IN SCHOOL 6 OR 7 YEARS.

‘Honest, but sullen, obstinate, rebellious, and untruthful. Mistress had a great deal of trouble with the girl, hoping she might improve, but she got so defiant at last, that she was obliged to dismiss her. Mistress has heard since from the girl’s sister that she is doing very badly.’

Well may Mr. Tufnell, if he regard these as successful results of training—to quote his own words—‘defy Mrs. Senior and all her anonymous delegates to prove by any reliable evidence that more than 4 per cent. of children trained in district schools ever fail when in the world to gain an honest and independent livelihood.’

We have now made it abundantly clear what manner of result is actually attained by these schools in training girls to be fit members of the community, and what a lamentable state of things is revealed by Mrs. Senior’s investigations. We do not shut our eyes to the fact that the material is bad; but what is borne in upon us with irresistible conviction is that the system does not deal properly with the material. The children in pauper schools all over the country are characterised by the same defects: smallness of stature, sullenness and obstinacy of disposition, and apathy of mind. That is to say, wherever they are brought together in vast herds, these defects at once appear. That this is the result of an unnatural and artificial mode of life, and not of any taint in the ‘pauper blood,’ is proved by the fact that the same children when placed under the healthy conditions of boarding-out get rosy of cheek, shoot up in stature, and in a short time, losing all characteristics of the ‘workhouse child,’ are indistinguishable from the children of the ordinary labourer. In proportion as they are separated, in proportion as they are able to receive individual treatment, and are placed in natural conditions, in that proportion do they prosper and flourish.

We cannot look upon the boarding-out system with quite so much confidence and enthusiasm as Mrs. Senior and her assistants have expressed in their reports, and we are not insensible to the difficulties of either course. There is the difficulty of dealing with no less than 50,000 children, who are deprived of their natural guardians and are thrown upon the compassion of strangers. There is the difficulty of finding suitable persons and places for the education of this vast population of outcasts, and the danger that those who are induced to under-

take this arduous duty may end by converting it into a speculation. We have not forgotten the abuses which child-farming had led to thirty years ago, before those establishments were reformed by Dr. Kay and Mr. Tufnell. But we think that within moderate limits the boarding-out system may be tried with a good chance of success. It is difficult to see why that which is practised in Scotland, not to mention Ireland, Germany, Russia, or France, should be impossible in England. Even assuming, however, that the difficulties in the way of the adoption of Boarding-out for orphan children are insuperable, Mrs. Senior's suggestion of breaking the large schools up into smaller ones, and of dealing with 'permanents' and 'casuals' in different schools, ought certainly to be adopted. To some extent, as she points out, this might be done whilst retaining the present costly structures, so as to prevent the money spent on them from being entirely thrown away. But the children must be dealt with on a different principle. The fact must be looked in the face that industrial and not intellectual training is the primary requirement; and that the children, being mostly of the same class as are dealt with in Reformatories, must receive the same kind of treatment, if we are to hope for success in our endeavours to qualify them for gaining an honest and independent livelihood.

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ART. V.—*The Works of Thomas Love Peacock, including his Novels, Poems, Fugitive Pieces, Criticisms, &c.; with a Preface by the Right Hon. Lord Houghton, a Biographical Notice by his Granddaughter, Edith Nicolls, and Portrait.* Edited by HENRY COLE, C.B. In three volumes. London: 1875.

FOURTEEN years ago a novel made its appearance which was more favourably reviewed than generally read. Moreover, 'Gryll Grange' puzzled the critics, and many of them had the candour to own as much. It set at defiance the received canons of the craft, and was in flat contradiction to the prevailing fashions of the day. Its plot was loose and wild, its incidents were incoherent or extravagant, and its characters anything rather than the commonplace individualities one is in the habit of meeting in everyday life. But it bore upon every page the marks of a vigorous idiosyncrasy; it showed comprehensive acquaintance with men and things, with social theories and political systems, although it regarded them almost invariably through an eccentric medium. It was clear

that the writer had read much and reflected deeply; that the studies of his predilection had been among the classical authors of Greece and Rome, until the cast of his thought had taken its tinge from them, and he had insensibly imbued himself with the very spirit of their literature. A critic by temperament with the gifts of a poet, perhaps his strength lay in satire and irony. But he was absolutely brimming over with humour that was sometimes kindly though often sarcastic. No subject came much amiss to him, though it was plain that he had marked preferences, and it might be assumed that his opinions were as decided as his prejudices. But it was difficult to surmise what his opinions really were, for sometimes when his characters seemed to be delivering his mind and you were submitting your ideas to the dexterity of his arguments, he would turn short upon you with a grave smile and demolish by the breath of another of his mouth-pieces the ingenious structure it had pleased him to rear. It was impossible to say where jest began and earnest ended. You read in constant mistrust lest you might be the victim of a mystification when you least expected one. Nor did deliberate afterthoughts always tend to reassure you, and when you laid down the book the impression was confirmed that it was seldom safe to be sure he was serious. No wonder that the reviewers had a difficulty in dealing with him—that the most appreciative of them, for the most part, were inclined to keep to generalities, and heartily recommend a novel they scarcely professed to interpret. Nor was it strange that their recommendations were by no means very universally attended to, for when ‘Gryll Grange’ was christened a novel, it was launched on the libraries under delusive pretences. The very qualities that attracted men of taste and cultivation were likely to deter the ordinary run of subscribers. It demanded sustained thought and careful reading: to most people it was an effort to enter into its spirit, to many it was an absolute impossibility. In order to enjoy it, your mind had to be always on the stretch, guessing at riddles, seeking out the key to paradoxes, or following the author in subtle processes of reasoning from strange premisses. Many of its readers too must have had an uneasy consciousness that foibles of their own were being reproduced or caricatured for their delectation; while at every page they were unpleasantly convicted of ignorance and inferiority by allusions that were as much Greek to them as the abounding quotations from Aristophanes or Athenæus.

Yet with all its defects from the popular point of view, it was clear that the author of ‘Gryll Grange’ could be no novice



either in life or literature. Indeed a reference to the title-page showed that the book was but one of a series, bearing signs of the marked idiosyncrasy of their writer in a generic eccentricity of title. But most of those that had gone before it had been written in the very beginning of the century; there had been a hiatus in the series, of the better part of an ordinary lifetime, and 'Headlong Hall,' 'Crochet Castle,' and 'Nightmare Abbey' had scarcely been heard of by the present generation. Mr. Peacock had lived long enough to have some depressing experience of the ephemeral nature of literary fame, for he might undoubtedly have flattered himself, at one time, that he had made a mark in the literary world. Those earlier writings of his had won respectful consideration from thinkers who cared nothing for the productions of the Minerva Press, and gentlemen whose ideas he abused most heartily had heaped coals of fire on him by being lavish of their praise. Nay, a firm of enterprising publishers had thought his books contained sufficient promise of popularity to make it worth while reprinting them in collected shape as one of the volumes of the Standard Library of Fiction. We do not know, however, that the reprint did much to redeem either the works or the memory of their author from the oblivion to which time seemed surely consigning them; and 'Gryll Grange' threatened to go the way of its predecessors, without having revived any permanent interest in them. With a very hearty admiration for Mr. Peacock, we can scarcely profess to be surprised at this. He chose deliberately to follow out his bent, inclining to qualify for a visitor to his own 'Crochet Castle.' He was as uncompromising in his mannerisms as in his opinions, and he wrote with almost defiant independence for the few rather than the many. He paid the inevitable penalty in suffering from the neglect he may be said to have courted; yet the better you know him the more thoroughly you appreciate him, and to know him even fairly well, you should be conversant with the whole series of his writings. We know no works that gain so greatly by being studied in their chronological order, or lose more by being taken separately. We use the word 'studied' advisedly. To get to the bottom of his mind, he must be read in constant reference to parallel passages that occur in his writings *passim*, as well as to the previous conversations in which he has been originating and developing his ideas. There can be no doubt, then, that his present editors have judged wisely in publishing this complete edition of his works. It gives him precisely the artificial help he needed towards obtaining the limited appreciation he would have coveted, and men of humour

and intellect may be grateful to Lord Houghton and Sir Henry Cole. For not only have they done the best for the separate works by uniting the set in appropriate setting, but by collecting Peacock's more fugitive pieces they have shown the scope of his versatile powers as poet and dramatist, essayist and critic. What is perhaps still more to the purpose, the volumes are prefaced by a slight but suggestive memoir of their author, and for the first time we find, in some knowledge of his personality, a clue to the meanings that have often eluded us. We do not say that such knowledge as the memoir supplies makes everything plain that had hitherto been doubtful. When Peacock adopted his favourite form of colloquy, he meant to mystify to a certain point, as he used to assume Protean shapes in the persons of different interlocutors. If he had been put on oath himself in a court of literary inquisition, we believe there are many pertinent questions he would have been sorely puzzled to answer. But slight and brief as the memoir is, by showing us the man, his tastes, his companions, his favourite pursuits, and his everyday habits, it throws a flood of light on points that were obscure, and enables us to reconcile apparent contradictions and inconsistencies, while the admirable photograph that faces the title-page is in itself worth volumes of speculative commentary.

The photograph shows him at the age of seventy-two—three years before he published '*Gryll Grange*'—a pleasant, elderly gentleman of portly form and admirably well preserved, with marked but exceedingly handsome features. The expression is highly intellectual; the ample forehead looks as if it had developed with a lifetime of thought, that had come so naturally to him as to be invigorating rather than exhausting. The arch of the prominent eyebrows, the well-shaped Grecian nose, the smiles lurking in the corners of the tight-pressed lips, show an innate geniality which might be dashed with bitter on occasion, and a happy faculty of looking at life humorously, as well as a capacity for appreciating its serious side. Like Figaro, he looks as if he hastened to laugh at things in case he might otherwise be forced to weep. And although he might be roused to generous indignation over abuses he felt powerless to remedy, we can understand that he would rather figure as the censor of society than put himself forward invidiously as an active reformer. For there is a suggestion of easy-going sensuousness in the lower part of the face, especially in the fulness of the chin. He strikes us, in short, as the presentment of one of those orthodox clergymen who figured conspicuously in his later stories. He might be

his own Dr. Folliott or Dr. Opimian, with an equably balanced enjoyment of the pleasures of the mind and the body; a practical philosopher who placed the *summum bonum* in congenial society or studies over a bottle of madeira, after a well-spent day and a well-served dinner. 'Does the autotype say 'all that?' we can imagine an incredulous reader sneering, as he parodies the critic on Lord Burleigh's shake of the head. Well, we honestly believe that everyone fairly familiar with Peacock's writings would interpret it so, without having read a word of the biographical notice that follows. At least it will be admitted after reading the memoir, that our commentary on the portrait has done its subject no injustice. Mr. Peacock's granddaughter, Miss Edith Nicolls, makes no secret of what we may call the weaker or the more taking side of her grandfather's character, as our views of life and its objects are austere or otherwise:—

'He was called by his most intimate friends "the laughing philosopher," and it seems to me that the term "Epicurean philosopher," which I have often heard applied to him, describes him accurately and briefly. In public life my grandfather was upright and honourable; but as he advanced in years, his detestation of anything disagreeable made him simply avoid whatever fretted him, laughing off all sort of ordinary calls upon his leisure time. His love of ease and kindness of heart made it impossible that he could be actively unkind to anyone, but he would not be worried and just got away from anything that annoyed him.'

Perhaps a temperament of the kind, united to the intellectual energy that exerts itself without effort and by way of recreation, is the best preservative of mind and body. Especially when the lover of books is no bookworm; when the student finds his keenest enjoyments in the open air and among the beauties of nature; and when the thinker and dreamer can submit himself to the tame routine of every-day labour, letting his faculties rest without rusting. Mr. Peacock, at least, lived to the age of eighty. To the last his mind retained its vigour, and what is more, it went on maturing itself with his taste, as we shall see when we come to compare his earlier novels with his 'Gryll Grange.' He may be said to have been in great measure self-educated; that is to say, the irresistible bent of his inclinations prescribed the course of his studies. His father was a merchant of London, and we may presume that he was never in straitened circumstances. Yet, for some reason or other, he was never at a public school; he was never sent to either University, and although he passed six years and a half at a private establishment, he had left it before he was

thirteen. Had he mixed more with youths of his age, he might have been the better for it afterwards, so far as the business of life was concerned. But in point of acquirements and general cultivation, what would have been an irremediable loss to most lads was probably a gain to him. He needed neither pressure nor rivalry to induce him to study, provided he was allowed to go his own way. A passage in a letter written in his old age is significant of his precocious pleasure in learning, and accounts for the unusual range he followed in his studies. ‘I was early impressed with the words of Harris :  
‘ “ To be completely skilled in ancient learning is by no means  
‘ “ a work of such insuperable pains. The very progress itself  
‘ “ is attended with delight, and resembles a journey through  
‘ “ some pleasant country, where every mile we advance, new  
‘ “ charms arise. It is certainly as easy to be a scholar as a  
‘ “ gamester, or many other characters equally illiberal and  
‘ “ low. The same application, the same quantity of habit,  
‘ “ will fit us for the one as completely as for the other.”  
‘ Thus encouraged, I took to reading the best books, illustrated  
‘ by the best critics ; and amongst the latter, I feel especially  
‘ indebted to Heyne and Hermann. Such was my education.’  
The delight which attended his progress explains the peculiar character of his scholarship, rather graceful than profound, and showing a certain absence of system. He ranged that pleasant country at his own free will and pleasure, declining to keep to the beaten routes when he found them dull, but striking away into side paths whenever they took his fancy. Of the whole of the country he has a fair general knowledge ; but there are spots in it where he always delights to linger, and to which he is continually inviting his readers. In short, he has his favourite authors, with every line of whose writings he is familiar, and it is impossible to travel any distance in his company without coming upon some allusion to those classical writings with which his mind is so deeply impregnated.

It is a familiar saying, that remarkable men have often had remarkable mothers. It certainly would seem to have been so in this case. Mr. Peacock’s father died when he was a mere child, and it was his mother who had the sole charge of his upbringing. Had his father been spared, it is possible that his character might have been formed differently. A man of business would scarcely have flown in the face of all precedents by taking his son from school at the age of thirteen, and encouraging him to abandon himself almost exclusively to the society of ancient authors. Satisfied that the boy was not trifling with his time, probably sympathising with his tastes,

Mrs. Peacock seems to have set slight store by practical considerations. After bringing him away from school, she kept him with her for three years at Chertsey, and it may be assumed that, in his own fashion, he turned these years to good purpose. For when, at the age of sixteen, they removed to London, he went straight to the British Museum, to revel in its treasures of ancient literature. By way of practical commentary on his favourites, he took to a regular course of study of the remains of classical art in the Museum galleries, and sought his illustrations of the writings of the Greek and Latin poets in the statues and bas-reliefs from the Acropolis or the Seven Hills. That close and congenial intercourse with a feminine mind, no doubt, went far to confirm him in some of his tastes, while it introduced a somewhat un-Englishlike sentimentalism into his manner of thinking on certain subjects. He delighted, as we shall see, in out-of-door life; he was venturesome almost to foolhardiness, when he went to worship Nature in her most savage moods; in fact in the vigour of his physique and an almost boisterous capacity for enjoyment, he was an English counterpart of the Scotch Christopher North. But while Christopher is an enthusiast in all pertaining to the chase, delighting to break away in his profoundest talk, to tell of bloody days among the grouse on the hills, or of deadly takes of trout in 'the forest,' Peacock never misses an opportunity of having a fling at field sports and the squires who follow them. So, had it been his habit to mix more with men, he might have thought differently on many other subjects, and arrived at more decidedly defined opinions. As it is, his was a most masculine mind which had chosen to dwell much apart, to commune very much with itself, or with the mother whose idiosyncrasy resembled his own. It strikes us that the inclinations of the Epicurean philosopher extended themselves into his habits of thought. His mind was quick, versatile, and imaginative; few aspects of a subject eluded it, and he constantly renewed his pleasure in intellectual contemplation by as constantly changing his points of view. But in the absence of close discussion or adverse criticism, he shrank from those efforts of contrast or synthesis that must have fixed him down to some assured conclusion. So it is that the endeavour to interpret his individual idea from the conversation of his characters must often be idle, for the simple reason that their conversation reflects at once his ample knowledge and vague uncertainty. But at the same time it is to that habit of solitary thought that we undoubtedly are very much indebted for the extraordinary origi-

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nalinity of his style and matter. There is a superfluity of erudition in his novels that verges upon pedantry, because it is sometimes paraded with an appearance of ostentation, and is introduced in season and out of season. There is a tendency to abstract arguments and philosophical definitions, which seem out of place in works of this kind, while they effectually break the threads of the story, and might give you the idea of a dry-minded man incapable of romance and devoid of each touch of poetry. After a cursory perusal of certain of his novels by themselves, we can conceive it possible to go away with that impression, although in every case more careful thought should convince one of its injustice. But reading them in their collected form, no such misapprehension is possible. He may speak out strongly or bitterly on politics, he may be prolix in his earnestness on certain favourite social theories, but on wild nature and its beauties he is genuinely and poetically enthusiastic. He throws the whole of his heart into eloquent descriptions of places that have stereotyped themselves on his memory in their most minute details. His feelings are stirred to their depths by scenes that have been endeared to him by early associations. And these frank outbursts are the more enjoyable from the character of their surroundings, as fountains are never so fresh and vegetation never so glorious as when you stumble upon them in some oasis after wandering over an arid wilderness.

We find, indeed, that though Mr. Peacock's duties kept him much in London for many years, yet great part of his life was passed in the country. It was not till his thirty-fourth year that he settled down to a regular occupation, and much of what the world would have called his idle time was given to *dilettanti* literary work among the romantic beauties of the valley of the Thames. As a lad, as we have seen, he had lived much with his mother at her father's house at Chertsey. Later, she removed with him to Great Marlow, where he wrote his earlier novels and many of his poems. His favourite river—he had traced it to its sources in 1809—inspired his 'Genius of the Thames.' It was at Marlow he formed the intimacy with Shelley which suggested the Scythrop of 'Nightmare Abbey,' and supplied the materials for those valuable articles on the poet which we find reprinted in the present collection from 'Fraser's Magazine.' The friends used to wander together through the country, dining at the different rustic inns. They used to spend long afternoons in those Bisham woods where Shelley composed his 'Revolt of Islam.' Peacock, though no rowing man, delighted in boating, and had taught Shelley to take pleasure in it too. It

was that free and familiar communing with the beauties of English nature in their softer forms that gave his writings the freshness which so often relieves them from the oppressive taint of the midnight oil and the fusty library. But though the softer scenery was perhaps more congenial to him in his ordinary moods, there was much of the *Salvator Rosa* in him as well, and he never shows himself so much of the poet as when he is among the more picturesque grandeurs of the lakes and the mountains. His '*Misfortunes of Elphin*'—*Elphin* was a petty prince of the *Cymri*—abounds in wild and eloquent descriptions, and is gemmed with sparkling descriptive verse. So, in '*Headlong Hall*' and '*Melincourt*' there are a succession of vigorous sketches of torrents and precipices, of hanging woods and tumbling water, dashed off among the Welsh and Cumbrian hills. He had evidently a most tenacious memory; objects or characters that had struck him forcibly impressed themselves indelibly on his mental retina, and his fancy could recall them just as he had seen them, when he desired to employ them for the purposes of his art. In 1810 he had made an expedition to North Wales. He had devoted himself to leisurely exploring its charms, and the letters he wrote from it give evidence of a romantic enthusiasm we should otherwise scarcely have suspected him of, as when he dragged out a couple of more prosaic acquaintances at midnight in March to study closely the effects of a cataract which had been pronounced inaccessible by previous admirers.

Poetry is nearly akin to love, and love in its turn gives glow to the divine afflatus. Peacock had more than one passion more or less serious. It was on that Welsh expedition that he made the acquaintance of the lady he married, after an interval of years, so that it may be supposed that the thought of her attractions may have tinted his writings in the meantime. It is certain that he describes love affairs with a light grace and a sympathy that often make us regret his resting on them so passingly. It is to an early attachment at Chertsey, which must have affected him profoundly, and which ended unfortunately, that we are indebted for one of the most touching little pieces in the volumes; nor can we do better than select the lines on revisiting Newark Abbey, the favourite meeting place of the lovers, as a pleasing specimen of his most graceful style:—

"I gaze when August's sunbeam falls  
Along these grey and lonely walls,  
Till in its light absorbed appears  
The lapse of five and thirty years.

If change there be, I trace it not,  
 In all this consecrated spot :  
 No new imprint of Ruin's march  
 On ruined wall and frameless arch :  
 The woods, the hills, the fields, the stream,  
 Are basking in the selfsame beam :  
 The fall that turns the unseen mill,  
 As then it murmured, murmurs still.  
 It seems as if in one were cast  
 The present and the imaged past ;  
 Spanning as with a bridge sublime  
 That fearful lapse of human time ;  
 That gulf unfathomably spread  
 Between the living and the dead.

For all too well my spirit feels  
 The only change this scene reveals.  
 The sunbeams play, the breezes stir,  
 Unseen, unfelt, unheard by her,  
 Who in that long-past August day  
 Beheld with me these ruins grey.  
 Whatever span the Fates allow,  
 Ere I shall be as she is now,  
 Still in my bosom's inmost cell  
 Shall that deep-treasured memory dwell ;  
 That more than language can express,  
 Pure miracle of loveliness,  
 Whose voice so sweet, whose eyes so bright,  
 Were my soul's music and its light,  
 In those blest days when life was new,  
 And hope was false, but love was true.'

When twenty-three he made his first essay at the active business of life. He went to sea in the 'Venerable,' as secretary to Sir Home Popham. The divorce from his landsman's habits and calm literary pursuits was intolerable to him. 'As to writing poetry, or doing anything else that is rational, in this floating Inferno, it is almost next to a moral impossibility. I would give the world now to be at home and devote the whole winter to the composition of a comedy.' Eleven years later he tried again and succeeded better. He accepted a nomination to a clerkship in the Examiner's office of the East Indian Company, passed with high credit, settled down to the desk, rose to fill the post of Chief Examiner, as successor to James Mill, and predecessor of Mill's more distinguished son, and remained in office at the India House till 1856, when he retired to Halliford on a handsome pension. It was probably on the strength of his new position and prospects that he married in 1820. Devoted to literature as he was, he threw himself into these new avocations with a zeal that says



much for his conscientiousness; although we can imagine at the same time that to a mind so active many of the questions that came within the sphere of his department must have been sufficiently interesting. In his evidence before Committees of the House of Commons as to the navigation of the Indian rivers and trade routes to the East, he is said to have shown his perfect mastery of these subjects, and to have greatly facilitated objects he had taken to heart. And even while at the India Office he returned occasionally to his early loves, making periodical though irregular appearances as an author, in works that largely took their colouring from the more practical pursuits he was engaged in. 'Maid Marian,' and the 'Misfortunes of Elphin,' are as much political allegories as historical romances—the latter especially, which was obviously born of the Reform agitation; while one and the other are made the vehicles of the verses in which he seems always to have sought recreation. 'Crochet Castle' deals chiefly with vexed questions that were exciting attention, and serves to relieve the author's mind of those pet prejudices of his which would have a vent at intervals. He reminds us indeed of a Berserker champion whose fits of inward fury grow irresistible after a time, and only gather force by repression. Towards the closing years of his life he resumed much of his literary activity, and his powers bloomed out again in the second freshness of one of those 'Indian summers' which in their mellow maturity are the most enchanting of seasons. 'Gryll Grange,' which, as we have said, was written in his seventy-sixth year, shows a marked advance in both style and power, as well as in calmness of thought and judgment.

The edition of the collected works has been edited by Sir Henry Cole, whose acquaintance Mr. Peacock made at the India Office, and who is now discharging a debt of gratitude to an early friend and patron. The preface is contributed by Lord Houghton, and Mr. Peacock has been fortunate in being again presented to the public on the occasion of this republication, by one who is so well fitted to appreciate him from great congeniality of tastes, sympathies, and cultivation. What little Lord Houghton says is much to the purpose and most happily expressed. He hits off the general character of Peacock's writings when he says that they show less of pretension to add to the wisdom of the world, than of 'the intellectual gaiety to which the follies, inconsistencies, exaggerations, conceits, and oddities of other men supply a continual fund of interest that does not exclude sympathy.' 'Satire,' his Lordship remarks, 'is a valuable element of history—in politics and ethics it is

‘ the most permanent protest of good against evil, and of genius against stupidity ; . . . while the systems of thought and the ideal natures that are here impersonated have either a general human interest, or exercise a powerful though partial influence over certain orders of minds in classes of society.’ He finds the key to Peacock’s character and general tone in the fact that

‘ although brought as fairly as most men in contact with the best influences and most powerful impulses of the nineteenth century, he belonged in all his tastes, sentiments, and aspects of life to the eighteenth, the age pre-eminently of free fancy and common sense. . . . These fictions without any servile imitation continually recall the *Contes* which filled the literary and philosophical atmosphere of France between the Regency and the Revolution in every variety of invention and argument, but with an uniform tendency to make humour out of other men’s truths and to raise the graces, slowers, and arts of life above its bare sincerities and angry convictions. There is the same disregard of plot, the same continuous web of satirical allusion, the same exaggeration of the fallacy of opponents, the same assumption of an infallible judgment, but with a total absence of that indecency and impiety, without which so many productions of that great school of wit and intelligence would never have obtained notoriety.’

Indecent Mr. Peacock can never be said to be, although there is sometimes a certain breadth in his allusions, and an easy freedom of *double entendre*. When he does indulge in jests of the kind, it is generally in the character of the most decorous of his personages ; he covers any scandal there may be with the cloth of one of his jovial clergymen, and takes for choice a strictly professional topic, such as the plain English of the Catechism or Scriptures. Impious he never is, nor can he be fairly styled irreligious. Yet the absence of either religious or even doctrinal allusion in his colloquies is the more conspicuous, that almost invariably there is an orthodox clergyman figuring prominently among the interlocutors. He abounds in satirical allusion to those ordinances and ceremonial observances which we should fancy he held in little regard ; and although these are among the instances where we can never affirm decidedly whether he is speaking his own ideas or not, yet we are inclined to believe he held the Church as an institution in almost as little regard as the University. We can conceive him having some slight sympathy with his friend ‘ Pagan Taylor,’ who was in the way of sacrificing in his apartments to the immortal gods and pouring out libations to the Monarch of Olympus. At least his writings bear the stamp of a graceful and jovial paganism, and we could imagine him adoring the beneficent forces of nature embodied in

natural beauties, and peopling the fair creation he delighted in with river gods and water nymphs, fawns and dryads. His clergymen are all sound churchmen and eminently respectable; they sit at squires' tables in the reflection of a certain sanctity and scholarship supposed to be reflected on them in virtue of their position. We can imagine them seeing carefully to their tithes, their cellars, and their kitchens; and if they have wives, they always leave them at home to look after the household. But in all that pertains to the teaching of the Church, as apart from its privileges and proprieties, they are absolute Gallios. Intellectually, however, they develop steadily through the succession of novels. The Dr. Gaster of 'Headling Hall,' named from *γαστήρ et præterea nihil*, is a *bon vivant* and nothing else. The Dr. Portpipe of 'Melincourt,' the next novel, is almost as much of the vigorous eating and drinking animal as Dr. Gaster, or the Friar Tuck of 'Maid Marian.' He has certainly a shelf in his sitting room furnished with standard divines and classics, but when a visitor goes to take down his Homer, he finds that the bard has been buried under the undisturbed dust of a couple of decades. The Dr. Folliott, of 'Crochet Castle,' however, is both shrewd and highly educated, while the Dr. Opimian of 'Gryll Grange' appears to us as an embodiment of the author at his best, with the ripe experience and the wide information of all kinds acquired in a long and busy life.

Summing up the character of Peacock's works in a sentence, Lord Houghton, undoubtedly, has been singularly happy in tracing it to the influences of the last century. But it seems to us that Peacock's appreciation was too versatile to permit him to conform himself closely to any particular period, or to form either his thoughts, his tastes, or his style after any particular order of models. He reflects the variety of his favourite authors of every age, according to his changing moods or as the humour takes him. We should say he even submits himself unconsciously to the influences of men against whom he cherished inexplicable antipathies. His whole works, as we have said, are impregnated with the aroma of his classical studies, and he has produced in the shape of a drawing-room comedy one of the best modern imitations of Aristophanes. Page after page has distinctly the Rabelaisian ring; sentences on sentences might have been freely translated from Rabelais. Pantagruel and Panurge constantly suggest features to his characters; nor is it only in the frequent headings to his chapters that we recognise his extreme partiality to Butler. It is not wonderful that his admiration for Shelley should

have left unmistakable traces in the poems he composed during the days of their intimacy. But it is strange that in spite of the contempt he affected for Scott, we should come upon stanzas that in their language as in their measure might have been written by the author of the 'Lady of the Lake,' while 'Maid Marian,' one of the happiest of his *jeux d'esprit*, has evidently borrowed fancies from 'Ivanhoe.'

We might say that he had the faculty of hate much more strongly than that of admiration, were it not that we are sure he got into a habit of exaggeration with regard to some of his especial aversions, that must have tickled his own sense of the ridiculous when he drew breath after a torrent of abuse. Not that there was not a considerable substratum of sincerity in his more inveterate prejudices, and we do not profess to analyse the feelings that prompted these. Peacock was essentially a retiring man himself; he lived quietly, with a very few intimates; and although he appreciated competent appreciation, he wrote apparently with an almost contemptuous disregard to popularity. We may surely acquit him of unworthy jealousy. Yet it is remarkable that the men he detested and ridiculed were those that he might have been supposed envious of, had he been given to envy; either men who had as wide a range of tastes as himself, and who were credited with coming as near omniscience as it is given to mortals to attain to; or who had commanded universal admiration by successes in poetry or fiction; or who laid down the law professionally on delicate literary subjects; or who methodically cultivated as sciences the philosophy and political economy in which Peacock delighted to dabble. He hated Brougham, and never neglected an occasion for a side-hit at the man whose 'course of life was 'tortuous as a river, but in a reverse process, beginning by 'being dark and deep, and ending by being transparent.' He declared that 'Scott was only amusing because he misrepresented everything;' and 'that any sentence worth remembering, any moral or political truth, anything having tendency, however remote, to make men wiser or better, to make them think, to make them even think of thinking, was to be found *nusquam, nequaquam, nullibi, nullomodo*, in all these volumes, 'written in all the worst dialects of the English language.' We know no one who would have resented more bitterly than Peacock himself the pretensions to infallibility involved in the sweeping sublimity of that criticism. Indeed, he was intolerant enough of reviewers of less overweening pretensions: contributors to the 'Edinburgh' or the 'Quarterly' alike come in for his scorn, and if they were half as dull or extravagant as

the party he has assembled in his 'Crochet Castle,' or at Mainchance Villa in 'Melincourt,' they were scarcely worth the satire he has lavished on them. He objected to McCulloch—he even consistently misrepresents the eminent economist's Christian name—and the exact science he elucidated, as much as to Coleridge with his mysticism and transcendentalism. In Byron he seemed persistently to confound the poet with the man, witness the Mr. Cypress of 'Nightmare Abbey,' and Southey incurred his virulent abuse at once as author, laureate, and quarterly reviewer.

But his prejudices and strong prepossessions took a wider range than individual reputations or even representative men. He had as little liking as Dr. Johnson for the Scotch, and he was hard upon most schemes for social amelioration, although the burden of much of his writing is the urgent necessity for bettering the conditions of existence; had he been armed with despotic authority to accept or reject modern scientific inventions, we might still have been travelling by mail-coach, or sending our pressing messages by parcel or carrier pigeon. He laughed at flint instruments as proofs of the antiquity of man, as he was prematurely and delightfully sarcastic on theories of the origin of species. In short, with all his gifts of original thought, and in spite of strong common sense and sound reasoning powers, Peacock is the strange congeries of contradictions we have attempted to describe. That is, no doubt, a great charm in his writings to those who read chiefly to be entertained; but unquestionably it detracts from their permanent authority and value. You feel the author to be most earnest and outspoken when you are most firmly persuaded that he is wrong; in questions where you would really know his mind, he is pretty sure to disguise it by being ironical or playful. What you know is, that he is a delightful companion whose talk, like that of Earl Limours, can make the dullest subject 'glance and sparkle like a gem of fifty facets;' that his powerful intellect has been made supple by constant exercise till he can set it to tasks that sometimes remind you of the feats of an acrobat; and that he has accumulated a mass of miscellaneous erudition which he has the rare gift of employing in everyday talk. But his biographer has confirmed you in the impression that your agreeable companion is not to be much counted upon, should his sunshine be overcast, or should he be forced from the domain of thought into that of exertion. If he can brace himself up to his own daily task, he has the less energy left for works of general philanthropy. If his fund of philosophy and his constitutional

cheerfulness suffice for himself, they leave him little to spare for the troubles of his neighbour. He will talk by the hour to you if he finds company to his mind, but 'he will not 'be worried,' and will 'just get away from anything that 'annoys him.'

'Headlong Hall,' the first of his novelettes, serves as a sort of social milestone to mark the period when he began to write. The Holyhead mail sets down the first instalment of Squire Headlong's guests. We have a highly respectable clergyman breakfasting in bed on the morning after a heavy dinner and what our forefathers used to call a 'wet evening,' on a mug of buttered ale and an anchovy toast!! while after a ball and a supper which has been enlivened by toasts and songs, most of the gentlemen's coachmen are found drunk and incapable, and many of their masters very little better. Yet the party assembled under the hospitable roof of the Headlongs consisted of gentlemen of science, literature, and taste, whose acquaintance the squire had made in the metropolis, and they have brought the ladies of their families with them. The quartette in the mail coach consists of Mr. Foster, the perfectibilian (quasi *φωστήρ*—from *φάος* and *τηρέω*—one who watches over and guards the light); Mr. Escot, the deteriorationist (quasi *ἐς σκότον*, in tenebras; Mr. Jenkinson, the statu-quo-ite (from *αἰὲν ἐξ ἴσων*, semper ex æqualibus); and Dr. Gaster (*γαστήρ*). We could wish that Mr. Peacock, if he were bent upon finding onomatopœic names, had always been as careful in working them out into something with the semblance of those in common use. We have said that his novels are novels apart, not to be judged by ordinary canons. But the very essence of a telling tale is its power in making you forget that you have been transported from your actual world, and it is irritating to be rudely brought back to the reality by an impossible and extravagant name just at the moment when you were beginning to forget yourself. Mr. Peacock would appear to have recognised the error of his way by the time he came to write his 'Gryll Grange,' when he ceased in some degree to treat his public with a cynical disregard of their amiable weaknesses. But in 'Headlong Hall,' as in all the tales that immediately followed it, we are troubled by a phantasmagoria of monstrous appellations. We might forgive him his Milestones, Mac Laurels, Chromatics, and O'Prisms who came hustling in upon each others' heels, if he would only have dealt more kindly by his beauties. It is true that Miss Caprioletta, Squire Headlong's lovely and accomplished sister, is scarcely more unfortunate than many of the daughters of those mothers of our

own day who have been bit with the mania for bestowing fancy appellations. But who can sympathise with the gentleman who chooses to make love to a *Cephalis*? Who can imagine a *Tenorina*, a *Danaretta*, or an *Anthelia* looking graceful and womanly in flesh and in muslin?

The arrival of the guests turns Headlong Hall to all intents and purposes into a Crochet Castle. It might be imagined that the world, or any nook of it, would be made positively uninhabitable by the meeting of so many eccentrics, each of them mounted on a hobby of his own. And undoubtedly there is a good deal of jousting with sharp lances when the various crochets chance to run counter to each other: the champions stand by their monomanias with dogged persistency, and in actual practice those of the party who were reduced to sitting in silence might find that the dialogues sometimes dragged. But Mr. Peacock's genius makes the weapons strike out fire in this war of wits; and if the essence of wit consists mainly in surprise, these dialogues must be pronounced admirably humorous. Your interest is kept alive by being always in expectation; exquisite drollery, as likely as not, may be found lurking under the disguise of a ponderous bit of pedantry. The different personages sustain their parts to perfection—in their talk; but there is an universal underflow of satire in the circumstance that no one of them dreams of acting up to his opinions should the doing so interfere with his comforts or convenience. Thus Mr. Escot denounces animal food and elaborate cookery as the main causes of the decay of the human race. So far as the use of animal food is concerned, Mr. Foster is disposed to agree with him. Both are equally violent against Mr. Jenkinson, who trims on the comfortable doctrine that the question being in equipoise, it may be well in the meantime to eat of everything. Yet the practice of the pair of extreme philosophers is in perfect harmony with his, and it would be impossible to decide on the schools they respectively belong to by watching them handling their knives and forks. We have said that we are seldom absolutely sure as to whether Mr. Peacock is speaking seriously or ironically, and how much irony may be mingled with his evident convictions. Take a disquisition of Mr. Escot's on the boasted blessings of our modern civilisation as a case in point—at least it tells of the conflict that was going on in Peacock's judgment, and shadows out some of the doubts that beset him:—

‘You present to me a complicated picture of artificial life and require me to admire it. Seas covered with vessels, every one of which contains two or three tyrants, and from fifty to a thousand slaves, ignorant,

gross, perverted, and active only in mischief. Ports resounding with life, in other words with noise and drunkenness, the mingled din of avarice, intemperance, and prostitution. Profound researches; scientific inventions: to what end? to teach the art of living on a little? to disseminate independence, liberty, health? No; to multiply factitious desires, to stimulate depraved appetites, to invent unnatural wants, to heap up incense on the shrine of luxury, and accumulate expedients of selfish and ruinous profusion. Complicated machinery: behold its blessings. Twenty years ago, at the door of every cottage sat the good woman with her spinning-wheel; the children, if not more profitably employed than in gathering health and sticks, at least laid in a stock of health and strength to sustain the labours of maturer years. Where is the spinning-wheel now, and every simple and insulated occupation of the industrious cottager? Wherever this boasted machinery is established, the children of the poor are death-doomed from their cradles. Look for one moment at midnight into a cotton mill, amidst the smell of oil, the smoke of lamps, the rattling of wheels, the dizzy and complicated motions of diabolical mechanism: contemplate the little human machines that keep play with the revolutions of the iron work, robbed at that hour of their natural rest, as of air and exercise by day: observe their pale and ghastly features, more ghastly in that baleful and malignant light, and tell me if you do not fancy yourself on the threshold of Virgil's hell, where

“Continuò auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,  
*Infantumque animæ flentes*, in limine primo,  
 Quos *dulcis vitæ exsortes*, et ab ubere raptos,  
*Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo!*”

The passage is no bad illustration of his favourite style as well as the course of his thoughts. We have mellifluous diction and rounded periods, though every word is picked out for its purpose, and the whole is condensed into forcible compass. As usual, it is pointed with the inevitable classical allusion, applied in this case with the consciousness of unusual felicity, for it is the writer who shows his satisfaction with the parallel he has found, in italics and capital letters.

Mr. Peacock, although when he wrote his earlier books he lived much in comparative retirement, has the latest contributions to literature always at his fingers' ends. His inquiring and sarcastic mind has been occupying itself with the most popular treatises and subjects of discussion, singling out for animadversion those salient points that lend themselves most easily to ridicule. Thus, in 'Headlong Hall,' he laughs at the landscape gardeners who would 'improve' into dull regularity the magnificent scenery the long-descended Welsh squire was happy enough to have inherited. 'Price on the Pictu-resque,' 'Knight on Taste,' some articles from our own earlier numbers, are the themes he pitches upon in this instance,



quoting wholesale that he may convict his victims out of their own mouths, but often, it must be confessed, by forcibly detaching sentences from their indispensable context. With a delicate irony, he makes Mr. Milestone, the fanatical improver, expatiate on the charms of Nature, as he might have done himself, with the feelings of a poet and the soul of an artist, while proposing to torture them into tameness with the infernal devices of his art:—

‘Here is a wood, never yet touched by the finger of taste; thick, intricate and gloomy. Here is a little stream dashing from stone to stone, and overshadowed with those untrimmed boughs. . . . Here is a large rock with the mountain ash rooted in its fissures, overgrown, as you see, with ivy and moss; and from this part of it bursts a little fountain that runs bubbling down its rugged sides. . . . Beautiful! Miss Tenorina! Hideous. Base, common, and popular. Such a thing as you may see anywhere in wild, mountainous districts. Now, observe the metamorphosis. Here is the same rock cut into the shape of a giant, &c.’

The characters of the story having had their say, the action waiting in the meantime on their discussions—the company have to listen incidentally to a long lecture on craniology—Mr. Peacock disposes of them summarily, and winds up in true Headlong fashion. People who as yet have scarcely been guilty of flirtation are pushed into each other’s arms, and four couples make up as many marriages with as little ceremony as if they were arranging a quadrille. Perhaps the author might plead the title of his book for this exceptionally unceremonious method of treatment, but we imagine he scarcely troubled himself about an excuse for carrying his ordinary system to an extreme in this one particular instance. He always writes to please himself rather than other people. He pays so little heed to his plot, that he throws its rough machinery away without a regret when it has sufficed to answer his immediate purpose; and as for his characters, he sweeps them aside with the less scruple for the time, that he means to use them again with a change in the names and the costumes. As he wants something of an audience to animate him, as he *must* write for the sake of dilating on the ideas he is full of, he compromises in some measure with the fancies of the public by conveying these ideas by the vehicle of a story. So generally before he is done with one novel, the germs of another to succeed it are already developing in his mind. A passage in his ‘Headlong Hall’ leads naturally on to his ‘Melincourt,’ which appeared the next year. In the former, Mr. Escot, the perfectibilian, exclaims, ‘Give me the wild man of the woods, the original, ‘unthinking, unscientific, unlogical savage; in him there is at

‘least some good.’ The grand central feature of ‘*Melincourt*’ is precisely such a savage, an oran outang caught young in the forests of his native Africa, who has been introduced by circumstances to the best English society, of which, as Sir Oran Haut-ton, he is a distinguished ornament. This unsophisticated being willingly lends himself to be educated up to a certain point. He has the manners of the best company. He is generally grave and dignified in his bearing. He is of a profoundly grateful disposition, and shows himself as capable of love as of friendship: he is heroically chivalrous when occasions present themselves, and thanks to his extraordinary personal strength, wins the smiles of fair ladies in adventures worthy a paladin of Charlemagne’s. It is true that he does not shine in conversation like so many others of Mr. Peacock’s personages, for the simple reason that he has not the gift of speech. But his friend and patron does not despair of developing that faculty by cultivation, and there can be no question that if he possessed it, he would use it most discreetly, if he may be judged by his dumb intelligence. Meantime, his extreme reserve may pass with the many as indicating a powerful but cautious thinker, and his patron, who has already bought him his baronetcy, has him returned to Parliament for the pocket-borough of Onevote.

All this reads extravagantly enough, and we do not wonder when a brother-baronet of Sir Oran’s exclaims, ‘A devilish ‘lively pleasant fellow, but curse me if I know what to make ‘of him.’ For Sir Oran, after behaving through dinner with extreme decorum, suddenly, after slightly exceeding in madeira, takes a flying leap out at the open window and ‘goes dancing along the woods like a harlequin.’ But the titled oran outang is presented with as much art as the supernatural beings in the tales of La Motte Fouqué, so that he jars upon our sense of the realities far less harshly than those absurd names we have adverted to. Since we are not compelled to accustom ourselves to his odd personal appearance, like poor Sir Telegraph Paxarett, who soliloquises reflectively, ‘Possibly I may have ‘seen an uglier fellow,’ we have little difficulty in giving ourselves up to the dry humour of the author, and persuading ourselves that the unobtrusive, well-mannered gentleman with the dark complexion and the bushy whiskers was really progressing towards perfectibility from an intellectual order of apes. The point of the satire lies in the application of the footnotes: there is not a quality or an action attributed to Sir Oran that is not based upon grave extracts from writings by Linnæus and Buffon, and above all by Lord Monboddó. When

Mr. Forester is propounding his theory of development in its wildest shape, he is only quoting *verbatim* from the 'Ancient Metaphysics.' And the humour of the jest lies in the circumstance, that in place of bringing in an abstraction, the theme of his argument is seated at his elbow in the shape of an ape who has been dressed by Stultz.

As Mr. Peacock never troubled himself about his plots, so he never taxed his fancy to vary the main idea. In 'Melincourt,' the leading characters are assembled as usual in a house in the country, where hospitality is practised on most eccentric principles. Here we have a beautiful damsel of ancient family and great estate as the châtelaine of a picturesque mansion surrounded by magnificent scenery. She is the loadstone that attracts aspirants to her hand from all quarters. Her own ideal of the man she could honour and obey is moulded on a modern cast of the heroes of the old chivalrous romances. In the adventurers in the group that has gathered about her we have so many living satires on the follies and degeneracy of the age. They serve to throw out in brighter relief the qualities of the gentleman who is to satisfy her high-pitched aspirations. Mr. Forester, young, rich, and handsome, proves to be all her fancy painted her future lord.

'I would require him,' she had said, 'to be free in all his thoughts, true in all his words, generous in all his actions—ardent in friendship, enthusiastic in love, disinterested in both—prompt in the conception and constant in the execution of benevolent enterprise—the friend of the friendless, the champion of the feeble, the firm opponent of the powerful oppressor—not to be enervated by luxury nor corrupted by avarice, nor intimidated by tyranny, nor enthralled by superstition—more desirous to distribute wealth than to possess it, to disseminate liberty than to appropriate power, to cheer the heart of sorrow than to dazzle the eyes of folly.'

All that, Mr. Forester shows himself to be, in conduct that is consistently philanthropical and eccentric. He translates into his everyday mode of living the principles that some other men profess: for example, as a conscientious opponent of the slave-trade, he renounces the use of sugar in every shape, and assembles an antisaccharine congress to make converts. His words are as independent as his way of thinking. He pushes frankness almost to brutality in his onslaughts on persons or ideas which we presume Mr. Peacock held in aversion. We believe the fierce diatribe with which he assails Mr. Feathernest, the clever poet and author who had changed his principles to court a patron, to have been levelled at Southey, whom Mr. Peacock seems to have detested; while his remarks on Mr.

Mystic, the philosopher of Cimmerian Lodge, are certainly founded on a grotesque caricature of Coleridge. If we need multiply illustrations of Mr. Peacock's disregard for the probabilities in this framework of his stories, we may remark, in passing, on the quest of Mr. Forester and his friend for the fair Anthelia who has been ravished by some miscreant from her ancestral halls. When Forester might be supposed to be feverishly excited by the loss of the mistress he so dearly loved, he is making a leisurely tour in literary circles, indulging in interminable discussions with the representatives of various schools of thought, and among other things in an exhaustive disquisition on the currency question. It is almost as natural that the coaching Sir Telegraph, who has no ideas beyond the team he sits behind, should pay graceful classical compliments on the spur of the moment, touching them up with quotations from Homer and Heine, just as if he had been a student as zealous as Mr. Peacock himself.

But if we are content to be blind to such inconsistencies, if we are prepared to skip when we are wearied of subjects that have lost the little interest they may once have had, we shall find enough everywhere to amuse and entertain us. Abuses that subsequent legislation has fortunately made matter of history are admirably ridiculed. Take, for example, the showing up of the rotten borough system in the election of Sir Oran and Mr. Sarcastic for Onevote. After all, things were not much worse at Onevote than at Gatton or Old Sarum. The constituency amounted to one, the solitary voter was Mr. Christopher Corporation, while the flourishing neighbouring city of Novote had no voice at all in the representation of the country. The population, however, snatch at the chance of a holiday, flock over to the declaration of the poll at Onevote, and give the senior member, Mr. Sinon Sarcastic, an opportunity of addressing himself to a sympathetic audience. As for Onevote, the borough consisted of a lonely farmhouse in the middle of a 'blasted heath,' and 'the Duke of Rottenborough found it very 'well worth his while to pay his tenant for living there to keep 'the borough in existence.' All went well till the results of the poll were declared, and the customary cry was raised of 'Chair 'em.' The impossibility of a single stout gentleman in top boots chairing a couple of able-bodied members, demonstrates the anomaly of the privileges of Onevote. The difficulty is characteristically surmounted, however, by the Novote mob being admitted for that occasion only to the exercise of certain electoral privileges. Mr. Sarcastic's speech to 'the 'free, fat, and dependent burghers of this ancient and honour-

‘able borough,’ is well worthy of quotation at greater length than we can afford it :—

‘How high a value I set upon your voice, you may judge by the price I have paid for half of it; which indeed deeply lodged as my feelings are in my pocket, I yet see no reason to regret, since you will thus confer on mine, a transmutable and market value, which I trust by proper management will leave me no loser by the bargain.’

Representation, as he goes on to point out, addressing himself to the people of Novote, may be virtual as well as actual. He pledges himself to extend to them virtual representation, and it is his opinion that ‘the duty of a representative of the ‘people, whether actual or virtual, is simply to tax’ :—

‘Now this important branch of the public business is much more easily transacted by means of the virtual than it possibly could be by that of actual representation. For when the minister draws up his scheme of ways and means, he will do it with much more celerity and confidence, when he knows that the propitious countenance of virtual representation will never cease to smile upon him as long as he continues in place, than if he had to encounter the doubtful aspect of actual representation which might perhaps look black on some of his favourite projects, thereby greatly impeding the expenditure of secret-service money at home, and placing foreign legitimacy in a very awkward predicament.’

The master of ‘Nightmare Abbey’ is a confirmed hypochondriac. Mr. Glowry had been disappointed in friendship and crossed in love, and he used to say that ‘his home was no ‘better than a spacious kennel, for everyone in it led the life ‘of a dog.’ His household had been arranged in conformity with their master’s atrabilious disposition—the very maids were trained to be as silent as Trappists. The only pleasures that are left him in life are the keen appreciation of a good dinner and the enjoyment of a good bottle of wine, and there his only son takes after him. Judging, indeed, by the importance Mr. Peacock very properly attaches to the *cuisine* and cellar, we fancy that his own mental activity and perennial cheerfulness came in great measure of an excellent digestion and well-regulated *gourmandise*. He never travelled, so far as we learn, and he cared little for the foreign refinements of *entrées* and *entremets*. But in a straightforward English way he is a good deal of a *gourmet*, like those respectable beneficed clergymen with whom we insist on confounding his identity. He spreads the tables in his modern country-houses with as generous liberality as at those grand mediæval banquets, when eating to excess was the relaxation of every gentleman. He believes in madeira above all other wines, and we fear that the

failure of the vines in the island must have cast its shadow on the decline of his life. It is amusing how everyone in his books, in their trouble or perplexity, has recourse to madeira as an unfailing specific, although, no doubt, as Sam Slick says, there is 'considerable of human natur' in that. Scythrop, Mr. Glowry's only son and heir, in extreme depression of spirits is contemplating suicide, and orders the old family butler to fetch him a pint of port and a pistol. Raven has come to announce that dinner is served, and he reminds his young master that boiled fowl and madeira are prescribed by the faculty for complaints like his. He goes on to suggest, with sound practical sense, that Scythrop had better dine first and then think again about shooting himself. The misanthrope acknowledges the force of the butler's argument, and is of another mind altogether after disposing of the madeira. His behaviour in the circumstances is the more significant, that the chief interest of 'Nightmare Abbey' lies in the presumption that the principal characters in it are intended for portraits. Mr. Flosky is Mr. Mystic over again, another reproduction of Coleridge. Cypress is Lord Byron, but above all, it was Shelley who sat for Scythrop. Lord Houghton writes: 'The satisfaction of Shelley in this humorous portraiture of himself, as expressed in one of his letters, is remarkable, and it is surprising that more attention has not been paid to it by the numerous biographers and annotators of the poet. For in this work of a faithful and considerate friend, the idealistic earnestness of his mental constitution is shown to be united with much wit and shrewd sense.' It gives much interest to a comparison of the Scythrop of this fanciful story with the Shelley of the memoirs which are reprinted from 'Fraser's Magazine.' Unquestionably there is a very close resemblance between the two, which makes the naïve unconsciousness with which Shelley smiled at his own portraiture the more extraordinary. For the most humorous point in it is the way in which Scythrop's affections are dragged asunder between a couple of young women who are most attractive in very opposite styles. He feels so strongly 'how happy could I be with either,' that he insults each of them by hesitating to receive her when she almost intimates her readiness to fall into his arms, and so he loses both in the end. It is true that that *dénouement* was the very reverse of what happened to Shelley in real life. He won in succession both the women loved, but his first wife committed suicide after he had abandoned her for another better suited to his taste. It is strange enough that his intimate friend should have ventured to trifle with a subject

so delicate. It is stranger still that a sensitive poet should have seen only the humorous side of a situation that ought to have been so painfully suggestive. Some of the other touches, less questionable in their taste, are admirable. Such as the castles in the air that Scythrop constructed for himself, under the influence of 'his passion for reforming the world.' Or when he is cheerful rather than otherwise in accepting the omen, on learning that only seven copies of his great work have been sold. 'Seven is a mystical number, and the omen is good. 'Let me find the seven purchasers of my seven copies, and 'they shall be the seven golden candlesticks with which I shall 'illuminate the world.' Or when falling in love with a singularly light-hearted and light-headed young lady whom he persuades himself will be a suitable helpmate in his sublime mission, he makes her the following tremendous proposition: 'Let us each open a vein in the other's arm, mix our blood 'in a bowl, and drink it as a sacrament of love.' Coleridge is extravagantly caricatured in Flosky, but as a caricature Flosky is decidedly clever, because he much more nearly resembles his prototype than the mystic recluse of Cimmerian Lodge. 'I pity the man,' he tells us, 'who can see the connexion of his own ideas. Still more do I pity him, the connexion of whose ideas every other person can see.' 'To say 'that I do not know, would be to say that I am ignorant of 'something; O God forbid that a transcendental metaphysician . . . should fall into so empirical an error as to 'declare himself ignorant of anything.' Lord Byron as Mr. Cypress is the most meagre and least satisfactory sketch of the three. The author touches on his morose and melancholy humour, and does no justice to the poet's genius or verse. And *apropos* to verse, before taking leave of 'Nightmare Abbey,' we may quote some stanzas of a *chansonnette* sung by the sprightly Maironetta O'Carrol, as no bad example of Mr. Peacock's most playful poetry:—

'Why are thy looks so blank, gray friar?  
 Why are thy looks so blue?  
 Thou seem'st more lank and pale, gray friar,  
 Than thou wast used to do.  
 Say what has made thee rue?

'Thy form was plump, and a light did shine  
 In thy round and ruby face,  
 Which showed an outward visible sign  
 Of an inward, spiritual grace:—  
 Say, what has changed thy case?

'Yet will I tell thee true, gray friar.  
I very well can see,  
That if thy looks are blue, gray friar,  
'Tis all for love of me,—  
'Tis all for love of me.'

'Crochet Castle,' with much of course that is clever in it, bears out its title to the fullest extent. A company of the most original of originals are assembled in the mansion of a self-made millionaire, of strong opinions and pronounced tastes. He even scandalises his parish clergyman, an easygoing gentleman by no means prudish, with the free display of nude statuettes of the Cytherean goddess, with which he has adorned his drawing rooms. When in the heat of argument Dr. Folliott remonstrates, and ventures on the direct *argumentum ad hominem*, 'Would you have allowed Miss Crochet to sit as a model for Canova?' Crochet drily answers, 'Yes, sir,' leaving the doctor no more to say than, 'God bless my soul!' And as Mr. Crochet is, so is the circle he has assembled round him. Every man has mounted himself on a hobby, which he is galloping to death. In 'Crochet Castle' Mr. Peacock is learned and amusing as usual, but he is never more violent or more unreasonably prejudiced, or more regardless of the ordinary rules of his art. While he is vituperating Scotch reviewers and metaphysicians, however, and making very free with established reputations from that of their great countryman Sir Walter Scott downwards, he gives utterance to many eternal truths about those unscrupulous speculators who hasten to be rich, although these were not the days of joint-stock companies (limited). We are told that his 'Miss Susannah Touchandgo' was a study after the object of his earliest attachment, although we are greatly inclined to doubt it. At least, if it was so, though he has introduced us to a fascinating girl among enchanting surroundings, he has desecrated the memories that inspired his 'Newark Abbey' by giving her a most disreputable parentage, and making her in the blindness of her filial affection confound all notions of right and wrong. Be that as it may, no exception can be taken to his spirited description of the Welsh scenery to which Miss Touchandgo had retired from the world, nor to the verses suggested by the scenery and its traditions.

'Maid Marian,' and the 'Misfortunes of Elphin,' are a couple of romantic extravaganzas that are perfectly charming. Satirical as usual, the author half-seriously glorifies the 'good old times' at the expense of modern civilisation; but his favourite ideas are rather insinuated than obtruded, and it is very rarely that



we are favoured with long disquisitions. ‘Maid Marian,’ as the name imports, is the tale of Robin Hood in Sherwood Forest. In the wild and often beautiful snatches of song with which it is everywhere interspersed, it breathes the free air of the wild woodlands in which the scenes are laid. The jovial outlaws carol out their staves, ‘tuning their merry throats ‘unto the wild birds’ notes’ in the joyousness of their hearts and the irrepressible exuberance of their animal spirits. The Church is represented among them by Friar Tuck, who emancipated himself from religious prejudices as thoroughly as Mr. Peacock, when he let the robe of his order fall to his heels and assaulted the brethren of Rubygill Abbey. But they give little encouragement to the other learned professions. As for the leech’s art, we cannot imagine their being either sick or sorry; nor do we get a glimpse at the shady side of their existence, when they must have been laid up with ghastly wounds that needed the chirurgeon. As for law and lawyers, their life is a continual protest against the one and the other. But they have drawn up a code of their own, based on the inalienable rights of man illuminated by the light of natural justice, so that they waylay and strip offenders against their system with the clearest of clear consciences. Even if they had never tampered with the king’s deer in those days of the bloody forest laws, they could scarcely have kept themselves in gloomy castles or cloisters, when the sunbeams were falling on the forest turf through breaks in the glades in the merry greenwood. Brother Michael, alias Friar Tuck, thus describes sympathetically the feelings of the fair Maid Marian and her lover the outlawed Earl of Huntingdon:—

‘In truth she would have had little of her lover’s company if she had liked the chaunt of the choristers better than the cry of the hounds: yet I know not; for they were companions from the cradle, and reciprocally fashioned each other to the love of the fern and the foxglove. Had either been less sylvan, the other might have been more saintly; but they will now never hear matins but those of the lark, nor reverence vaulted aisle but that of the greenwood canopy. They are twin plants of the forest, and are identified with its growth.

‘For the tender beech and the sapling oak,  
That grow by the shadowy rill,  
You may cut down both at a single stroke,  
You may cut down which you will.

‘But this you must know, that as long as they grow,  
Whatever change may be,  
You never can teach either oak or beech  
To be aught but a greenwood tree.’

We like Mr. Peacock's poetry the best when it is most unstudied and least pretentious. His 'Genius of the Thames' flows along smoothly enough, and those who, with him, have delighted in the varied beauties of the river's banks, will enjoy the poem the more for the sake of associations. 'Rhododaphne' has obtained the critical approval of a great poet, and doubtless its taste is generally most correct, and its versification almost invariably mellifluous. But the songs and gay lyrics in 'Maid Marian' and the 'Misfortunes of Elphin' come straight home to the feelings. They flow so evidently from the fullness of their author's enjoyment, when he has abstracted himself from the round of his daily duties, and even from the studies he most delighted in. Peacock must many a time have burned the midnight oil, when he forgot the flight of time in the company of his favourite authors; but we suspect he never so thoroughly enjoyed their society as when thrusting some well-thumbed volume in his pocket, he gave his companion half-hearted attention in the course of his forest rambles.

The 'Misfortunes of Elphin' carry us back to the times when Uther Pendragon lorded it over his Britons from 'old 'Caer Lleon upon Usk.' In similar style, they soar a higher flight than 'Maid Marian.' The quick-witted Cymri, with their strange blending of refined tastes and most barbarous practices, lend themselves admirably to Mr. Peacock's genius. The history of those times has been vaguely handed down in myth and tradition, but we can conceive that the picture, as Mr. Peacock presents it to us, is by no means over-fanciful, although somewhat sarcastically caricatured. The touches he introduces in the way of political allegory bearing on the burning questions of the time when he wrote, fall in with the rest in perfect harmony; while his lays of the bards are full of fire and spirit, and steeped in local and chronological colour. If the Welsh originals sung half as well as he, we may envy the petty tyrants who patronised them the music that enlivened their interminable feasts. Certainly, if the picture of Wales is a fair one, there was abundance of work preparing for the statesmanship of Arthur and the venturesome chivalry of the knights. King Melvas was a very fair representative of his class. 'If he wanted a piece of land, he encamped upon 'it, saying "this is mine." If the former possessor could eject 'him, so, it was not his; if not, so, it remained his. Cattle, 'wine, furniture, another man's wife, whatever he took a fancy 'to, he pounced upon and appropriated.' The war-song of Dinas Vawr,—

'The mountain sheep are sweeter,  
But the valley sheep are fatter,' &c.,

is a most life-like expression of the habits of his court and the occupations of himself and his warriors; and we must have given it at length, had it not been one of the few pieces of Peacock's which have already obtained a deserved popularity. The inhabitants of the plains and the subjects of the more feeble tyrants must have held life and property on a most precarious tenure; but, according to Mr. Peacock, it was not only in that respect that they were greatly to be pitied. For—

‘the science of political economy was sleeping in the womb of time. The advantage of growing rich by getting into debt and paying interest was altogether unknown. . . . They had no steam engines, with fires as eternal as those of the nether world, wherein the squalid many, from infancy to age, might be turned into component portions of machinery for the benefit of the purple-faced few. They could neither poison the air with gas, nor the water with its dregs: in short, they made their money of metal, and breathed pure air and drank pure water like unscientific barbarians. Of moral science they had little; but morals without science they had about as much as we have. They had a number of fine precepts, partly from their religion, partly from their bards, which they remembered in their liquor and forgot in their business.’

‘The people lived in darkness and vassalage. They were lost in the grossness of beef and ale. They had no pamphleteering societies to demonstrate that reading and writing are better than meat and drink; and they were utterly destitute of the blessings of those “schools for “all,” the house of correction and the treadmill, wherein the autochthonal justice of an agrestic kakistocracy now castigates the heinous sins which were then committed with impunity, of treading on old footpaths, picking up dead wood, and moving on the face of the earth within the sound of the whirr of a partridge.’

There was one prosperous principality, however, where the people were not only lost in the grossness of beef and ale, but seem to have enjoyed a blessed immunity from the alarms of war and frays. Gwythno, their paternal sovereign, holds precisely the same constitutional theory as Mr. Sarcastic enunciated later on the hustings of Onevote. ‘Gwythno and ‘his subjects went on together very happily. They had little ‘to do with him but to pay him revenue, and he had little to ‘do with them but to receive it.’ The description of the scene of a summer evening, as the Crown Prince looks over the broad stretch of his dominions, is like a slumbering landscape by Linnel or Birket Foster:—

‘The sea shone with the glory of the setting sun; the air was calm; and the white surf, tinged with the crimson of sunset, broke lightly on the sands below. Elphin turned his eyes from the dazzling splendour of the Plain of Gwaelod; the trees, that in the distance thickened

into woods; the wreaths of smoke rising from among them, marking the solitary cottages or the populous towns; the massy barrier of mountains beyond, with the forest rising from their base; the precipices rising from the forest; and the clouds resting on their summits reddened with the reflection of the West. Elphin gazed earnestly on the peopled plain, reposing in the calm of evening between the mountains and the sea, and thought with deep feelings of secret pain, how much of life and human happiness were entrusted to the ruinous mound on which he stood.'

That ruinous mound, the embankment raised to protect the land against the wild rollers of the Western Ocean, supplies one of the best of the allegorical political allusions:—

'In this tale,' writes Miss Nicolls in the memoir, 'my grandfather has almost paraphrased in the speech of Prince Seithenyn, first commissioner of the king in charge of the embankment, Canning's eloquence in a speech delivered in the year 1825, against Reform. "Decay," said Seithenyn, "is one thing and danger another. Everything that is old must decay. That the embankment is old, I am free to confess; that it is somewhat rotten in parts, I will not altogether gainsay; that it is any the worse for that, I do most sturdily gainsay. . . . I say the parts that are rotten give elasticity to those that are sound; they give them elasticity, elasticity, elasticity. If it were all sound, it would break by its own obstinate stiffness: the soundness is checked by the rottenness and the stiffness is balanced by the elasticity. There is nothing so dangerous as innovation. . . . It is well: it works well: let well alone. Cupbearer, fill. It was half rotten when I was born, and that is a conclusive reason why it should be three parts rotten when I die.'

But Prince Seithenyn, with his catchword of *Gwin o eur*—wine for gold, a time-honoured apothegm of the Cymric bards, and borrowed by the way in the Gaelic poems of Ossian, is perhaps the most exquisitely humorous personage in the volumes, with the drunken solemnity of speech, and the dry sententiousness of the Bacchanalian philosophy with which his cherished wine-cup inspires him.

As for the songs of the bards, they should be read at length to be appreciated. They lose greatly when torn out of their setting, and must be appreciated in the full swing of the story. Not only do they echo the tone of the times, the influence of those petty jealousies that have always been the curse of the *genus irritabile* not being ignored, but Peacock was evidently inspired in writing them by the fond recollections of the pleasant days when he gave himself up to his long wanderings among the Welsh hills. Selecting from them, almost at random, we may take some verses from 'the brilliancies of 'winter':—

- ‘ Last of flowers in tufts around  
 Shines the furze’s golden bloom :  
 Milk-white lichens clothe the ground  
 ’Mid the flowerless heath and broom :  
 Bright are holly berries seen  
 Red, through leaves of glossy green.
- ‘ Brightly, as on rocks they leap,  
 Shine the seaweeds, white with spray ;  
 Brightly in the dingles deep  
 Gleams the river’s foaming bay ;  
 Brightly through the distance show  
 Mountain-summits clothed in snow.
- ‘ Brightly where the torrents bound  
 Shines the frozen colonnade,  
 Which the black rocks dripping round  
 And the flying spray have made :  
 Bright the ice-drops on the ash,  
 Leaning o’er the cataract’s dash.
- . . . . .
- ‘ Close the portals ; pile the hearth ;  
 Strike the harp ; the feast pursue ;  
 Brim the horns ; fire, music, mirth,  
 Mead and love are winter’s due.  
 Spring to purple conflict calls  
 Swords that shine on winter’s walls.’

To us, even in that slight fragment, there seems more of the music and feeling of genuine poetry than in half the studied works on which the most popular poets of our own day propose to raise themselves immortal reputations.

And now in course of chronological sequence we are at last arrived at ‘Gryll Grange,’ published just forty-six years later than ‘Headlong Hall.’ Had it appeared anonymously, one would have pronounced it a work of splendid promise for a novice, could any novice have been conceived capable of writing it. It has many of the technical faults we should be disposed to set down to inexperience rather than independence. It is full of the freshness, too, which one generally dissociates from age when it has been saddened and disillusioned by experience. But it shows a habit of reflection whose ripe maturity is unmistakable ; while its stores of miscellaneous knowledge could only have been accumulated by a man of the world with whom literature was a passion, although he might be more catholic in his tastes than dispassionate in his judgment. There is much of the old eccentricity and extravagance in ‘Gryll Grange,’ but it is sober in comparison with ‘Headlong Hall.’

It is not often that a young gentleman of fortune secludes himself in a solitary tower in the midst of a populous English county—sets up an establishment of seven charming sisters who wait upon him and are themselves waited upon in turn, and yet neither suffers socially from scandal nor the breath of suspicion, though he does not altogether escape remark. In a case of the kind, the eccentric recluse would be more likely to be served with a writ of lunacy by his next of kin than be made welcome in neighbouring households, notwithstanding his wealth and attractions. It is almost exceeding romantic licence to imagine the seven damsels wooed and won simultaneously by seven youths of the neighbourhood, whose respective attachments did not clash; and we are invited to accept other events and situations almost equally unlikely. But if we stretch our charity towards Mr. Falconer and his band of ministering vestals so far as the divines and ladies of his county, and if we read the rest of the book in a similarly indulgent spirit, we shall feel that this time we are living with beings of flesh and blood; among fascinating women with whom we could easily fall in love, and men of the world who were always agreeable companions. If the old prepossessions and prejudices are visible, they are aired more incidentally. If there are the old digressions, they seldom exceed the limits of somewhat prosy dialogue; and if the learning they contain is more profound than before, there is less of pedantry and it is used more easily. We wish that Mr. Peacock could have commenced as a novelist where he left off; that from the first he had gone on conforming his works to the tastes of the world for whom they were intended after all. We have said already that he strikes us as embodying his own personality in his own dignified clergymen. We are very sure that he is his own Dr. Opimian. Dr. Opimian, we are told, ‘had some French and ‘more Italian, being fond of romances of chivalry; and in ‘Greek and Latin he thought himself a match for any man.’ ‘His tastes were four: a good library, a good dinner, a pleasant garden and rural walks.’ He speaks and thinks Homer, straining the ideas and expressions of the old poet through the medium of nineteenth century English. Dr. Opimian reminds us of the glimpses we have had at Peacock’s own domestic life, as when he says feelingly in answer to the remark, ‘All ‘daughters are not good.’ ‘Most are. Of all relations in life ‘it is the least disappointing.’ He discourses learnedly and *con amore* on all the subjects, light or solid, in which we know that Peacock interested himself. But his armoury is as amply furnished with light though effective weapons as with that

heavier artillery which Peacock used most freely in his earlier works. The dish the doctor is being helped from supplies him as readily with ideas for conversation as a reference to some custom of the banquets of Alcibiades and Lucullus ; and he is as happy in discoursing on soups and fishes as in his monologue on the ancient fashions of wearing the hair, and the influence of close-shaven heads and unbecoming fillets on the affections. That last dissertation, by the way, we may instance as a masterpiece in Mr. Peacock's peculiar manner. In itself it would furnish out matter for a most erudite article. It absolutely teems with recondite classical references. Yet it is expressed with an easy sprightliness that makes it light reading for everyone ; one allusion leads naturally on to another ; and while here and there as he reverts to scenes in the Grecian dramatists, he breaks himself into beauties of poetical expression, simply perhaps from the power of sympathy. 'The progress of invention has not reconciled him to the march of science. 'Science,' he says, 'is one thing, and wisdom is another. Science is an edged tool 'with which men play like children, and cut their own fingers.' And the diatribe against the calamities science brings in its train, is as tersely comprehensive as any in the 'Misfortunes 'of Elphin.' He is as much in love with the Americans as with Lord Brougham or Earl Russell ; and far from laying down an Atlantic cable, he would 'apply the powers of electrical repulsion to prevent us from ever having anything more of 'them.' Most characteristic perhaps of Dr. Opimian's determination to receive no evidence against his deep-rooted prepossessions is his comment on the discovery of celts as an argument for the antiquity of man. But, on the other hand, his natural acuteness and his breadth of close observation are shown in his criticisms on the botany of Milton and on Tennyson's peculiar conception of Cleopatra.

It is a natural transition from the Egyptian enchantress—a pure Greek in her birth and type of features, as Mr. Peacock points out—to modern flirtation, love, and marriages, and the beauties of 'Gryll Grange' are more like mortals than any of his other young women, except, perhaps, the bewitching Maid Marian. They are intellectual like their admirers, and none the worse for that ; but they have their hopes, doubts and fears, their pretty caprices and their wayward moods, and under the tyranny of the tender passion behave just as we should fancy their behaving. Morgana Gryll, although fastidious and very romantic, plays her part as gracefully as naturally. Miss Niphet, who is exceptionally fortunate in the sweet and simple name of Alice, becomes exceedingly bewitching when she begins

insensibly to interest herself in the all-accomplished Lord Curryfin; while the sister-beauties of the forest tower, placed by anticipation in the anomalous sphere that Mrs. Crawshaw of Cwyfartha has imagined for her lady domestics, sink with yielding coyness after a lively courtship into the stalwart arms of their sworn adorers. 'Gryll Grange' is by many degrees the most fascinating of the five novels in its style.

The three articles on Shelley, published originally in 'Fraser's Magazine,' so far as they go, are most valuable contributions to the life of the poet, for Peacock had lived in close intimacy with him for years, and had done something towards correcting the morbid weaknesses that injured his health and embittered his life. We need only notice briefly what is most original in them, without pretending to enter into details on points that are still matters of controversy. But Mr. Peacock seems to make it plain beyond reasonable doubt that Shelley's imagination actually played him false so far as honestly to deceive himself. Repeatedly he narrated most circumstantially events that can hardly have occurred. He used to tell how in an outburst of righteous indignation he had driven a knife through a schoolfellow's hand at Eton: yet it is only from himself we hear of an incident that must have made no slight sensation had it happened. He elaborately invented the account of a night attack on a lonely house that he occupied in Wales: at least his story was flatly contradicted by an examination of the earth and grass under his windows. On another occasion he mentioned to Peacock all the details of a visit he had received—proposed to convince his doubting friend by taking him to see the gentleman who was supposed to have paid it: then suddenly stopped short on the road, tacitly admitting that the whole tale had been a fable. We have a ludicrous example of his habit of seeking confirmation in common life of some wildly fanciful theory that for the time amounted to monomania with him. At a time when 'he saw the Zodiac 'in everything,' he and Peacock passed a public-house with the sign of the Horse-shoes.

'They were four on the sign and he immediately determined that their number had been handed down from remote antiquity as representative of the compartments of the Zodiac. He stepped into the public-house and said to the landlord, "Your sign is the Horse-shoes?" "Yes, sir." "This sign has always four horse-shoes?" "Why, mostly, sir." "Not always?" "I think I have seen three." "I cannot divide the Zodiac into three. But it is mostly four. Do you know why it is mostly four?" "Why, sir, I suppose because a horse has four legs." He bounced out in great indignation, and as soon as I joined him, he said to me, "Did you ever see such a fool?"'



As to the separation from his first wife, Mr. Peacock holds that the fault was Shelley's. He simply saw another woman who pleased him better, because he discovered an affinity between their minds. 'There was no estrangement, no shadow of a thought of separation, till Shelley became acquainted, not long after his marriage, with the lady who was subsequently his 'second wife.' Characteristically, he then spoke of his unfortunate wife as a 'noble animal,' never doubting that she would acquiesce in the separation he had set his heart upon. She did not acquiesce: he left her, and she subsequently drowned herself. That he suffered painful fits of remorse, Mr. Peacock, who lived with him so familiarly, only discovered by accident. They were walking together in Bisham Woods, when Shelley impetuously acknowledged as much on being roused from a gloomy reverie. Had he lived more like his somewhat Epicurean friend, and made a better use of his excellent natural appetite, he might have been a very different man both physically and mentally. Once, when he was in the doctor's hands to little purpose, Peacock volunteered to prescribe for him. 'He asked, "What would be your prescription?" I said, "Three mutton chops, well peppered." He said, "Do you really think so?" I said, "I am sure of it." He took the prescription: the success was obvious and immediate.' But, unfortunately, Shelley did not persist in this regimen that answered so satisfactorily, and he not only went on dreaming unhealthy dreams, but later in life, he saw visions. Shortly before his death, he woke up in the night, to see a figure, draped in a mantle, standing by his bedside and beckoning to him: and only a month before the fatal shipwreck off Spezia, a naked child appeared to him rising from the surf, as he walked with a friend on the terrace of his marine villa. With a mind so diseased acting on a body so enfeebled, it seems probable that the end could not have been long deferred in any case.

We have done our best to give an idea of the miscellaneous contents of these three volumes, by the light reflected on them from some knowledge of their author. But from their very nature, any notice of the kind must necessarily do them most imperfect justice, even had our limits permitted of our indulging far more freely in quotation. They are not to be skimmed with any satisfaction. They are books to be dipped into as the humour takes you, although you are scarcely likely to lay them down quickly when you happen to turn to them in congenial mood.

- ART. VI.—1. *Alcohol, its Action and its Uses: Cantor Lectures of the Society of Arts.* By BENJAMIN W. RICHARDSON, M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P. 'Journal of the Society of Arts,' Vol. XXIII. London: 1875.
2. *A Treatise on the Origin, Nature, and Varieties of Wine.* By J. L. W. THUDICHUM, M.D., and AUGUST DUPRÉ, Ph. D. London: 1872.
3. *Stimulants and Narcotics, and their Mutual Relations.* By FRANCIS E. ANSTIE, M.D., M.R.C.P. London: 1864.

A FEW months since a memorandum appeared in the public journals, signed by 266 distinguished physicians and surgeons engaged in hospital practice in Great Britain, in which an earnest appeal was made to the medical profession at large to be careful, when using alcohol as a remedial agent, so to employ it as not to give ground that can afterwards be construed into a sanction for its excessive, or even for its habitual, dietetic use. In this memorandum there appeared an altogether unqualified expression of the opinion that the value of alcohol as an article of diet is immensely exaggerated, and that medical practitioners are bound, in the face of the grievous evil that results from its indiscriminate and injudicious use, to inculcate very strenuously habits of the utmost moderation. Shortly afterwards a letter was printed, also in the public journals, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Sir Henry Thompson, the well-known surgeon of University College Hospital, in which he states his own assured conviction that there is no greater cause of moral and physical evil in this country than the habitual use of alcoholic beverages, even when restricted to an amount which falls far short of the quantity required to produce drunkenness, and that is conventionally held to be quite within the limits of strict moderation. Sir Henry further adds that such habitual use injures the body, and diminishes the mental power, to an extent that few people are aware of; and that it is, in reality, the determining cause of a very large proportion of the most dangerous and painful maladies that come under the care of the surgeon, and also of much of the deterioration of the qualities of the race that capacitate men for endurance in the competition which must exist in the nature of things, and in which the prize of superiority falls to the best and the strongest.

In the face of this public, and deliberately preferred, indictment.

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ment it becomes a matter of some importance, as well as interest, to inquire a little further into the ground upon which so grave an allegation rests; and it is all the more easy to do this, because in recent years numerous well qualified observers have been powerfully attracted by this branch of physiological investigation, and have been devoting to it the closest and the most unwearying attention. The culprit who is arraigned at the bar of public opinion by this indictment of the physiologists, was not known in his naked and undisguised deformity until he was extracted as a flame-spirit from the alembics of the Arabian alchemists of the eleventh century during their persistent search for the elixir of life, and for the philosopher's stone. He had nevertheless existed, and was a mighty power in the world, for long centuries before that. Alcohol is not created by the artificial manipulation of the grape now used in the manufacture of wine, but grows in it during the natural process of ripening, and of subsequent decay. All the earliest wines were simply the expressed juice of the ripened grape left to its own inherent tendencies. The ferment which generated the wine was as much an integral part of the ripened fruit as its sweetness and its fragrance. It was measured out and apportioned by nature itself to each berry, and deposited in it in the exact quantity which was required in the further work of transforming the sugar of the matured fruit into spirit. Wine, in the sense of a fermented intoxicating beverage, was well known alike to the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. The Roman wines are well known from the frequent allusions made to them by the Latin poets; and even the dialogues of Plato record the vinous excesses of Athenian philosophers: but spirit extracted from the juice of the grape, or from other vegetable substances, by distillation, does not appear to have been known at all to antiquity.

It was at one time conceived that there was only one kind of wine-producing grape, the species known to botanists as the *Vitis Vinifera*. This, however, is by no means the true state of the case. Each wine-producing district of the world seems to have its own particular series of indigenous vines, which have improved under the natural circumstances of soil and climate, and under the ordinary process of selection, into the perfected vines of the same district at the present day. Drs. Thudichum and Dupré remark that the grape of each district is so changed when it is transplanted to other localities that its distinctive character is entirely lost, and very commonly its wine-producing power is effectually destroyed, although the climate of its new home differs in no material degree from that

of the place from which it has been removed. The Catawba wine of the Arkansas Valley, in North America, is the production, not of any species of European vine, but of the indigenous American Fox-grape, or *Vitis Labrusca*. In this district, Mr. Longworth, the principal grower of the Catawba, planted numerous varieties of vine brought from France and from Madeira, but notwithstanding the care and skill which his large experience and intimate knowledge of the vine enabled him to give them, they all failed. The indigenous Catawba grape, on the other hand, is entirely successful, and the manufacture of wine from it is yearly extending. Drs. Thudichum and Dupré furnish a description of twenty-nine distinct species of wild vine which are indigenous in the valley of the Rhine.

By very much the larger part of the juice of the fully ripened grape is nature's own arch solvent, pure water; but this water contains mingled with it a certain proportion of other principles that have been elaborated in the grape during the life of the plant, and are held dissolved in the water to communicate to it its sweetness and other delicious qualities. Of these principles the chief part is sugar mingled with a relatively small percentage of tartaric acid, and with a yet more minute trace of various other more or less organised and complex substances that are mixed cunningly together by the vegetable alchemy, to give the various charming attributes of colour, flavour, and fragrance to the fruit. In the most essential products of this vital elaboration the acid is preponderant during the early stage of the formation of the berry; but with the advance of maturation the sugar accumulates more and more, and the acid falls back into obscurity, for the most part on account of being overborne and masked by the increase of the saccharine ingredient, but in some instances also, it appears, from the actual conversion of the tartaric acid into sugar.

The sugar produced in the ripening of the grape is mainly of a peculiar kind spoken of as 'glucose,' or 'grape-sugar,' which is characterised by its proneness to undergo the chemical change that constitutes fermentation. It is chemically distinguished from the sugar of the cane by being a trifle more rich in hydrogen and oxygen, and, therefore, somewhat less highly carbonised. Grape-sugar is capable of presenting itself in two distinct forms mainly distinguished by the odd peculiarity that one has the power of diverting the plane of a ray of polarised light passing through it towards the right, and the other of diverting the same ray towards the left.

When the grape-sugar has been matured by the oxygenation and rearrangement of the atoms of the saccharine molecule, and the rich juice, or expressed must, has been poured into vats, and left for a time in a moderately warm temperature to its own uncontrolled impulses, a further change begins among the lightly balanced atoms of the sugar molecules. A further removal of carbon takes place, and a new form of molecule is formed out of the elements that remain. That new molecule is alcohol, or spirit of wine, instead of sugar. The sweetness is gone from it, and an ardent flavour has taken its place. The exact chemical character of the new and most remarkable agent which has been generated by this piece of molecular legerdemain may perhaps be better understood if the resulting spirit is described as a liquid in some sense of the nature of water, but in which a portion of the hydrogen of the water-molecule has been withdrawn, and its place supplied by a more complex hydro-carbon molecule. The water becomes 'Fire-water,' in consequence of the chemical condensation into itself of a hydro-carbon, a very energetic form of combustible substance.

In order that grape-juice may be successfully converted into wine of good quality by the natural process of fermentation it is found that it must not have, in its ripened state, more than 5 parts in each 1,000 of tartaric acid, and that it must have 200 parts in each 1,000, or 20 per cent. of sugar. In dry warm years this proportion is readily and commonly secured; but in less genial seasons the ripening is less perfect, and the grape-juice contains more acid and less sugar. The wine that is then made from the must is of very inferior and unsatisfactory quality. The first attempt to rectify this evil consisted in the removal by chemical means of the superfluous portion of acid, and of the addition of what was conceived to be the deficient amount of grape-sugar derived from other sources. This expedient, however, did not answer, and a better process was afterwards secured by diluting the must until the acid was lowered to the requisite amount, and then adding *cane-sugar* until due sweetness was secured. By this process very excellent wines are now made in the less favourable seasons.

When the must of the grape contains the appropriate 20 per cent. of sugar the result of the fermentation is a wine which has at the most some 11 per cent. of absolute alcohol, or 19 per cent. by volume, of proof spirit. This is as high a proportion of alcohol as can be produced by the natural fermentation of the grape-juice, and, therefore, it becomes the standard of the highest strength of natural wines. All al-

cohol contained in wines beyond this proportion must have been produced by distillation as spirit, and have then been added to the wine in that state. The reason for this is that in presence of 14 or 15 per cent. of alcohol all further conversion of sugar into alcohol by fermentation is arrested. If a rich juice containing more than 20 per cent. of sugar is fermented there always remains a considerable amount of unconverted sweetness in the wine after the fermentation has been carried as far as it can, and this remainder is protected from further change by the presence of the spirit. The natural wines which have a strength of 11 or 12 per cent. of absolute alcohol rarely retain more than half a per cent. of unconverted sugar.

There is some difference of opinion among experienced authorities as to the precise condition in which spirit exists in wine. In the natural wines the spirit is so intimately mingled with the other ingredients of the liquid that it is not detected by the taste as a distinct burning spirit; but in the fortified wines its ardent flavour is immediately perceived by the palate. It is said that some tasters can directly distinguish the presence of free spirit that has been added as such to the natural wine by the quality of the wine on the tongue. For these reasons it was at one time held that there is no free alcohol in wine, and that it exists in it in the form of some secondary combination, which is so broken up in the act of distillation that the spirit is then set free. It is now ascertained, however, that this view is erroneous. Spirit has been distilled off from wine, and then again added to the lees from which it had been removed, and the wine thus reconstituted was found to be in all essential qualities undistinguishable from the original wine. The fact seems simply to be that by the act of ordinary distillation the spirit is made more pungent, and more appreciable to the taste in consequence of the attachment to it of products which are generated out of the complex principles in the wine by the influence of heat, and which are tenaciously held by strong spirit when they are once brought into communication with it. Alcohol, when freed from these extraneous matters by elaborate care, proves to be as devoid of the ardent-spirit taste as natural wine itself.

Dr. Richardson, in the course of his Cantor Lectures delivered at the Society of Arts in the beginning of the present year, drew attention to an interesting list of the wines in use during the last century, which was prepared by the chemist Neumann, a careful and competent analyst, and in which there is a statement of the strength of many of the wines. From these

analyses it appears to be unquestionable that the wines at that time in use were of very much lower alcoholic strength than those now most commonly consumed. The Burgundy of that time seems to have had only about two ounces of rectified spirit in two pints of the wine, corresponding to about 5 per cent. of alcohol, and therefore falling in strength very much below the stronger beers of the present day. The sherry or sack contained not more than three ounces of spirit in two pints of wine, which would correspond with  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of alcohol. Only three wines quoted, namely palm-wine, alicant, and malmsey, were of greater strength. The strongest of the three had one fourth more alcohol in it than the sherry. This unquestionably seems to indicate that there has been a remarkable growth in the strength of wines that are in common use since the introduction of the employment of the still for the distillation of ardent spirit. The preparation of alcohol by distillation from wine was first practised by the Arabian alchemists in the eleventh century, but the spirituous product of their distillation was applied exclusively to further alchemical processes, and for the elaboration of menstrea. Distilled spirit was not employed as an ardent and intoxicating drink until some centuries after this time. 'Gin' was not known as a word in civilised languages until about two centuries ago; whiskey, the modern analogue of the somewhat older 'usquebaugh,' is first mentioned in books about a century and a half ago; and brandy, or 'brantwein,' is a name of equally modern introduction. The old alchemists regarded alcohol as a veritable fire-water—a compound of water and fire—because they observed in some of their early experiments that this sublimed spirit of wine could be readily set fire to, and that the vapour of water was then caught in a cup inverted over the flame.

When the alcohol which has been generated in wine by the fermentation of grape-juice is left to finish its career in a natural and uncontrolled way, it very soon undergoes a still further change, and ceases to be alcohol. It absorbs fresh quantities of oxygen from the surrounding air, and splits up its molecules to rearrange their atoms with this addition. In this way it forms first 'aldehyd' (or de-hydrated alcohol), and then finally acetic acid or vinegar. This is always the final end of the processes of change when grape-juice is left freely exposed to its uncontrolled destiny. The sugar is degraded and resolved, first into spirit, and then into vinegar. In the case of wine, artificially produced as a beverage, this process of degradation and decay is arrested midway as soon as the full complement of spirit has been made out of the sugar, by the simple expe-

dient of bottling the liquor up, and so shutting it away from the air, which has to furnish oxygen for the completion of the change. We bottle our wines simply that the air may not convert their spirit into vinegar.

Spirit of wine, when refined by the chemist at the present day into the strongest and purest state into which it can be converted by art, is a clear colourless volatile liquid, which mingles greedily with water in any proportions, and will even take water away from moist substances to satisfy this greed. In its purest and strongest state it is distinguished as 'absolute alcohol.' What is called 'proof spirit,' or 'rectified spirit of wine,' consists of absolute alcohol and water mingled together in nearly equal quantities; in exact figures, at a temperature of 60° Fahrenheit, 57 parts of spirit, and 43 parts of water by volume.

When wine, or spirit diluted with water to some analogous degree of strength, is introduced into the human stomach, it gradually makes its way into the inner channels of the living frame, to mingle there intimately with the stream of the flowing blood. There is no other destination in the body to which it can be relegated. It passes into the blood by two distinct routes. First, by the veins of the interior lining of the stomach, which carry back from it the blood which has been contributing to its nutrition and support; but also by a series of innumerable delicate tubes which have been provided to collect the essence of the digested food from the alimentary canal. When it has been introduced into the inner recesses of the living body through these routes it is conveyed forthwith to the heart, and from the heart it is pumped forth with each stroke to all the textures of the living frame. The entire body, in all its parts, and in all its structures, is built upon a framework of delicate tubes, which are branchings out from the main vessel that issues from the heart. There is in the Royal College of Physicians a preparation which was made by Dr. Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, in which the entire substance and form of the human body are presented, modelled out by this framework of vessels made stiff and enduring by the injection of molten wax from the heart, and with all other associated structures cleared away in order that the vascular mould may be seen. Now in the condition of life with each stroke of the heart the blood is flushed through the intricate channels of these intermeshing tubes. At each stroke of the heart about three ounces of blood are thrown forward from its cavity into the channels of the circulation, and as the heart beats in a man of average



size and vitality about seventy times every minute, all the blood which the body contains is injected through the extreme branchings of the vessels in from one to two minutes of time; and this goes on unceasingly from hour to hour; the entire mass of the blood being thus chased each minute through the frame, and returning back to the heart to be re-issued from it on this never-ending journey. If, therefore, any extraneous liquid substance, like wine or alcohol, is introduced into the blood, it goes everywhere in each fibre, membrane and texture, and fills and saturates each vital organ—flesh, brain, heart, liver, lung, kidney, skin and secreting apparatus. Wherever there should be blood under the natural arrangements of life, there is now blood mingled with the spirit. When a spirituous drink is taken into the body it does not simply run through the digestive cavity of that body, but it *runs through the blood* before it can find any escape, and it clings to that blood for a considerable period, flowing with it round and round through the circling stream of its unceasing progress. The question, therefore, very naturally arises, what are the immediate results of this mingling of spirit with the life-sustaining blood, as regards its influence on the well-balanced economy? Does it, in any way, help the vital actions of the frame? is it merely a foreign element playing the part of a useless and intrusive presence? or, yet again, is it a positively noxious agent working fell mischief in the delicately organised system?

When alcohol is introduced into the blood in a diluted state, and in a moderate quantity, its primary and most immediate influence is exerted upon those bloodvessels, and upon that heart, with which it is first placed in contact. The stroke of the heart is made more frequent, and the frequency is in proportion to the quantity of the alcohol that is brought into play. This primary influence of spirituous drink has been carefully examined and settled by Dr. Parkes. He instituted a series of experiments with military recruits at Netley, and he found that with men whose hearts beat 106,000 times in twenty-four hours so long as they drank water only, the number of beats was increased by 25,488 when eight ounces of alcohol was given in the drink within the twenty-four hours. The experiments occupied fourteen days, and the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Parkes was that on the last two days of the experiment the heart was performing one-fifth more work than it did at the time when no spirituous beverage was consumed. Taking the apparently well-substantiated estimate of 122 tons lifted one foot high as the mechanical expression of the task accomplished

by the muscular contractions of the heart when water only was used, the extra labour performed by it on the last two days of the spirit-drinking, according to the views of this experimenter, amounted to the lifting of twenty-four tons additional one foot high each day.

Physiologists are pretty well agreed how it is that this quickened action of the heart is brought about through the agency of alcohol. An influence is exerted by the alcoholised blood upon the delicate nerve-fibres, supplied to the minute blood-vessels that are scattered through all vital organs to control and regulate their dimensions, which is very much of the nature of a paralysis of their power. The capillary arterioles which form the ultimate ramifications of the bloodvessels are allowed to remain relaxed and dilated on account of this suspension of nerve-control, the column of blood then yields more readily to the stroke of the heart, and in consequence of this the stroke is repeated more quickly. Dr. Parkes seems to have satisfied himself, by some special experiments addressed to the facts of this quickened action, that it really means additional effort accomplished by the muscular fibres of the heart; and Dr. Richardson endorses entirely this view. But it may be doubted whether, if the quickened action of the heart be due to the weakened and enlarged condition of the terminal arterioles, as is here explained, this does not rather imply that the heart accomplishes more frequent strokes without having to make more muscular effort, very much as a locomotive runs along with more frequent strokes of the piston when it passes from a rising gradient into a level track of rails. The effort is not greater, but the resistance to be overcome is less. It is, of course, quite possible that a part of the result may be due to diminished resistance in the small vessels, and a part to increased vigour of stroke in the heart; and there are some considerations that seem to indicate that this is really the case. In the meantime the increased frequency of the heart's stroke when the living system is under the influence of alcohol may be taken as fairly proved, and it is in the highest measure probable that this increased frequency entails, in some greater or less degree, increased labour and wear and tear, and diminished rest, of the vital organ.

The next question that arises is scarcely of less importance in a physiological point of view. Does the augmented rapidity of the flow of the blood brought about by the action of alcohol carry with it the same increased warmth of the body that quickened circulation from muscular exercise does? It is the popular impression that the warmth of the living body is pro-

moted by the use of wine or spirituous drink, and this impression is very naturally and reasonably suggested by the feeling of glow which follows almost directly upon the use of such beverages. The general impression is also strengthened by the well-known fact that the self-same spirit does burn out of the body when it is set on fire, with the production of a very considerable amount of heat. The verdict of many physiologists who have submitted this question to the test of elaborate and carefully executed experiments is, however, not in accordance with the popular impression. It is found by them that the living body, as a whole, is actually made colder by the influence of the spirit, and that the degree of its coldness is in the ratio of the amount of the spirit that has been used. The degree of cooling is inappreciable, and perhaps may be even questioned, in the case of really moderate employment of spirit, but it is unquestionable when the spirit is used in large quantity. The natural combustion of the body then appears to be lowered, instead of being raised, by its presence; and it may be so lowered under the circumstance of an overpowering quantity of spirit as to have the vitality of its organs destroyed by the severity of the cold. In some remarkable investigations made by Dr. Richardson, two animals were placed in a small chamber kept ten degrees colder than freezing water, one animal being in a natural sleep, and the other being in a sleep induced by the narcotic influence of alcohol. The animals were withdrawn from the cold after a considerable length of exposure, and the one which had been under the influence of the spirit died, whilst the other recovered without suffering any harm. Dr. Richardson holds that the insensibility of apoplexy may be at once distinguished from the insensibility of drunkenness by the temperature of the body. Its heat is lowered from the natural standard in the sleep of drunkenness, but raised above that standard in the coma of apoplexy.

These conclusions as to the chilling of the body by spirituous drink are remarkably confirmed by another form of evidence. When spirit is burned as a flame with the production of a large amount of heat, streams of carbonic acid gas, generated by the union of the carbon of the burning alcohol with the oxygen of the air, are poured forth from the flame. This is the same kind of carbonic acid which is poured forth from the lungs in the process of breathing, and which is a production of the slow combustion of the carbonaceous substance of the body. Now Dr. Edward Smith proved, by some careful experiments which he instituted, that when

spirituous drinks are used, the carbonic acid gas exhaled from the lungs is less than the ordinary amount, instead of being more. The alcohol appears to take to itself some of the oxygen which ought to be employed in the natural combustion and in the natural support of the warmth of the body, and to apply it in some quite different way which does not generate carbonic acid. Persons who have been actually intoxicated by alcohol to the extent of losing all consciousness and self-control, remain cold even for days, before the natural standard of temperature is restored. It will be here understood that the results of Dr. Smith's experiments are not necessarily touched by the familiar fact that a *sensation* supposed to be that of warmth is produced by the employment of wine or spirituous beverage. That sensation may be called up by some other influence as well as by warmth. It may primarily be but a nervous impression made by the stimulant drink upon the susceptible living membranes with which it comes into immediate contact. But it has also, on the other hand, to be borne in mind that it may possibly be in some degree due to the quickened flow of blood through the minute channels of the sensitive structure. It is quite within the bounds of reasonable probability that this quickened circulation of the blood may in the first instance stimulate the combustive consumption of the other principles of the blood with which the alcohol is beginning to be mingled, and that in this way warmth is caused for a time by the alcohol, even although it is not generated by its own combustion. This primary action is, however, then soon overmastered by further and fuller alcoholic contamination of the circulating liquid. At a first glance it appears that this question of increase or diminution of temperature in the living body is one which ought to be very easily set at rest by the employment of the thermometer. This, however, is unfortunately not the case. It is by no means certain that the thermometer is competent to furnish this indication in every instance, and in all circumstances it requires considerable skill in the handling where qualifying influences may be at work, and where complicated conditions have to be dealt with. In consequence of this, and of the attention which has been drawn to certain practical bearings of this part of the subject by the Cantor Lectures, some of the medical officers of the police force have undertaken to use the opportunity which their position unfortunately affords for this class of observation, and to extend the investigation into the alleged depression of temperature caused by intoxication.

A further consideration that occurs, in natural course, in the

progress of this inquiry is whether alcohol does, or does not, nourish the body? Is it, or is it not, a food in any acceptation of the term? The indirect and mere inferential aspect of this part of the question has disposed many physiologists to hold by anticipation that it cannot be a food. All other foods that are known are complex bodies built up from simpler elements by the effort of vegetable life; and when they are constructed in this way the forces which are afterwards extracted from them for the service of the animal body are worked in with the constituent elements, and left there in an absorbed and latent state, preserving by their influence the precise composition of substance that has been brought about, but ready to be set free for other employment whenever the complex organisation is again dissolved, and restored to its primary elements. Now alcohol is not a complex principle built up by the effort of vegetable life, but it is a product of the downward degradation and decay of such a complex principle. It is a result of the first stage of decomposition of sugar. From this point of view therefore it is anticipated by these theorists that alcohol can no more nourish the animal body than vinegar or carbonic acid can do so.

Foods in the animal body have been practically divided into two great classes—those which furnish substance to the organs or living parts of the structure, and those which supply heat or force in some other form. The constructive foods are for the most part composed with the aid of nitrogen, and are of great complexity; while the heat or force-producing foods are as commonly mere simple hydro-carbons capable of being burned by the agency of oxygen. The nitrogenised principles are all moulded in the animal body into a soft, jelly-like, or, as it is technically termed, *colloidal* condition. The fibrin of the blood, the muscular flesh, the cartilages and tendons, the membranes and the skin, the soft nerve-pulp and the brain, are all so many examples of nitrogenised matter. All the really active and essentially vital parts of the organisation are of this kind, and the principal contributor to their activity is their moisture. The water which they contain favours the ready and continuous changes of composition that tend to the liberation of the force which is expressed as animal activity. The various saline ingredients, such as potash, soda, salt, and lime, which are mingled with the soft substance, merely confer upon it its particular physical character, and fit it for its especial work as it is adapted to various offices.

But alcohol is entirely devoid of nitrogen in any form. It cannot, therefore, be itself converted by any direct transforma-

tion into the substance of the living body as fibrin and albumen are. If it contributes in any degree to the construction of living structures it must do so by the altogether exceptional and abnormal plan of borrowing from extraneous sources the nitrogen which would be needed to be worked up with its own hydrogen and carbon.

Dr. Richardson, in his Cantor Lectures, affirms that pure alcohol is entirely without nourishing power. There is, of course, even with him, no question as to the fact that some forms of fermented beverages which have their spirit mingled with other ingredients of a glutinous and sugary character, as in the case of beer, do nourish to a considerable degree. But Dr. Richardson roundly asserts that this is due to the other ingredients which are mingled with the spirit, and that if all the spirit were taken away from them their nourishing powers would remain the same, and possibly be increased rather than diminished by its abstraction. There are, on the other hand, some facts which have been noted by other high authorities which it does not seem possible to reconcile altogether with this view. Dr. Anstie, for instance, has recorded one very notable case—that, namely, of an old soldier who was under his care at the Westminster Hospital in 1861, who had lived for twenty years upon a diet composed of a bottle of unsweetened gin and ‘one small finger-length of toasted bread’ per day, and who maintained the structures of his body for this long period upon that very remarkable regimen. The instances are also very numerous in which patients suffering from acute and febrile diseases have been supported through critical periods of the disorder by the bold administration of spirit and wine. Dr. Anstie refers to one very instructive case of this character which was also under his care in 1861, and which obviously left a great impression upon his mind. A young man, only eighteen years of age, was so reduced by a severe attack of acute rheumatism that he was unable to retain food of any kind upon his stomach. He was consequently sustained for several days upon an allowance of twelve ounces of water and twelve ounces of gin per day. His recovery under this treatment was very rapid and complete, and almost without any trace of the emaciation and wasting that ordinarily follow upon such a disease. The lad previous to this illness was of a strictly sober and temperate habit, and during the use of the gin the abnormal frequency of the pulse, and of the breathing, came gradually down to the proper standard of ordinary health, and there never was at any time the slightest tendency to intoxication. These cases are of marked force on account of their exceptional character,

but they are in entire accordance with the well-established power of brandy and wine to sustain the life of sinking men in the critical periods of exhausting fevers. Various well-attested instances of this character certainly afford ground for the familiar and popular impression that there is support in wine and spirituous drink. Dr. Anstie's conclusion from such evidence, and from a very large hospital experience, was that beyond all possibility of doubt pure alcohol, with the addition of only a small quantity of water, will prolong life greatly beyond the period at which it would cease if no nourishment was given; that during the progress of acute diseases it very commonly supports not only life, but also the bulk of the body, during many days of abstinence from common foods: and that although the physician and physiologist fail to explain chemically how it is that the result is brought about, it may nevertheless be safely affirmed that the influence exerted over the body by alcohol is, essentially, of a food-character.

It seems to be perfectly manifest that when alcohol is judiciously administered as a medicine, for a limited period, even in large doses, no evil effect of any kind remains on the restoration of health, and it is perhaps equally clear that when it is used as an habitual beverage with very great moderation no injurious effect follows. Dr. Richardson, from some expressions in his lectures, seems inclined to mark from an ounce and a half to two ounces of alcohol per day as the quantity which begins to exert a distinct physiological influence upon the living textures, and which should therefore be regarded as the limit of safety; and he further expresses his own belief that although persons of average strength and health may considerably exceed this quantity, taking even five or six ounces of alcohol per day, without suffering any permanent damage up to the thirtieth year of age, this merely indicates the marvellous recuperative power of the animal economy in its early years when the vital forces are at their freshest and best, and not as expressing the innocuous character of the agent.

Before passing on from the consideration of the influence of alcohol when used, in whatever form, as an ordinary beverage, it may be well here to look a little more closely at the evidence that has been obtained as to what becomes of the spirit after it has been introduced into the blood. If it is not burned away into vapour with the production of increased heat in the body, and if it is not used in building up the textures of the living frame through the ordinary process of nourishment, where does it get to, and what is ultimately done

with it in the system? It clearly cannot remain accumulating in the blood when it is continually taken in even moderate quantity, or intoxication would assuredly be at last produced. The great law of the living economy is that all bodies of a foreign and unnecessary character which are introduced into the blood are gradually expelled from it again by the merely natural action of the system. They are got rid of through sundry outlets which have been provided in the body for this very purpose. They escape through the pores and orifices of the lungs, of the skin, of the kidneys, of the liver, and of the alimentary canal. One of the most important reasons for the beneficent action of the remedies of the physician is due to this very law. The medicines which are administered as remedies are taken into the blood, and being foreign and unnatural bodies they are immediately afterwards removed by exciting the expelling actions of the secreting apparatus, and as they are expelled they carry away with them some other injurious principles that have been generated in the body by default or perversion of its own subtle chemistry, and out of its own decomposing substance. This unquestionably at the bottom is the reason why alcohol can be habitually taken to the extent which it often is without grave disturbance of the proper functions of life. It is got rid of from the blood, and exhaled out of the body, almost as rapidly as it is taken into the stomach. Even when it is used to the extent of producing the actual insensibility of extreme drunkenness, the whole of the spirit is expelled from the blood within a few hours. Now, after wine, or any fermented drink, has been taken for some little time the presence of the escaping alcohol can readily be detected in the vapours of the breath, in the perspiration, and in the secretions of the kidney and liver; and accordingly a notion has sprung up in a certain school of physiologists, which has been very ably represented in France, that all the alcohol which is at any time taken into the living body is again removed through the secretions as unchanged alcohol. This view was especially advocated by the eminent French physiologists Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy. The statement of these experimentalists was to the effect that the alcohol which is taken into the living body accumulates in the organs and tissues, and especially in the substance of the liver and brain, and that it is then slowly, but in the end entirely eliminated, still as alcohol, with the fluid secretions, and more especially with the renal secretion.

This notion, however, was not from the first accepted with favour by our own physiologists, and a further investigation of



a very elaborate and careful character was entered upon by Dr. Anstie, and by Drs. Thudichum and Dupré, by which it was finally and satisfactorily proved that only a very small proportion of the spirit which is taken into a living body is expelled out of that body as alcohol in the secretions, and that there must be some other means by which the spirit is disposed of in the system. Dr. Dupré in the course of these investigations discovered also that alcohol is found in small quantity in the excretions even of persons who do not touch fermented beverage in any form;—that the healthy system of the Teatotalter ‘brews,’ so to speak, ‘a little drop for itself.’ On the other hand, in one very notable and memorable experiment Dr. Anstie gave a dog weighing ten pounds the liberal dose of two thousand grains of alcohol in ten days, and on the last day of the ten he administered 95 grains of the spirit as a final dose, and then two hours afterwards killed the dog and immediately subjected the whole body—blood, secretions, flesh, membranes, brain, and bone—to rigorous analysis, and he found in the whole texture of the body only 23·66 grains of spirit. The other 1,976 grains had obviously been turned into something else within the penetralia of the living frame.

These most interesting and instructive experiments and observations of Anstie’s, Thudichum’s, and Dupré’s point to the exact turn in the investigation upon which the ultimate settlement of the food-power of alcohol, as a doctrine of physiological science, depends. There is no difficulty in conceiving that a further degradation of the complex organic principle, which has already been brought down from the state of sugar into that of alcohol by approximate oxidation, may go on within the living frame, and that the alcohol molecules may be broken up, first into the state of aldehyd, and then into that of acetic acid, which have already been described. But this, it will be observed, is a pure piece of scientific imagination until the presence of these compounds in proportions equivalent to the spirit which has been imbibed, is proved by experiments as exhaustive and complete as those of Dr. Anstie in his search for the alcohol itself. The alcohol is unquestionably transmuted into something else in the body, and it is quite as philosophical, in the face of the experience of the physician, to assume that that transformation may be the explanation of the strange facts which are encountered in that experience, as it is to assume that the products must be altogether refuse and waste because alcohol is already one step down in the process of decomposition and decay. It may thus be well for even advanced and accomplished physiologists to bear in mind that there may be ‘more

‘things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of’ in their philosophy. There would at least be nothing more startling in the discovery that the physiological dogma, which affirms that the products of the reduction of complex organic substances cannot be employed as the food of animal life, had to be reconsidered, and in some particulars reversed, or revised, than there has been in the recent reversal of the Liebig dogma that nitrogenised principles alone can be used for constructive purposes, and the simpler hydro-carbons alone for the production of animal warmth. In his able and philosophical treatise ‘On Stimulants and Narcotics,’ Dr. Anstie refers to this very bearing of the subject in a passage in which he argues that many substances which are ranked as even ‘poisonous’ to the system must not be taken to be absolutely ‘foreign’ to the organism except in a relative sense, when even such agents as mercury and arsenic, given in small doses for long periods, produce what is termed a tonic influence, improving the quality of the blood and the tissues, and do this in such a way that it is scarcely possible to maintain that they contract no organic combination. Various incidents of their operation seem to leave no other conclusion possible, but that they do establish some very close structural connexion with the nutritious principles of the blood, and that in these states of impaired health these abnormal elements are entitled to rank as alimentary bodies, at least as much as salt is entitled so to rank in the ordinary circumstances of the economy. Dr. Anstie in allusion to this point very suggestively remarks, that although there is a large mass of evidence which appears to show that under the circumstances of ordinary health the nitrogen of the air takes no active part in the vital processes, it is nevertheless far from certain that the same is the case in all pathological conditions, and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the administration of certain medicinal substances, and of alcohol among them, may effect important changes in the behaviour of the organism towards nitrogen.

Dr. Anstie again and again dwells on the notable fact that in all cases of disease where alcohol is used successfully as a medicinal support, as in the case of exhaustive fevers, its presence as an alcoholic emanation, whether in the breath or in other secretions, is absent altogether, as if in those cases the whole force of the agent was absorbed in its beneficent operation. He also insists that in such instances its exciting and intoxicating powers appear to be in abeyance, and that the recovery from acute disease where this medicine has been successfully employed is invariably more rapid and complete

than it is in altogether similar cases which have been treated without alcohol. He also recurs continually to the well-known fact that in many forms of disease alcohol calms pain, removes delirium, and induces natural sleep, exactly as concentrated nourishment of the nature of strong meat broth does under the same circumstances. In short, by his experience and investigations Dr. Anstie seems to have been led as uncompromisingly to the conviction that alcohol, in a certain sense, is a food, as Dr. Richardson has been led by his researches to the conclusion that it is not a food either on the ground of constructive service, or warming power. The inference is plain :—The nutritious capability of alcohol, when used in appropriate circumstances and in reasonable quantity, is yet a matter of controversy, and a question that has to be further investigated and weighed by competent and scientific authorities, before any absolute judgment regarding it can be pronounced that is worthy of general acceptance.

When, however, the consideration of this important question is carried on from what may possibly be deemed the debateable ground of the investigation into the more tangible region that lies beyond, there is no longer any hesitating balance of opposing evidence to be adjusted. The intemperate and excessive use of alcoholic beverages is an unmitigated evil of the deepest dye, and no better service can possibly be rendered to a community of rational creatures, constituted as civilised society is by the luxurious habits of the time, than that which has been attempted in these Cantor Lectures of the present year.

When alcohol is introduced into the blood in somewhat considerable quantity it has to circulate, as has been already pointed out, with that blood through every constituent texture of the living organisation, permeating everywhere the interstices and pores of the soft vital membranes, and in this way connecting itself most immediately and intimately with all the subtle business of life that is carried on by their agency. Now the structures which possess the most energetic vitality are those which are of the softest and most pulpy consistence, as, for instance, the nervous material of the spinal cord and the brain, and this pulpy consistence is efficiently ensured by the large proportion of water that is used in their composition. The nerves, the great ganglionic nerve-centres, and the brain are essentially composed of this soft and exquisitely delicate nerve-pulp packed carefully into minute filmy sacs and tubes of almost invisible membrane, inconceivably fine in comparison

with the thinnest membranous film produced by art, and then stowed with the most elaborate care into the meshwork of minute arterioles that are appointed to carry the circling stream of the blood through every part of the exquisitely planned organisation. It will be understood that these pulp-filled tubules and vesicles, and these capillary bloodvessels of the nerve-structures, are of a minuteness that requires very considerable powers of the microscope to render them even barely visible to the eye. The crimson blood which flows in never-ceasing streams through every part of this structure is so delicately divided and scattered that it is only seen in the white pulp as a faint shade of grey. The pulp itself is of so soft, and it may almost be said of so *melting* a character, that it is crushed and destroyed by any rude touch. As, then, the blood flushes on its ceaseless flow through this delicate substance, its crimson streams and the white almost liquid pulp are only separated from free intermingling by the all but evanescent films that form, on the one hand, the walls of the pulp-vesicles and tubules, and on the other hand the walls of the bloodvessels. An intercommunication, therefore, does take place between the pulp and the blood; but it is an intercommunication of to and fro infiltration through the separating films, instead of a direct and free admixture. This is the peculiar operation which is known in the technical language of the physiologists as 'Dialysis.' Dialysis simply means that more or less thick and complex liquids are so filtered off through membranes, that some of their elements or principles are passed through while others are retained, and that a change in their inherent composition is in that way brought about. By this vital 'dialysis,' selected portions of the blood pass into the nerve-pulp to renew and nourish its organisation, and portions of the nerve-pulp pass back into the blood to be carried away in its onward stream because their work has been done, and because they require to be removed as waste refuse out of the way of the freshly arriving supplies of nourishment. The vital action and power of the nerve-organisation are the direct result of this process of dialysis—of this filtering out and interchange of the blood and the nerve-pulp.

But this delicate nerve-pulp, of all the varieties of organisation that are built up in the living frame, is the one that is most immediately sensible of the introduction into it, by means of the blood-streams, of an extraneous and unusual ingredient, such as alcohol, for the reason that has already been given, namely, its extreme mobility, and the uncontrollable impulse this

compound has to draw water into itself. When alcohol in sufficient quantity is injected with the blood-streams into the nerve-pulp, much of the water that is properly designed to maintain the moist and workable condition of the pulp is withdrawn from it to satisfy the ardent thirst of the exacting liquid, and the nerve-pulp is in consequence so hardened and dried that it is spoiled for its proper office. When alcohol goes in any considerable quantity into the substance of organs that have natural outlets, such as the lungs, the liver, and the kidneys, its exhalation and removal are immediately set about through these outlets. It is poured from them into the external spaces surrounding the body, either as vapour, or as liquid. In the nerve-pulp of the central ganglia and of the brain, there are, however, no such outlets. The alcohol is therefore shut in and imprisoned in the structure to a degree which cannot be brought about in the substance of organs that have outlets of escape. It can then only be removed from the nervous organs by the very gradual and slow onward flow of the bloodvessels taking back again what they have already given, when further extraneous supply is arrested. For two reasons, therefore, the nerve-centres and the nerve-organisation are peculiarly obnoxious to deleterious and disturbing influence from alcohol; first, because they are in themselves of such a watery and mobile consistence that they are hardened and dried by its water-absorbing proclivities, and then because the escape from them of the unnatural and unusual agent is of necessity more difficult and impeded than is the escape from organs that are less elaborately shut in and cared for.

The first action upon the nerve-pulp—that, namely, which is produced when spirit has been administered in only a very moderate amount, and in very dilute form—is, no doubt, that upon which its remedial power depends. It is an influence which is by no means absolutely required in the vigorous and healthy frame; but it is also one which is capable of being turned to good account when there is impairment of vital power. This primary action is physically indicated by the pleasant sense of warmth and glow which characterises the first influence, and accompanies the moderate and temperate use, of fermented beverage. Dr. Anstie regards this state as an illustration of what he terms pure ‘stimulation,’ and he holds that stimulation of this kind is an absolute ‘nourishment,’ although we may be unable to analyse the chemical conditions upon which the result depends, and that it is in no sense followed by depression or any other penalty levied upon the integrity of the vital processes. In speaking of this he points out

that a man who drinks four or six ounces of brandy gradually does not get even upon the threshold of its narcotic action until some hours have passed away ; and that if he had stopped in this drinking when, perhaps, two ounces of brandy, representing one ounce of alcohol, had been swallowed, no narcotic agency whatever would have been established, and no subsequent depression would have followed ; but that when he adds a further dose of two ounces or four ounces of brandy, he impregnates his blood with a subtle principle that does act narcotically upon the nerve-texture, so as to render it incapable of performing its proper functions. This, in all probability, is the correct explanation of the well-known fact that when alcohol is successfully used, in whatever quantity, as a remedial agent, there is no quickening of the pulse, no trace of narcotism, and no vestige of intoxication of any kind. It is simply that the narcotic influence is not produced, and that the impaired natural function of the nerve-organisation only is restored to its normal condition and standard.

When, however, the other two, or four, ounces of brandy, and perhaps something beyond that, are added, the next stage of alcoholic influence upon the nerve-pulp is entered upon ; and this unquestionably is one which does change the character of the delicate organisation so materially as to render it incapable of performing its usual and proper office. The flushed face, which is one of the earliest signs of the approach of inebriation, is immediately due to a change of this character produced in the fine filaments of the nerves of organic life, which have properly the control of the minute channels of the circulation, and which regulate their capacity. These nervous filaments are so affected that they cease to be able for the time to perform their restraining work, and the capillary vessels of the face being left uncontrolled and without supervision, enlarge and admit more copious blood-streams than it is altogether well for them to receive. Most other parts of the frame, and especially those which are exceptionally well supplied with blood, are at this stage in identically the same flushed condition. Dr. Richardson speaks of one case in which he had the opportunity of observing the physical state of the brain of a man suddenly and instantaneously killed when in the first stage of excitement by alcohol. It looked as if it had been injected with vermilion, its whole pulp being so studded with red points that it was scarcely perceptible, and its outer surface being enclosed in a network of coagulated red blood.

When more and more alcohol continues to be accumulated in the system, the mere instinctive actions of life, which are

immediately under the control of the spinal cord, become disturbed and imperfectly carried on. The directing power over some of the muscles is lost, and the energy of the whole muscular system is diminished. The muscles of the lower lip and of the lower limbs are the first to feel this unnatural torpor. Then trembling, shuddering, spasms, and possibly even convulsive paroxysms are manifested in greater or less degree. Faintness and vomiting frequently supervene, and in some sense may be looked upon as salutary effects, as they tend to arrest the further increase of alcoholisation of the blood. In this stage, however, paralysis of vital power has reached to the nerve-substance of the spinal cord.

The nerve-pulp of the brain itself is next brought within the grasp of the deadly influence, and the faculties of the mind are proportionately impaired. First the control of the judgment and the will disappear, and the rational part of the mental manifestations gives way to the emotional, the impulsive, and the purely instinctive parts. As Dr. Richardson characterises this state: 'The reason is off duty, and the mere animal instincts and sentiments are laid atrociously bare.' In the yet more advanced stage of poisoning by alcohol the paralysis of the higher nerve-centres, and of the brain, is carried to its full end. All inlets of the senses are closed, all consciousness and sensation are destroyed, and all power of voluntary movement is effaced. The heart still beats, and the blood circulates, and the breathing is unconsciously sustained, but those are the sole remnants of vitality, the slender threads by which a hold is retained upon living existence; and it is a very remarkable incident in this insensible stage of drunkenness that it is in the main the production of this unconscious and powerless state which lies overhanging the very brink of the grave, that saves the last spark before the 'light is put out.' If the quantity of the subtle poison that has been introduced into the stomach has been in enormous strength and excess, the flame which human agency or art cannot re-illuminate is irreparably extinguished, and the insensible mass passes on into the condition of lifeless clay. But if the dose of the intoxicating agent has been short of this quantity, as the circulation and the breathing are continued, and as no more of the poison can, for the time, be introduced, the elimination and clearing away of the accumulated load begins, and gradually the consciousness and the sensibility and reasoning power return as the burden of the volatile spirit is withdrawn from the nerve-pulp and exhaled from the natural outlets of the frame. The physical cause of intoxication, it will therefore be understood, is an

absolute, if passing, disorganisation of the great nerve-centres and brain. The delicate pulp-like structure of those highly vitalised organs is, for the time, so changed by the presence of the spirit in its substance that it ceases to be able to perform its ordinary office. All manifestations of nerve-power, and brain-power, are the development of force out of rapid change in material substance as absolutely, and as essentially, as the manifestations of heat are the development of force out of destructive combustion of coal. Coal ceases for the time to be capable of burning, and of developing heat, when it is mingled with an extraneous damping agent, such as water. In the same way brain-pulp ceases, for the time, to be able to use up its substance, and to develop out of it its proper energy, when it is mingled with extraneous suffocating spirit. In the case of the brain the arrest of the destruction of its substance is the stoppage of its vital power, because the energetic organ *lives* in that very state of unceasing decomposition and change. The arrest is therefore paralysis of the brain, and the various incidental discomforts of alcoholic inebriation—the smaller by-play of the sad tragedy—such as neuralgic pains, headache, inability to sleep, nausea, twitchings, palpitation of the heart, *muscæ volitantes* before the eyes, and mental illusions and disordered fancies, must all be classed in the same category, that namely of nerve-paralysis. In all instances in which ‘intoxication’ does not ensue upon the introduction of large quantities of alcohol into the blood the immunity seems to be due to some accidental incompatibility in the vital material which prevents the absorption of the alcohol into the substance of the brain-pulp. In such cases the alcoholised blood appears to pass through the minute channels of the nerve-pulp, very much as water would pass through the pores of a well-oiled sponge.

When very strong alcohol is suddenly thrown into the stomach of a living animal in very large quantity, it acts as an immediate poison of the most deadly power. In an experiment made by Dr. Anstie with the view of examining this form of its influence, three ounces of proof spirit mixed with three ounces of water were administered to a healthy dog weighing ten pounds and a quarter. The animal was unconscious and almost insensible in seven minutes and a half, and died from arrest of the breathing in two hours and a half. Similar effects have ensued with men who have swallowed several glasses of strong spirit, such as rum, in rapid succession. It is somewhat remarkable that very concentrated spirit cannot be taken up out of the stomach into the blood. But the spirit gets over



this difficulty for itself by effecting its own dilution ; it draws water out from the moist living textures around, until from this cause it is rendered dilute enough to be allowed to pass through the pores of the gastric and alimentary membrane.

When the extreme and unconscious stage of drunkenness is recovered from under the influence of the natural elimination of the volatile narcotic poison, the nerve-substance returns after a time to its customary state, unless the deranged condition has been one of frequent recurrence. But if the same state of grave derangement has been produced in these delicate and sensitive textures again and again, a more permanent disorder is produced which is of the nature of irremediable disorganisation. All other vital organs, as well as the nerves and the brain, are built up essentially of fine filtering membranes, and of the intermeshings of minute bloodvessels, and their proper offices are performed by the same process of 'dialysis' which has been described. Certain ingredients are selected out of the blood by the transudation powers of the moist porous membranes, and are put into the substance of the organs, and certain other ingredients are passed back into the blood through the membranes from the living texture. The presence of superabundant alcohol in the minute pores of these membranes does not however contribute to the perfection of their 'dialysing' operations, any more than it helps the functions of the nerve-pulp and the brain, and if the alcohol is kept there in large charge very long, or is brought back there very frequently, the delicate membranes at last get thickened and dried, and retain matters in their own substance which ought to pass through. The blotched and pimpled state of the skin, and especially of the nose, of habitual drunkards is a pertinent and very palpable illustration of the way in which alcohol affects soft living membranes when they are kept saturated with it. The more delicate internal membranes of the secreting organs, and of the nerve-pulp, are injured in exactly the same manner, but even more grievously. The liver suffers very severely from the first, because it is the organ which in some way is most immediately concerned with the elimination and expulsion of the spirit out of the blood. It gets contracted and shrivelled into a hard half-disorganised mass. The kidneys are next affected, because when the liver is so injured as to cease to be able to do its own proper work of secreting and removing bile from the blood, extra strain is thrown upon them, and they strive, although ineffectually, to accomplish what the liver fails to do, until they break down also under the unaccustomed strain. When the membranes of the stomach are included in this structural

deterioration, this organ ceases to be able to digest the food as it does in its uninjured condition, and there are all the discomforts of obstinate indigestion. The lungs in their turn are involved in the mischief. The inexorable craving for strong drink, to which the name of 'dypsomania' has been given, and the fierce madness of paroxysmal drunkenness—are both forms of structural degradation of the brain-substance by persistent, or often renewed, irritation with alcohol. The last stage but one of the destruction of the brain-fibres by its continued use is the 'trembling delirium' (*Delirium tremens*), in which tremors occur through the whole muscular system, and return paroxysmally in the form, not of muscular contraction, but of wave-like transmissions of incapacity to contract through the muscular bands; and the last stage of this especial lesion is fully declared epileptic convulsion.

The remarks upon the physiological influence of alcohol that have been hitherto made apply entirely to that best known form of it which is found in large quantity in wine, and which is actually and properly 'spirit of wine.' There are, however, numerous other forms of this potent principle, which, although agreeing in their poisonous or intoxicating power, differ amongst themselves in their precise action upon the nervous system. The common alcohol procured from wine is known to the chemists as 'ethylic' alcohol. Another form, which is produced from the distillation of wood, is termed 'methylic' alcohol. A third kind is called 'butylic' alcohol, and yet a fourth, procured from potatoe starch, 'amyllic' alcohol or fusel oil. In all these each successive alcohol of the series has a higher proportion of carbon and hydrogen in its composition, the hydro-carbon molecule, which replaces the atom of hydrogen, being of a more complex and a more abundantly carbonised nature. The result of this is that each alcohol in the progressive series is heavier, less soluble, and less volatile, and at the same time more virulent and fell as a poison, because it accumulates in the blood more readily, and is less easily cleared away.

But even this does not complete the group of these remarkable compounds. When all the hydrogen contained in a molecule of water is replaced by a complex hydro-carbon molecule by processes which the chemist well knows how to employ, alcohol is no longer the result, but in the place of it a yet more volatile liquid which is known under the general designation of ether, and every one of the long series of alcohols has its own appropriate ethereal derivative. These ethers are formed out of the alcohols when there are acids present to

contribute to the transformation. As both alcohols and acids are present in wine, this manufacture goes on in the wine on a very extensive scale. Even after the wine has been incarcerated in its glass prison, the subtle conversion is continued, until the ardent new wine is finally mellowed down into a softer ethereal liquid. When to these considerations is added the further recognition of the vast array of acids which is present in the fermented grape-juice, and of the even more numerous group of odoriferous essences and condiments—the subtle spirits of aroma and bouquet—which are generated by the refined alchemy of the grape, there ceases to be any room for the slightest remnant of wonder that the diversity of wine is virtually without a recognisable limit. Of the finer French wines alone, without noticing the more ignoble crowd of inferior growths, not less than 2,040 distinct varieties are enumerated in the work of Drs. Thudichum and Dupré.

The distinctive peculiarities of the physiological action of these different kinds of alcohol and ether is a very wide subject, and as interesting to the scientific physiologist as it is wide, on account of the illustrative light which is derived from the study of their method of affecting the nervous organisation. They all essentially agree in their power of intoxicating and injuring the vital integrity of the structures; but some begin their attack at one part of this organisation, and others at another part. The greater number of the vast family are, however, in such relatively minute quantity in wine, that although they affect such general characters as taste, fragrance, and piquancy, they hardly assume any real physiological importance in reference to these beverages. The œnanthic ether, the secondary product which confers upon wine its well-known vinous smell, only exists in wine in the proportion of one part to forty thousand. The amylic alcohol, or fusel oil, which is not unfrequently added in distilled spirits in common use as an intentional adulteration, on account of the unctuous, fruity, ripe-pear like flavour which it communicates, is very powerful for mischief. It rapidly produces muscular tremors, depression of bodily temperature, and the most profound insensibility, and these several effects, when once brought about, are maintained very much longer than are the analogous states caused by ethylic alcohol, on account of the low solubility and volatility of the agent.

In referring to the agreeable and attractive qualities with which ethylic alcohol is naturally associated in wine, and to the entire absence of these pleasant attributes in the other forms of spirits, ethers, and allied narcotic principles, Dr. Anstie

makes one thoughtful remark which deserves to be well weighed, if only as a suggestive reflection. He says:—

‘Alcohol was never designed by the wisdom of Providence to be employed by the human race as an anæsthetic at all, but for the sake of those stimulant qualities of its non-narcotic doses, which are, to a certain extent, shared by small doses of ether and chloroform. It seems as if the former were intended to be the medicine of those ailments which are engendered of the *necessary* every day evils of civilised life, and which has therefore been made attractive to the senses, and is easily retained in the tissues, and in various ways approves itself to our judgment *as a food*; while the others, which are more rarely needed for their stimulant properties, and are chiefly valuable for their beneficent temporary poisonous action by the help of which painful surgical operations are sustained with impunity, are in a great measure deprived of these attractions, and of their facilities for entering and remaining in the system.’

In other words, Dr. Austie obviously conceived that wine has been generated, in its rich and tempting variety, in the great laboratory of Nature, to subserve some beneficent purpose connected with the increasing nerve-strain of ripening civilisation, and possibly also as a part of the general economy by which the plant caters for the support of animal life. Nor is it inconsistent with the dictates of a sound philosophy to entertain this view, even in the face of the anomalous fact that the serviceable agent, in its unregulated employment, is so powerful for harm, if it is at the same time borne in mind that through his higher faculties man is quite equal to the task of resisting temptation when he once fairly understands the true circumstances of his position. In the case of strong drink, at the present time, ignorance has certainly quite as much to answer for as inability to withstand a pleasurable seduction.

There is, however, yet another point of view in which the very general employment of alcohol as a beverage by man has to be looked at. In his Cantor Lectures Dr. Richardson drew attention to the startling fact that the capital which is invested in the production of alcohol in the British Isles is not less than 117,000,000*l.* But the enormous addition which would have to be made to this vast sum if, in the same way, the argument were enlarged, and the value were given of the capital employed in the production of wine in the wide stretch of the grape-yielding countries, it is quite impossible to conceive. In the financial year ending in 1874 the duties paid within the British Isles for the various forms of fermented drink were—for foreign spirits, 5,329,650*l.*; foreign wine, 1,989,855*l.*; home-made spirits, 14,639,562*l.*; and for malt to

be converted into beer, 7,753,617*l*. If to these various sums there be added the further amount which represents the brewers' licence taking the place of the hop duty, and the duty on sugar consumed in brewing, it at once appears that at the present time the public revenue derives yearly a clear 30,000,000*l*. sterling from direct taxes levied on alcoholic drink; and it will be further observed that of this great sum very nearly two-thirds relate to the concentrated form in which the powerful agent is procured by the employment of the still—that is, by the application of science and art to strengthen the spirit beyond the point to which it can possibly be raised by natural fermentation; and very nearly one-half refers to the cheaper form of this concentrated product which is prepared in the home manufacture, and which therefore, it is to be presumed, expresses approximately the consumption by the less wealthy portion of the community. The exact number of the millions of pounds sterling that are swallowed in the form of strong drink in our own islands alone can scarcely be ascertained on account of the diversity of form in which the product is presented for consumption, and on account of the complex relations which connect duty and quantity in the different forms. The amount can only be guessed at under the guidance of such figures as have been named. If, however, one penny in the pound upon taxable incomes be taken to represent, as it is stated it will shortly do, a sum of two millions of pounds, then the 30,000,000*l*. paid yearly to the revenue by alcohol is tantamount to an income-tax of fifteen pence in the pound upon such incomes, and to an assessment of 3*l*. a year upon an individual income of 500*l*. per annum. The fact which is involved in the figures of these several statements would assuredly be a very surprising one, even if the large sum of money were expended in an article of unproductive but harmless luxury. As Dr. Richardson suggested in his Lectures, a very strong impression would be made upon the public mind if, after some long period in which the boilers of steam-engines had been fed with a mixture of spirit and water, it was suddenly discovered that the engines would work quite as well with the water, without the spirit, and that the millions of pounds that had been devoted to the production of the spirit had all been so much unnecessary waste. But the argument goes very much beyond this in the case of 'the millions of engines called men,' if it can be shown that there is hurtful as well as wasteful expenditure, and that in a very large proportion of instances the engines would have worked even better without the costly addition of the spirit. In these days

of the scientific applications of the doctrines of economy it certainly must remain a matter of some surprise to thoughtful men that in a land of advanced cultivation and intelligence so many millions of good money are continuously applied to the production of a commodity which, in the existing habits of society, may reasonably be held to be pernicious alike to the pockets, to the health, and to the morals of the community. It unfortunately happens that the question of the influence of alcohol is a difficult one to deal with on account of the subtle effects and the complicated instrumentalities which have to be encountered and unravelled at every turn; but it is for that very reason a question that imperatively demands a more searching inquiry and a more concentrated attention than it has yet received at the hands of the general community; and there are some broad facts in connexion with it, such as some of those which have been especially dwelt upon in the course of this article, that are already beyond the pale of uncertainty or doubt, and that therefore deserve, even now, to be made the base of an improved practice and a new faith.

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ART. VII.—*Life of Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, Baronet, K. C. B. F.R.S., &c., based on his Letters and Journals, with Notices of his Scientific Contemporaries and a Sketch of the Rise and Growth of Palæozoic Geology in Great Britain.* By ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S. Illustrated with portraits and woodcuts. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1875.

IN the two volumes before us we have the life of a remarkable man, whether he be viewed as a type of our race, or as a mere geologist and geographer. Sir Roderick Impey Murchison possessed, in an eminent degree, the restless energy and determination as well as the practical turn of mind so characteristic of Englishmen, and he manifested them equally in the hunting field in his earlier days and in the higher pursuits by which afterwards he left his name impressed on the annals of science. The steps by which the young and fashionable captain of dragoons grew into the scientific philosopher, whose tall and commanding, though in after years stooping, figure was so conspicuous in the circles of science and of fashion during the last forty years, form a most interesting and instructive study. Professor Geikie in bringing his life before the public is in a position differing from that of most ordinary biographers. He was specially retained by Murchison with an eye to his posthumous reputation, and was supplied

with documents accumulated through a long life for that purpose. He also enjoys the inestimable advantage of having a complete mastery of those branches of science in which the subject of this memoir was distinguished, and lastly he is possessed of no mean literary ability. He has acquitted himself of his task with rare tact and judgment, and with impartiality. He has painted with a loving hand a picture of Murchison's life in which the events stand out most vividly from the canvas, with charming touches of nature here and there, and liftings up of the mantle of austerity and coldness which concealed the tender heart within during the latter part of his career. Murchison never gave a better example of his practical turn of mind than in the choice of Professor Geikie as his biographer. We can only regret that the memory of other geological heroes such as Sedgwick, Phillips, and Lyell, has not been cared for in like manner; for in our opinion Murchison was not the greatest, but the most successful of the geologists of his time in his life, in his death, and in his biographer. In reviewing Professor Geikie's work we propose to give an outline of Murchison's life, and to see what his position among his contemporaries really was; and especially we wish to call attention to the work which he did in connexion with geographical research, which his biographer, looking at his subject mainly from a geological point of view, has not put forward with sufficient prominence. It will be unnecessary for us to discuss the technical details of his Silurian System, which have already been treated of in this Review,\* not, as we now state, without his own assistance.

The subject of this memoir was descended from the Murchisons of Lochalsh and Kintail, a Highland sept, dwelling within the domains of the Mackenzies, in a wild and lonely tract of the West Highlands, between the Kyles of Skye and the line of the Great Glen. We hear of them in 1541 as burning the castle of Eilandonan, the stronghold of the Mackenzies; and after the rebellion of 1715, among the retainers of the Earl of Seaforth the name of Donald Murchison is conspicuous for his successful resistance to the royal troops who attempted to gain possession of the forfeited Seaforth estates. For no less than ten years he held possession against all comers, and though he held a commission at the same time as Deputy-Factor for the Commissioners of Forfeited Estates, he regularly transmitted the rents to the banished Earl. 'The last year,' writes General Wade, in 1725, in a report to George I., 'this

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\* Vol. lxxiii. p. 1.

‘Murchison marched in a public manner to Edinburgh, and ‘remained there unmolested for fourteen days.’ The Earl of Seaforth, on regaining his position in Scotland, took advantage of the lawlessness of the time by seizing the charter and lands of the Murchisons, and Donald died of a broken heart, childless, and in poverty, amongst strangers. John Murchison, the great-grandfather of Sir Roderick and the uncle of Donald, fell in the battle of Sheriffmuir; he was a farmer in Lochalsh, and was succeeded in his tenancy by his son Alexander, whose eldest son Kenneth was born in 1751. Kenneth, impelled by a spirit of adventure, went out as a surgeon to India, where he amassed a fortune, with which he returned in 1786 to purchase the small estate of Tarradale in Easter Ross. He married the daughter of Mackenzie of Fairbairn, lineal descendant of Rory More or Sir Robert Mackenzie, and the first fruits of the marriage, Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, appeared at Tarradale in 1792, descending on his father’s side from a race of yeoman farmers, his mother being of gentle blood. It was always a subject of regret to him that he could not buy back the old tower of Fairbairn, which still looks down on Beaully Firth.

Three years after Rory’s birth Mr. Murchison moved to Bath, where he died in 1796, leaving behind two boys, Roderick and Kenneth. Mrs. Murchison, still young, married Colonel Murray, one of the guardians of her boys, and as she was determined to accompany her husband who was ordered to Ireland to aid in suppressing the rebellion, young Roderick, then seven years old, was sent to the grammar school at Durham. His home life ended thus early with his mother’s marriage, and he entered into school life in the house of a Mr. Wharton, by whom about twenty boys were taught the rudiments of English, French, and the classics. Among these ‘Dick,’ as he was called, quickly made himself conspicuous by his daring escapades. Sometimes he amused himself by organising a fight with the town boys, at another time he would scramble up to the highest tower of the cathedral, and sit on a gargoyle to the terror of the beholders. At another we read of his creeping down the narrow sewer which falls into the Wear, an exploit which may claim to be his first attempt to explore what lies underground. After six years at Durham he was sent to the military school at Great Marlow, where his activity made him, as might be expected, the ring-leader of frolic among the cadets. At this stage of his life we find him beginning to take notes, a habit to which a considerable portion of his success is undoubtedly due, and it is



interesting to mark in these memoranda the germ of those tastes which were so freely developed by circumstances in after life. But besides these boyish foibles there were qualities latent in the young cadet which did not pass unnoticed by his uncle General Mackenzie. 'He is manly,' writes the latter in his diary, 'sensible, generous, warm-hearted, in short 'possessing every possible good attribute. I think he has also 'talents to make a figure in any profession. That which he 'has chosen is a soldier.' How well this forecast was realised is known to the world.

At the age of fifteen young Murchison was gazetted as ensign in the 36th regiment, and was sent to Edinburgh in command of a recruiting party. Here he became one of the first among the powdered young military fops, and spent his spare time in curiously mingled pursuits. Besides giving his mind to riding, and taking lessons in fencing from a *valet de chambre* of the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X., then at Holyrood, he studied modern languages and mathematics, and attended a debating club. Possessed of accomplishments such as these, we can readily understand how disappointed he was, when he joined his regiment at Cork, to find himself no longer an important personage, associating with high-bred dandies, but a junior in a regiment which had seen a great deal of service in India and South America, commanded by an old veteran, Colonel Burne, a strict disciplinarian in pipeclay and the like, and remarkable equally for his hard-headedness at the mess-table and his gallantry in the field. The regiment was moved to Fermoy in 1808, and young Roderick was appointed aide-de-camp to his uncle General Mackenzie, who was second in command of the force assembled at Cork, intended to operate in South America. The unexpected success of the Spaniards caused a change in the destination of this force, and Sir Arthur Wellesley ordered the regiment to proceed to the Spanish peninsula at twenty-four hours' notice. This event may be said to have closed the days of his boyhood—a boyhood in which he showed merely the qualities which may constitute a good soldier, and in which we are able to trace no sign of aptitude for art, letters, or science. He was an energetic, active Highland lad, with strong military tastes, and a keen thirst for the friendship of people in a higher rank than his own.

It is by no means our intention to follow his six months' campaign in Portugal; we would only remark that he saw Sir Arthur Wellesley land, and that he carried the colours of his regiment at the battle of Vimeiro. 'What, were you that 'chubby-faced boy,' said the Duke to him many years after-

wards, 'who held up the colours when I halted the 36th 'after Vimeiro?' In his letters home the perceptive power, which he afterwards displayed in a high degree, is traceable. One of his anecdotes illustrates the brutality with which the warfare was carried on by some of the combatants. 'While 'halting at a bivouac before we reached Vimeiro,' he wrote, 'a Portuguese volunteer on horseback coolly unfolded before 'myself and others a large piece of brown paper, in which 'he had carefully folded up like a sandwich several pairs of 'Frenchmen's ears, his occupation having been to follow us, 'and to cut off all these appendages from men who were 'thoroughly well "kilt,"—doubtless to produce them in coffee-houses in Lisbon as proofs of the number of the enemy he 'had slain!' In the subsequent operations of the army of succour, under Sir John Moore, which began at Lisbon and ended at Corunna, Murchison, now a lieutenant, kept with his regiment, and was one of the footsore stragglers in that disastrous retreat. With his embarkation at Corunna ended his first and last campaign. On returning to England he left his regiment to become aide-de-camp to General Mackenzie at Messina, and consequently bore no share with his comrades in the famous campaigns which ended in Waterloo. The fighting at Messina was little better than a desultory engagement of gunboats, enlivened by a passage of courtesy between General Mackenzie and Murat, who happened to be personal friends. In Sicily Lieutenant Murchison appears to have learnt little else than the art of writing despatches, which afterwards served him in good stead.

On his uncle's return to England he accompanied him, and during the next eventful years from 1811 to 1814, while his regiment was crowning itself with glory, he had to devote himself to barrack duty at Horsham, Inverary, and Armagh. He took refuge in field sports, shooting, fishing, and hunting, from the tedium of military idleness, and as, at this time, he aspired to be a man of fashion, it is no wonder that his expenditure exceeded his income. The most important incident in this stage of his career is that he attended the lectures of Sir Humphry Davy, in 1812, at the Royal Institution.

On the peace of 1814 his uncle's staff appointment was cancelled, and Murchison became a captain on half pay. The unexpected return of Napoleon from Elba found him in Paris, where he spent much of his time at the Louvre; he hastened back to England with considerable difficulty, and, thirsting for military exploits, entered the Enniskillen Dragoons, then ordered out for service in the Belgian campaign. Again, how-

ever, he was doomed to waste in inglorious ease, for each of the six service captains of the regiment elected to go abroad, and he was left behind in the dépôt at Ipswich.

This bitter disappointment led directly to the event which was the turning point in his career. His mother had taken a house at Ryde, and there, through the introduction of Miss Maria Porter, he became engaged to Charlotte, the daughter of General Hugonin, of Nursted, who, to use his own words, 'was attractive, piquante, clever, highly educated, and about 'three years my senior.' They were married in 1815, and immediately afterwards he retired from the army rather than expose his wife to the discomfort and monotony of a soldier's life in barracks. Hitherto he had lived an idle fashionable life, now he came under the influence of a thoughtful, cultivated, and affectionate woman, who set herself to draw him from the outdoor sports which were his chief occupation to higher aims and an intellectual life. Quietly and imperceptibly her influence grew, until under her patient guidance he achieved the work which placed him in the first rank of British geologists. It is very much to his honour that he never missed an opportunity of acknowledging that to her womanly tact he owed his introduction to the world of science, and his rescue from the unsatisfactory life of a man of no definite pursuits.

In this portion of the biography Professor Geikie tells us a circumstance to which Murchison, so far as we know, never alluded, which fairly takes away our breath. Having given up one fixed employment, the ex-captain of dragoons began to look out for another. After the fashion of that day, he seriously thought of becoming a clergyman. 'I saw,' he writes, 'that 'my wife had been brought up to look after the poor, was a 'good botanist, enjoyed a garden, and liked tranquillity; and 'as parsons then enjoyed a little hunting, shooting, and 'fishing, without being railed at, I thought I might slide 'into that sort of comfortable domestic life.' For those who knew Murchison in after years, it is almost impossible to grasp the idea that he *might* have become a country parson instead of a geologist. Leaving his choice of a clerical life still undecided, and impelled by the unsatisfactory state of their finances, Mr. and Mrs. Murchison spent the next two years abroad. This arrangement fell in with the plans of the latter, who had sagaciously seen that her husband would be more likely to break off from his useless life at home, if he were thrown among a new set of acquaintances and pursuits on the Continent. She resolved to approach him at first from the side of art. They posted slowly through France, examin-

ing the picture galleries *en route*, spending the summer in Switzerland and the winter at Genoa, whence in the spring of 1817 they passed on to Rome. By this time he had become a confirmed dilettante, and his copious notes on pictures and works of art show that he was most enthusiastic and active in his new-found occupation. His criticisms on the works of great Italian masters alternate with observations on the Forum, the tomb of Cecilia Metella, the baths of Caracalla, and the Grotto of Egeria, and with anecdotes of Canova, whose acquaintance he made. In these two years he was sowing seed which would bear fruit afterwards. Through art he owed his first introduction to an intellectual life; it was not art which was to be his future stimulus, but it was for him the starting point of a new career, and it was the first step in the direction of the work and of the honours which he was to achieve. Mrs. Murchison had gained the first victory in her campaign, but it was for a time obscured by intervening defeats.

The dark ages of Murchison's life may be said to begin with their return from Italy in 1818. The Tarradale estate was sold, and the Murchisons established themselves in an old mansion at Barnard Castle. Here art studies were no longer possible, and as the only escape from the dullness of the little country town was to be found in field sports, Murchison threw himself into them, and became one of the hardest riders in the North of England. In vain did his wife attempt to allure him into the paths of botany and mineralogy. 'The noble science of fox-hunting,' he says of himself, 'was then my dominant passion, and as I had acquired a little reputation in the North as a hard rider, I resolved to play the great game, increase my stud, and settle for a year or two at Melton Mowbray, in Leicestershire.' This resolve was carried out, and curiously enough we find him, by way of compromise and in deference to his wife's literary taste, keeping his hunting journals of 1822 and 1823 in French. The records of his stud, he it remarked, he kept with the same care and precision as his geological and geographical observations in the future. How this phase of his life was closed we will tell in his own words, written some forty years after the event:—

'As time rolled on I got *blasé* and tired of all fox-hunting life. In the summer following the hunting season of 1822–23, when revisiting my old friend Morritt of Rokeby, I fell in with Sir Humphry Davy, and experienced much gratification in his lively illustrations of great physical truths. As we shot partridges together in the morning, I perceived that a man might pursue philosophy without abandoning

field sports; and Davy, seeing that I had already made observations on the Alps and Apennines, independently of my antiquarian rambles, encouraged me to come to London and *set to* at science, by attending lectures on chemistry, &c. As my wife naturally backed up this advice, and Sir Humphry Davy said he would soon get me into the Royal Society, I was fairly and easily booked.'

The break-up of his establishment at Melton was probably caused more by the expenses, which were beyond his means, than by a desire to study chemistry. In the winter of 1824, we find him hunting and shooting, very much 'as if he had never seen Davy at Rokeby and no vision of chemistry lectures had ever floated before him.'

The fox-hunter, however, had determined to cast in his lot with the men of science. Having established himself in Montague Square, and sold all his saddle-horses, he entered upon his new life by attending the lectures at the Royal Institution, among which was a course of geology, a subject which most probably struck his fancy because it interfered least with his sporting propensities. From the Royal Institution he was tempted to attend the meetings of the Geological Society, then held in little rooms in Bedford Street, Covent Garden; a society founded in 1807, and then composed of a small but most brilliant body of orators and philosophers, and in which he was destined to take a most important part for the next half century. His true vocation was found, and into it he threw all the energy which had been before dissipated in field sports. Such was the peculiar condition 'of geological science at the time, that a great work could be done by a man with a quick eye, a good judgment, a keen notion of what had already been done, and a stout pair of legs.' Murchison possessed all these advantages, and in addition an orderly and methodical habit which would have ensured success in most walks of life. He accomplished this great work, aided almost at every step by the lady who had rescued him from the desultory life of a fox-hunting man of fashion. How it happened that a reputation so high as his was so rapidly gained without any previous training is well worthy of inquiry. We shall therefore pause to take a survey of the position of geological science at the time.

At the beginning of this century British geologists were divided into two hostile camps; the one composed of the followers of Hutton of Edinburgh, known also as Vulcanists or Plutonists; the others, the followers of Werner, the great mineralogist of Freiberg, and termed Neptunists. Hutton taught that the past history of the earth is to be accounted for by an appeal to existing causes, that the continents were first

gradually destroyed by aqueous denudation, and that out of their ruins were slowly accumulated new continents to be elevated in their turn by violent convulsions. Thus there would be periods of repose alternating with periods of disturbance, one of each constituting a cycle of change. He held that the flow of the rivers, the dash of the rain, the destructive action of the frost, and all the other agents of changes going on at the present time, were the causes of those which have taken place in the earth, in all the time past of which evidence is before the geologist. 'I do not pretend,' writes Hutton, 'to describe the beginning of things; I take things such as I find them at present, and from these I reason with regard to that which must have been.' These views, adopted subsequently by Lyell and his followers, did not take into account either the whence or the whither, either the beginning or end of the earth. They constitute the essence of what Professor Huxley terms the uniformitarian doctrine; and he it remarked that this section of the Huttonians, among whom Professor Geikie is one of the leaders, disbelieves in the doctrine of alternate periods of repose and convulsion, which is held by another section termed by Professor Huxley the catastrophic.

Werner on the other hand, treating the rocks as mere masses of minerals, taught that the earth 'had been originally covered by the ocean, in which the materials of the minerals were dissolved, but of this ocean he imagined that the various rocks were precipitated in the same order in which he found those of Saxony to lie; hence on the retirement of the ocean, certain universal formations spread over the surface of the globe, and assumed at the surface various irregular shapes as they consolidated.' The important principle which he enunciated was, that the rocks lay in a certain order, and that they therefore had been deposited at successive times.

When Murchison was selling off his hunters the chemical precipitation theory was rapidly passing away in favour of the Huttonian views. It had indeed received its *coup de grâce* from the researches of William Smith, a civil engineer, born in Oxfordshire, who earned the proud title of the father of English geology by the publication, in 1801, of his 'Tabular View of the British Strata,' and by the subsequent publication of a series of geological maps of England and Wales. By his own individual work, struggling with poverty, he had clearly defined the principles of geological classification by means of fossils. With their aid he had constructed a map of his own country, and his method was rapidly applied to very nearly all the countries in Europe. Every year

broadened the base of the infant science of geology, and elucidated its details. The rocks to which William Smith paid most attention were those now known as the Secondary or Mesozoic rocks. With regard to the strata newer than these, so far back as 1766 Gustavus Brander had figured an admirable series of shells found in the Eocenes of Hampshire; and at the beginning of this century in France the labours of Baron Cuvier, and others, had raised from the dead, so to speak, the extraordinary group of animals living in Eocene France. In Germany Goldfuss had been eagerly working at the animals found in caves; and his success had induced Buckland to explore the hyæna den of Kirkdale, and to ransack the other caverns of this country. When the principle of the classification by fossils was fully recognised, it was seen that the strata were divisible into three great groups characterised by certain persistent forms of animal and vegetable life—into Primary or Palæozoic, Secondary or Mesozoic, and Tertiary or Kainozoic. The fauna and flora of the first being much less like the productions now on the earth than the second, and each being defined from the other by great physical breaks, during which continents had been submerged, and the depths of the sea had become dry land.

It thus happened that when Murchison first thought of geology, the Tertiary rocks were known to occupy the eastern parts of England as far as the chalk, the Secondary rocks extended over the whole area from the chalk downs westward to the line of the coal-measures, while the Primary swept in a broad band obliquely through England and into Wales, being represented by the coal-measures and 'Old Red sandstone.' Below these lay a geological terra incognita, embracing the hilly districts of Wales and Cumberland, and the Highlands of Scotland, and termed, for want of a better name, from its grey-colour, Grauwacke. It is obvious that in this direction Murchison might expect greater success than in any other, for the Tertiary strata required a knowledge of the living forms of life which he did not possess, and the Secondary were already explored.

Engaged in the fascinating pursuit of the new science were heroes as noble and as knightly as the fellowship of Arthur's Table. There was the eloquent, active, and humorous Buckland, fresh from his caves, ready to pick a bone with anyone, posting to and fro whenever he heard of any new find, and breaking the monotony of Oxford lectures by a ride across country with his students, or by stamping the memory of Oxford or Kimmeridge clay in their minds by leading them

into quagmires. There were the eagle-eyed Sedgwick, full of enthusiasm and not less ready for the fray; Wollaston, stern in his search for truth; the cautious Warburton; the hasty Fitton; the critical Conybeare; the shrewd Leonard Horner, and others. They were men for the most part of wealth and position, and with them were associated the most distinguished philosophers of the time, Whewell, Davy, Stokes, and others. All these were men of wide and liberal minds, and naturally would offer to Murchison the society for which he was by his own tastes peculiarly fitted. He could moreover follow his new pursuit without sacrificing his out-door exercises.

Murchison entered eagerly and yet with method into the career before him. He first set himself to master what books had to tell him of the rocks, and then he proceeded on a tour along the south coast with his wife, whom he left at Lyme Regis, to work quietly at the fossils. He got as far west as Cornwall, where he first saw the rocks of which he and Sedgwick were in after years to be the historians. On his return he wrote his first scientific paper on the district immediately round Nursted, which proved his capacity as an observer. Soon afterwards he was elected one of the honorary secretaries of the Geological Society. 'Lyell, being then a law student with chambers in the Temple, could only devote a portion of his time to our science, and was glad to make way as secretary for one, who like myself, had nothing else to do than think and dream of geology, and work hard to get on in my new vocation.' In 1826 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, not on account of his scientific work, but because he was an independent gentleman with scientific tastes and with time and money to gratify them. In those days the Royal Society was almost as much an aristocratic as a scientific distinction. 'This,' he wrote years afterwards, 'was perhaps the happiest period of my life. I had shaken off the vanities of the fashionable world to a good extent, was less anxious to know titled folks and leading sportsmen, was free of all the care and expenses of a stable full of horses, and had taken to a career in which excitement in the field carried with it occupation, amusement, and possibly reputation.'

The next summer was spent in settling the age of the coal-field of Brora, for which he prepared himself by a careful survey of the Yorkshire Oolites, in the course of which he fell in with Professor Phillips, then a young man at York, and his uncle William Smith. They explained to him the succession of rocks in the magnificent cliffs of Scarborough, and taught him the value of fossils in classification. In after years Phil-



lips often reverted to this first meeting, and told how enthusiastic and methodical Murchison was, and how in their boating and walking he was led to see clearly 'that strata must alone be identified by their fossils.' Being possessed with this knowledge, he had no difficulty in proving, in an elaborate memoir, that the coal of Brora belongs to the same Oolitic group of rocks as those of Yorkshire. To his contact with Phillips and Smith may be fairly assigned his first mastery of the principles of geological classification, which afterwards he was to use with such important results in the interpretation of the Silurian, Devonian, and Permian rocks.

In this geological raid into Scotland Murchison had fairly been beaten by the problem offered by the Red sandstone on the west coast. He resolved to attack it again in company with Sedgwick, who had already spent much time in working at the older rocks in Britain, and from whose wider knowledge and experience he had everything to hope for. The two friends started, and after a series of wild and romantic adventures by flood and fell, returned with materials for two joint memoirs, one of which was published in 1828, while the other was kept back by Sedgwick's delay. It is important to notice this fact in their first joint memoir. The busy methodical Murchison was ready with his manuscript before the Woodwardian professor could complete his share of the work, on account of his weak health and many avocations; and to this cause was due the unfortunate breach in after years between the two comrades, for which, as it seems to us, Murchison is not fairly to be held responsible.

By this time the ex-fox-hunter had been three years at work, employed, as one of his sporting friends told him, as 'an earth stopper,' and he had not only mastered what was then known of the rocks of Great Britain, but he had added to the general stock of knowledge by his expeditions into Scotland. He had become one of the leading members of the Geological Society, and one of the most ardent and promising geologists of the day. It was only natural for him to be eager to turn his newly acquired knowledge into account by similar expeditions on the Continent. Accordingly in the winter of 1828-29, we find him planning the first of the journeys which occupied him for the best part of the next three years, the scene of his labours extending through France to the shores of the Adriatic on the one hand, and through Rhineland and Austria into Hungary on the other. He was accompanied by his wife and Lyell. After descending the Rhone the travellers parted company; Lyell, who had re-

solved under the influence of Murchison's example to devote himself to geology, going southwards to study the Tertiary rocks and lay the foundation of his subsequent fame, while the Murchisons went eastward to the Alps, and thence homeward to the winter meetings of the Geological Society. We can well imagine the joy with which the young geologist, in whom the old fox-hunting Adam was not yet extinct, carried away a fossil animal, pronounced by Cuvier to be a fox, from Oeningen. The results of this expedition were embodied in five memoirs, which, with the duties of geological secretary and a not inconsiderable dash of field sports, consumed the winter.

In the following June Murchison returned to the attack of the twisted and broken strata which compose the Alps, this time accompanied by Sedgwick. Swiftly they passed by Bonn and Göttingen, being welcomed by the savants *en route*, among whom was Blumenbach the ethnologist; then southwards through Dresden to the Carinthian Alps, where they visited the Archduke John, 'the most scientific prince in Europe.' Thence they struck into Switzerland, ultimately returning to record their observations in four memoirs which are models of rapid generalisation and of keen and quick observation. The views of the two English geologists having met with considerable opposition on the Continent, Murchison undertook to verify them by a third journey, accompanied by his wife. At Vienna, besides meeting with scientific friends he saw a good deal of distinguished society. He had the pleasure of being rescued by Metternich from an awkward discussion as to the relation of the Mosaic record to science. It seems that this extraordinary man in the intervals of his diplomacy had attended Cuvier's lectures in Paris, and acquired a considerable knowledge of the bearings of science. Indeed, he told Murchison, that if he had not been a diplomat he would have taken to a scientific career, and what is still more strange, Murchison seems to have believed him.

However, he tore himself away from the attractions of the capital to his work of 'riddling the Alps in all directions,' in which he was entirely successful. He had not long returned to England before again he set out for the Continent, partly to compare the fossils which he had obtained in Germany with those of the French collections, and partly 'to frequent the society of scientific friends.' From Alexander von Humboldt, then in Paris, he gathered much information as to the geological structure of the districts which were the scenes of his travels.

During five years Murchison had now been honorary secretary to the Geological Society. He had published many memoirs, and had fairly earned the dignity of President, to which he was elected in 1831. He brought his distinguished friends to the meetings, and in his dinner-parties and conversaziones introduced the men of science to the artists, littérateurs, and men of fashion. His house became a centre where men of different pursuits and sets became acquainted to their mutual advantage. The debates of the Society during his reign were among the most brilliant in London, and the audience at the field days in the little dingy meeting-room generally included some of the most eminent men in London.

The newly elected President was no sooner installed than he set himself to work, at the instigation of Buckland, on the solution of the problem offered by the rocks which cover the greater part of Wales, then known under the obscure name of Grauwacke. On the close of the geological session he started from Bryanston Square 'with his wife and maid, two 'good grey nags and a little carriage, saddles being strapped 'behind for occasional equestrian use.' His route lay, through Oxford, where he halted to obtain from Buckland all that he knew about the Grauwacke, and by whom he was directed to the section exposed in the banks of the Wye. Thence he went westward to Conybeare, one of the eminent authors of 'The Geology of England and Wales,' from whom he obtained 'some good advice.' He also laid under contribution the stores of knowledge accumulated by local observers, Dr. Lloyd of Ludlow, Mr. Davies of Llandovery, and the Rev. T. T. Lewis of Aymestry. To the last of these especially was he indebted 'for much of his knowledge of the rocks and 'fossils of the Upper Silurian series, for that gentleman had 'already made out the arrangement of the rocks in his district, 'and recognised their characteristic fossils before Murchison 'had begun to study the subject.' This fact was never acknowledged by Murchison as it should have been, and we think that Professor Geikie has acted with great impartiality in bringing it forward in its proper place.

Following Buckland's advice, and having picked up all the information which had been collected on the subject by other people, Murchison ultimately broke ground near the town of Llandeilo.

'Travelling from Brecon to Builth by the Herefordshire road, the gorge in which the Wye flows first developed what I had not until then seen. Low terrace-shaped ridges of grey rock, dipping slightly to the south-east, appeared on the opposite bank of the Wye, and seemed to

rise out quite conformably from beneath the Old Red of Herefordshire. Boating across the river at Cavansham Ferry, I rushed up to these ridges, and to my inexpressible joy found them replete with Transition fossils, afterwards identified with those at Ludlow. Here then was a key, and if I could only follow this out on the strike of the beds to the north-east the case would be good.' (Vol. i. p. 183.)

It was no instinct that led Murchison to this spot, but Buckland's advice to go thither. We therefore cannot understand why Professor Geikie describes the expedition thither as 'a happy accident,' by which he had stumbled upon some of the few natural sections, where the order of the upper part of the Transition rocks can be readily perceived, and where their strata can be traced passing up into the overlying formations. On the evidence before us it is clear that Murchison merely went where he was directed, and by a methodical comparison of the information obtained by local observers arrived at general views regarding the series of rocks. It was not an accident in any sense, nor in the autobiography which Murchison left behind does he claim it to have been an accident.

The next seven years were devoted mainly to the mapping of these newly classified rocks, for which Murchison proposed the name of Silurian, from his having first of all worked at them in the country of the Silures, and in 1838 the results of his labours appeared in the great quarto volume entitled 'The Silurian System,' containing a geological map and numerous plates of fossils, which established his reputation as one of the first geologists in Europe. It was a work in which he freely availed himself of the labours of his friends, and in which the especial knowledge required for the interpretation and description of the fossil remains was contributed by the leading palæontologists of the day. It was a complete and well-rounded work; designed and carried out in the most methodical manner, just what we might have expected from the energetic man of business the author was. Agassiz described the fishes, Sowerby and Lonsdale the corals and shells, while Broderip, the late Professor Phillips, Milne-Edwards and others, assisted in various other departments. It was appropriately dedicated to his old friend and fellow-traveller Sedgwick, to whom he owed assistance in the correction of the proofs and in its general revision. Before its publication these Grauwacke rocks had generally been looked upon as a geological chaos. Now Murchison had succeeded in mapping off the order of their upper divisions, and in revealing to his readers a series of changes in the fossil groups of life, analogous to those which William Smith had proved to exist in

the Secondary rocks. He had, moreover, traced the flows of lava and basalt, and the sheet of volcanic ash to the sites from which they were poured forth; and he had proved to what a thickness the volcanic detritus had spread over the ancient Silurian sea. We would point out that in this he was adopting the method by which Professor Sedgwick had proved a similar condition of things to have formerly prevailed during the time of the accumulation of the rocks of Cumberland.\*

It is not a little singular that Professor Sedgwick should have chosen the same year as Murchison for the invasion of the rocks of Wales. In 1831, accompanied, he it remarked, by Charles Darwin, he proceeded to the region of Snowdonia, the Menai Straits, and Bala, where the rocks are so tossed about and so altered by heat that it is frequently difficult to make out their true order. He adopted as his base line the Menai Straits, and with great labour, and in spite of the feeble state of his health, he worked steadily eastwards at the same time that Murchison was working towards him from the side of the country of the Silures. The latter had applied the name Silurian to his group of rocks in his communication to the British Association in 1831, at their first meeting. The former gave the name of Cambrian to his group in the second meeting at Oxford. Murchison was fortunate, as we have seen, in choosing a district not only abounding in fossils which had previously attracted the attention of local geologists of ability, but one where the rocks rested one upon each other in unbroken continuity, and were apparently unaffected by subterranean forces. Sedgwick, on the other hand, had begun his work in a region in which fossils were scarce, and the rocks were so altered, folded and broken up, that their structure could only be deciphered with extreme difficulty even to his experienced eye. All his work was original, and he had no assistance such as that which Murchison enjoyed. This difference in the problems which each set himself to solve ought fairly to be taken into account in estimating the comparative value of the labours of the two men. Professor Geikie has done well in bringing it to the front in his memoirs.

The two friends met in the summer of 1834 to arrange the boundaries of their geological conquests. Sedgwick crossed over into Murchison's territories to make a conjoint tour, of which the latter writes thus to Dr. Whewell:—

‘The first of men took leave of me and my little carriage at Ludlow on the 10th July, bending his steps (nearly as firm as I ever knew

\* Proceed. Geol. Soc., vol. i. p. 400.

them) toward Denbighshire. We not only put up our horses together, but have actually made our formations embrace each other in a manner so true, and therefore so affectionate, that the evidence thereof would even melt the heart, if it did not convince the severe judgment of some Cantab mathematicos of my acquaintance.'

'Having dovetailed our respective upper and lower rocks in a manner most satisfactory to both of us, I hastened back to join my wife. . . . I shall run down to Edinburgh just in time for the meeting, and the feast being over, the Professor and self intend to look at some other border cases of Transition, the whole to conclude with a lecture from him to myself on his strong ground of Cumberland. I was not a little proud of having such a pupil; and although I think and hope he endeavoured to pick every hole he could in my arrangement, he has confirmed all my views, some of which, from the difficulties which environed me, I was very nervous about until I had such a *backer*. But I will say no more of Number One than to assure you that we had a most delightful and profitable tour in every way, and that our section across the Berwyns, in which the Professor became my instructor, was of infinite use to me. Such are the foldings and repetitions that my "black flags" of Llandcilo are reproduced even on the eastern side of these mountains, and it is only as you get *into* them that you take final leave of my upper groups, and get fairly sunk in the old slaty systems of the Professor.'

From this letter it is obvious that Murchison was by no means satisfied as to the definite boundary between Cambrian and Silurian; and it is important to notice that it was written at the time, and before any idea of the unhappy estrangement afterwards to take place on that very point had entered into his mind. Many years afterwards, when the memory of what had passed was no longer fresh, and a feeling of wrong had separated the old comrades, Sedgwick gave a different account of this expedition, and states that Murchison led him into the error of believing that the Bala limestone, which really was the equivalent of the Lower Silurian Caradoc rocks, was older than these rocks, and therefore that his Upper Cambrians were distinct from the Lower Silurians. Whether this be so or not seems to us a small matter, for the error was allowed by Sedgwick in his own territory, and it was accepted on his authority by all the geologists of the day.

The controversy as to the boundary between the Silurian and Cambrian rocks seems to us to have been mainly roused neither by Murchison nor Sedgwick, but by the officers of the Geological Survey in working their way northwards from the Bristol Channel. In 1842 they had invaded Sedgwick's Cambria, and their labours from that time forward proved that his upper rocks were the equivalents of the Lower Silurians of Murchison, more or less profoundly affected by subterranean

disturbance. The question in dispute, as to whether they ought to be termed Cambrian or Silurian, was practically settled by Murchison's priority in assigning to the series the latter name. The man of genius had been, as is generally the case, outstripped in the race by the practical man of method. It was undoubtedly very hard for Sedgwick to feel that the labour of years was, to some extent, unrequited, while his friend had achieved with comparative ease a great geological victory. It was the fortune of war to be borne without flinching. Murchison by the promptness of his publication had established his nomenclature, which by that time had been accepted. Nevertheless Sedgwick, even after a large portion of his territory had been annexed to Siluria by the geological surveyors, still could boast of vast thicknesses of rock as Cambrian, in the neighbourhood of St. David's, in the Long Mynd Hills, and to the north of Cardigan Bay. It is only just to Murchison to say that the kindly feelings towards Sedgwick expressed in the letter which we have quoted above are characteristic of all those which were written from that time down to the close of his life. The final rupture of their friendship took place years after it was penned.

Before the 'Silurian System' was well out of his hands its author in conjunction with Sedgwick determined to make out the history of the rocks of Devonshire and Cornwall then beginning to engage the attention of geologists. They had already studied the Old Red sandstone of Scotland, and the former had traced it over a considerable area in South Wales and the English border counties. Conjointly they had raised it to the dignity of a geological formation. Their labours resulted in the proof that the massive slate rocks of the South-west of England and the irregular fossil coral reefs at Torquay, Plymouth, and elsewhere formed part of a group of strata below the Coal-measures and later than the Silurians—in other words, that they occupied the same position in the geological scale as the Old Red sandstone. For them they proposed the name Devonian in 1839, since they did not feel justified in applying the term Old Red sandstone, because in the former they met with marine shells, and none of the peculiar fishes, while in the latter there were fishes and no marine shells. The former was undoubtedly marine, the latter may have been deposited in lakes. This difficult geological problem had scarcely been solved before the energetic Murchison, oppressed with 'the feeling that he ought to be at work somewhere,' started for the Rhineland, and before Sedgwick could join him he had recognised some of the characteristic

Devonian fossils. They had a very successful campaign, in which they proved that the Devonian or Old Red sandstone formation occupied the same position in Germany as in Britain, and they returned to England laden with fossils to be critically examined by Lonsdale, Sowerby, Phillips, and others. They were materially aided in this field by the eminent geologist M. de Verneuil.

The spring of 1840 found Murchison in Paris, reading an essay before the French Geological Society 'On our Triple Subdivision of Devonian, Silurian, and Cambrian for Europe,' and enjoying the society of the place. Among the men whom he met especial mention is made of M. Thiers, who was then Prime Minister of France and to whom he was presented at a soirée at Lady Granville's:—

'Thiers,' he wrote, 'is the drollest little body you ever saw, more like Dick Phillips the chemist, with his spectacles, than anyone I can recollect at this moment. I heard him to-day in the *Chambre des Députés*: a short, clear, and pithy speech, and I can understand how and why he rules.' (P. 287.)

From the festivities of Paris he returned to prepare for the geological tour in Russia, which he had already planned. He had heard marvellous accounts of the unbroken continuity of the strata in that country comparatively undisturbed by the forces which had broken up the Palæozoic rocks of France, Germany, and Britain. He heard still more about them in his visit to Paris, and concluded that good work was to be achieved by an examination of these strata on the spot. Taking as his companion M. de Verneuil, he passed swiftly by way of Berlin, where he was fêted by Humboldt, to St. Petersburg, and thence eastwards; after a brief and rapid survey he returned with the following remarkable results.

From a lower mass of ancient crystalline rocks the travellers had made out a most complete and interesting ascending series of Silurian, Old Red sandstone, and Carboniferous deposits, not hardened, broken, and crumpled like the corresponding rocks in Britain, but flat and only partially consolidated. So young indeed did these truly ancient deposits appear, that it was difficult to realise that soft blue clays and loose friable limestones were the geological equivalents of hard fractured slates and marbles in Western Europe. Only by recognising in them the characteristic fossils of the typical districts could their true geological horizon be ascertained.

By far the most important observation which they made was the discovery of the Old Red sandstone fishes in the same beds with true Devonian shells—a discovery the full import of



which will be perceived if we remember the long and arduous struggle of Sedgwick and Murchison to show that the Devonshire *killas* answered in point of geological time to the Old Red sandstone and Conglomerate of other districts. 'If I had seen nothing more than this,' Murchison writes, 'it would have been a great triumph for myself and Sedgwick. When we contended that the limestones and sandstones of Devonshire were of the same age as the Old Red sandstone of Scotland, we were met with this objection, "Show us a fish of the Old Red in Devon, or a Devonshire shell in the Old Red of Scotland." Here, then, in Russia I have solved the problem, for these shells and these fishes (species for species) are here unquestionably united in the very same flagstones.'

This rapid tour was preliminary to a much more serious undertaking. He had resolved to strike across the Russian empire to the Urals, and his plan was welcomed by the Russian Government with promise of support. Once more, in the spring of 1841, he bent his steps to the Neva, accompanied by his colleague, M. de Verneuil: they arrived at St. Petersburg during a festival held in honour of the marriage of the eldest son of the Emperor Nicholas, and into its gaiety Murchison plunged to his heart's content. The Emperor himself took considerable interest in the expedition, and from that time forward was numbered amongst Murchison's illustrious friends. On being joined by Count von Keyserling, deputed by the Russian Government to join the expedition, they spent the next five months in exploring Central and Southern Russia, a work full of incident, for the details of which we must refer our readers to Professor Geikie. The results were subsequently published in '*Russia and the Ural Mountains*,' a costly and elaborate quarto in which are treated not only the rocks of Russia, but those also of Scandinavia. In it we find the definition of a group of rocks occupying a considerable area in the kingdom of Perm, which is younger than the Coal-measures and older than the Secondary rocks, and is now recognised throughout Europe as the Permian formation.

Twenty years had passed away since Murchison had sold his hunters and come up to London to attend the lectures of Davy; twenty busy years during which his life was one of constant activity both of body and mind. At its beginning he was a mere idler without scientific tastes of any kind, at its end his energy and perseverance had landed him among the very first geologists of Europe. He first set himself to classify in their proper order the chaos of older rocks in Wales; and then, eager to apply his own principles of classification to other

regions, he passed over to the Continent, annexing to his Silurian and Devonian kingdoms vast areas in Germany and Russia. His work had introduced him to the most eminent scientific men in Europe, and his fortune and social position gave him access to the highest circles of society. The publication of the 'Silurian System,' and his next great work on 'Russia and the Ural Mountains,' brought him prominently forward even before the crowned heads of Europe. We read of him at Paris calling on Louis Philippe, and shrewdly remarking that the king of the French was not sufficiently reserved and fond of show to retain permanent hold of the French throne. We hear of him being fêted in Berlin and at St. Petersburg, and at Moscow he laid the foundation of a true and firm friendship with the autocrat of the Russias, which was only ended by the death of the Czar. His merit, so universally recognised abroad, could no longer be ignored at home; and accordingly in 1846 he received the honour of knighthood in consideration of his distinguished services. Three years later he obtained the still higher honour of the Copley medal, from the Royal Society.

Murchison now had the thirst for distinction, which he had shown when a boy, gratified beyond his reasonable hopes, and there is no room for astonishment that these successes were almost more than he could bear without bringing prominently forward the vanity and imperiousness of his character, which had been hitherto to a large extent concealed by other qualities. From the time of his journey to Russia, as Professor Geikie has eloquently written, Murchison was a different man to what he was before. The success of that campaign and the applause which that success brought from all quarters, were so great that a more than usually well-balanced nature might well have felt the strain too severe to keep its equipoise. From this time forward characteristics which may be traced in the foregoing narrative became more strongly developed in Murchison's character. In his letters and in his published writings his own labours fill a larger and larger space. His friends could trace an increasing impatience of opposition or contradiction in scientific matters; a growing tendency to discover in the work of other fellow-labourers a want of due recognition on their part of what had been done by him; a habit, which became more and more confirmed, of speaking of the researches of his contemporaries, especially of younger men, in a sort of patronising or condescending way. He had hitherto been, as it were, one of the captains of a regiment; he now felt himself entitled to assume the authority of a general of division. To many men

who did not know him, or who knew him only slightly, this tendency assumed an air of arrogance, and was resented as an unwarranted assumption of superiority. But they who knew Murchison well, and had occasion to see him in many different lights, will doubtless admit that these failings were in large measure those of manner, and at the most lay on the surface of his character. You saw some of them at once, almost before you saw anything else. Hence it was natural enough that casual intercourse with him should give the impression of a man altogether wrapt up in his own work and fame. Yet underneath those outer and rather forbidding peculiarities lay a generous and sympathetic nature which inspired many an act of unsolicited and unexpected kindness, and which was known to refuse to be alienated even after the deepest ingratitude.

Murchison had now done the main geological work of his life. There only remained to him the consolidation of his conquests, and the application of his classification to other regions. In 1854 the first edition of his popular octavo work entitled 'Siluria' appeared, in which, as before, he availed himself of the co-operation of all the best men in their respective departments. His last piece of original research was finished in 1858. Sir William Logan and the officers of the Geological Survey of Canada had ascertained that under the Cambrian and Silurian rocks of Canada there were strata some thirty thousand feet thick, composed of gneiss, mica schist, serpentine, and the like, and containing the earliest known trace of life, the famous Eozoon; to this they gave the name of the Laurentian formation. Murchison in his task of unravelling the tangled history of the Highlands of Scotland, demonstrated the presence of the Upper and Lower Silurians and the Cambrians, and these last he found to lie on a foundation of gneiss which he and Professor Geikie identified with the Laurentian of Canada. Henceforth there were no grand masses of stratified rock left for him to classify. The outlines of Palæozoic geology had been sketched, and there only remained the details to be filled in, and work to be completed which he termed 'pottering.' Accordingly for the last twenty years of his life Murchison's energies were not wholly given to geological research but shared among other kindred pursuits.

For thirty years Murchison had been free from the cares and duties of public duty. It was now his fate to be appointed Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain, and of the School of Mines; a position which he held

till the day of his death to the great advantage of the public service. The Geological Survey, which is now an important national department, was originated in 1832 by the energy of Henry de la Bêche, who augmented the first grant of three hundred pounds out of his private fortune. He gradually gathered round him a band of able men, among whom were Ramsay, Logan, Huxley, Phillips, Tyndall, and Percy, and organised in connexion with the survey a school for the scientific instruction of miners. On his death, Sir Roderick Murchison, then in his sixty-fourth year, was appointed to fill his place. The energy and business-like qualities of the new Director-General at once made themselves felt in the order and method by which the survey was conducted, as well as in the uniform system of the publication of the memoirs, and the arrangement of the collections. His high social position and personal influence with the Ministry, gave a prestige to the department which it had not possessed before, and prevented its dismemberment, or absorption into South Kensington. By his rare tact he kept it during the whole of his reign distinctively a school for geology and mining, as well as a centre from which the survey was carried on, in spite of repeated assaults upon it by the Science and Art department. He held that mining and geology go naturally together, and that teaching should be associated with the Museum, and that the latter formed an essential part of the National Survey. We take this view to be true, and join the President of the Geological Society\* in deprecating those changes which are contemplated at the present time. We should like to ask the advocates of the measure for removing the course of instruction in the School of Mines to the unwieldy omnivorous monster at South Kensington, what reasons they assign for it. It seems to us an unnecessary change, certain to damage the Geological Survey, and we hope that somebody will be found to do what Murchison would have done had he been now alive, to cause the subject to be fully discussed in the Houses of Parliament. The proposed changes are mischievous and unpopular, and if carried out will injure the mining interests of the country.

We turn now to Murchison's connexion with the British Association. We have already seen him at the first meeting at York where he formed one of the chief figures. As head of the geological and geographical sections, as general secretary, and ultimately as President, he continued to fill a foremost place in it until the end of his life. He used every

\* Presidential Address, 'Quart. Geol. Journ.' 1875.

possible means of making it popular as well as scientific. At one time he would bring down distinguished foreigners who happened to be in the country, or he rejoiced in introducing the latest discoverer from Africa or Asia. At another, he would bring into his net as many people of rank as he could induce to come. No opportunity was lost for encouraging local genius. For example, at the Glasgow meeting he was the means of introducing to the world of science Hugh Miller, the stone mason of Cromarty, and A. C. Ramsay, the present Director-General of the Geological Survey. In fine, we can corroborate from our own personal experience the important part which Sir Roderick played in raising the Association to the high position it now enjoys.

To the great mass of Englishmen, Sir Roderick Murchison is chiefly known in connexion with the Geographical Society, founded in 1830 by a section of the Raleigh Travellers Club to which he belonged. He was present at its birth, and he showed such interest in its welfare that in 1843 he was chosen President. From that time to his death he used every means in his power to increase its usefulness, and extend its prestige by bringing it into relation with foreign societies and by lending it the weight of his social influence. In his first Address we see the germ of its numerous successors, a broadly stretched outline of the progress of geographical research over the world, with indications of what remained to be done, made with remarkable sagacity. In it he recognises the intimate relation existing between geology and geography, and by that means gave a scientific meaning and interest to scattered and unconnected observations. His painstaking analysis of the work of foreign travellers, and a generous recognition of merit wherever it could be found, have undoubtedly done much to give the Society the great weight which it possesses abroad.

The exploration of three regions in particular was watched by Sir Roderick Murchison and his fellow-geographers with keen interest—Central Australia, Central Africa, and the lands and seas lying round the North Pole. With regard to Australia he strongly urged on the notice of the Government the importance of forming a settlement on the northern shore of that great continent. The intrepid Stuart forced his way across the continent and the settlement was established; ‘an object which,’ Murchison remarked, ‘has long been a dream of my own, and which I rejoice to see thus realised in my lifetime.’ At his suggestion the Geographical Society gave a gold medal to the family of Burke, who had lost his life in the attempt to recross that continent, and a gold watch to his

fellow-explorer King. To him also belongs the merit of causing the discoveries of gold to be more rapidly developed than they would have been without the prominence which he assigned to them. We cannot, indeed, allow that his prophecy of the presence of gold in that continent, before it was actually discovered by the Rev. W. B. Clark, was anything more than a happy accident, because it was founded on the mistaken idea that gold occurs only in the Lower Silurian rocks, and that it was present in Australia because certain fragments of quartz rock, non-auriferous, were identical mineralogically with the specimens from the gold mines of the Urals.

Murchison's name will ever be associated with the history of the exploration of Africa. While Livingstone, Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, and others were pursuing their investigations, shut out from civilisation, and thrown upon their own resources, he in England was ever looking after their interests with anxious solicitude. Even when the wilds of Africa had closed over an intrepid explorer for years, he was the last to lose heart in the success of the enterprise. In the pages of Grant, Speke, and Baker we find repeated reference to the support which the knowledge of his care gave them under their privations and difficulties. We need merely refer our readers to the Last Journals of Livingstone for a touching proof of what this was worth to that illustrious traveller in the malaria-stricken plains in which he died. Murchison had unbounded faith in Livingstone, and we well remember the delight with which his last return was welcomed, after an absence so long that it was currently believed he was dead; and the pride with which he was introduced to the public at the meeting of the British Association at Bath, will remain a pleasant memory to those who saw it. Travellers, however, were encouraged not only by moral, but with material support. The Society itself contributed sums of money, and these were augmented by government grants from time to time, which were obtained mainly by the tact and influence of Murchison.

Looking back upon his life not far from its close, Murchison found no part of it more pleasing in retrospect than his share in African exploration. Speaking of Livingstone he writes:— 'I rejoice in the steadfast pertinacity in which I have upheld my confidence in the ultimate success of the last-named of these brave men. In fact, it was the confidence I placed in the undying vigour of my dear friend Livingstone, which has sustained me in the hope that I might live to enjoy the supreme delight of welcoming him back to his country.' But this was not to be: he himself was taken away just six days before

Stanley relieved Livingstone on the banks of Lake Tanganyika, and the great traveller, with his enterprise yet unaccomplished, received in the heart of Africa the tidings of his death. 'The best friend I ever had,' he writes in his Journal; 'true, warm, and abiding; he loved me more than I deserved: he looks down upon me still. I must feel resigned to the loss by the Divine Will, but still I regret and mourn.'

We now pass on to Murchison's work in relation to Arctic exploration. The return of Sir James Ross, in 1843, after an absence of four years, in the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' with a noble harvest of results, rekindled the passion for the discovery of the North-west passage. In 1845 Franklin and his brave companions sailed on their hapless voyage. When the ice of the frozen North had closed upon them, and the hope with which Murchison bade them God speed had gradually died away, he clung to the idea that some of the lost ones might still be alive among friendly Eskimaux. After having failed to induce the Government to renew, in 1857, their search for traces of the missing ships, he appealed to his countrymen for their generous support in aiding Lady Franklin in the equipment of another vessel, the 'Fox,' which sailed that year under Capt. M'Clintock. 'My earnest hope,' says Sir Roderick in his Anniversary Address for 1857, 'is that the expedition of Lady Franklin may afford clear proofs that her husband's party came down with a boat to the mouth of the Back river in the spring of 1850, as reported on Esquimaux evidence by Dr. Rae, and thus demonstrate that which I have contended for, in common with Sir Francis Beaufort, Captain Washington, and some Arctic authorities, that Franklin, who in his previous explorations had trended the American coast from the Back river westward to Barrow Point, was really the discoverer of the North-west passage.' This hope was realised on M'Clintock's return in 1859 with proof that Franklin had really boated from sea to sea, and thus solved the problem of the North-west passage, which has cost the lives of so many brave men. Nor from that time to the day of his death did he miss any opportunity of urging upon the Government the importance of Arctic exploration; and though his efforts were not crowned with success during his life, there is every reason for believing that the expedition which left our shores last month would never have been planned had it not been for the pressure of public opinion excited by the Geographical Society and its late energetic President.

The success of his management of the Geographical Society, of which he was the President for fifteen years, may be

gathered from his last Address in 1871, after he had received the stroke of paralysis which ultimately carried him off:—

‘I have now only, Gentlemen, to offer you my heartfelt thanks for the unvarying heartiness with which you have supported your old President, whose name was by your kindness the only one inserted in the Royal Charter by which you are embodied, and who leaves you with feelings of just pride when he reflects that he has been thus identified with your past and future successes, and that your numbers, which amounted to 600 only when he first was placed in the chair, have now risen to the large total of 2,400.’

We are now approaching the close of the career of the veteran geologist and geographer. In 1869 he lost Lady Murchison, to whom he was so deeply indebted for guidance in finding his true vocation, and whose tact had contributed largely to make his house the resort of the aristocracy of science, literature, and art, as well as of rank. The bond of mutual help and sympathy, which had lasted for fifty-four years, was then severed and he stood wifeless and childless alone in the world. To the mere casual observer the blow might perhaps appear to have fallen not very heavily, for he went into society and carried on his work much as before. But those who knew him well perceived how deeply it was felt. The news of her death touched a chord in the heart of Adam Sedgwick and broke down the estrangement which had unhappily severed the old comrades for many years. Thus he writes:— ‘You will, I know, believe me when I say that the first news of your beloved wife’s death filled me with a very deep sorrow. For many many years Lady Murchison was one of the dearest of those friends whose society formed the best charms of my life. How often was I her guest! How often have I experienced her kind welcome and been cheered and strengthened by it! In joy and in sorrow she was my kind and honoured lady friend. And have I forgotten those bright and to me thrice happy days when she and you were my guests at Cambridge? The present has comparatively little for me now.’ There is no sharper pang than to remember past kindnesses when it is too late to requite them.

After this event there is very little left to record of Murchison. He had reaped a rich harvest of honours. In 1860 he was elected Corresponding Member of the French Institute; in 1864 he received the Wollaston medal, and two years later his knighthood was exchanged for a baronetcy. He was also a K.C.B., and had received the Grand Cross of St. Anne from the Emperor of Russia. To him these were not



the trifles which they would have appeared to some men, but a real source of pride and delight.

In 1870 he founded, in conjunction with the Government, the Murchison Professorship of Geology in the University of Edinburgh, and in the winter of that year was struck down by paralysis. He rallied, however, sufficiently to prepare his last Address in 1871, already quoted, but as the autumn came round he gradually grew worse until he could no longer speak, and in the middle of October he quietly and almost imperceptibly passed away, at the ripe age of seventy-nine.

We have 'already touched upon the salient points of Murchison's character in the course of this review. His scientific successes were not those of a man of commanding genius, but they were the results of indomitable industry and business-like method. He also possessed great tact and judgment and a keen insight into the ways of men. These qualities of themselves were sufficient to ensure success, as General Mackenzie shrewdly observed of him when a boy, 'in any profession,' and backed by the gifts of fortune, they raised him to the high position which he occupied. Of him it may be said that he drank the cup of life joyously to the dregs, that he succeeded in every great enterprise which he undertook, and he has left a name behind him imperishably connected with the science of geology. Long will be remembered in the salons of London the tall military figure and courtly though frigid manners of the veteran, and long will the gratitude of some of his humbler friends follow him for numerous acts of kindness, done in the Scriptural manner, so that the right hand did not know the work of its fellow.

We cannot take leave of Murchison without a parting notice of some of his English contemporaries, who shared with him the honour of advancing geological science, though it is to be regretted that these volumes are defaced by hideous woodcuts of these great men, which are in truth mere caricatures. During the last four years we have lost not merely Murchison but his old comrades Sedgwick, Phillips, and Lyell; men of a different stamp to those of the present generation, and occupying to them the same kind of relation as that which exists between the *grand seigneur* of the time of George the Fourth and a gentleman of to-day. It may be that they were men of greater sympathies and larger ideas than their successors, and they did not lose sight of the beauty of nature as a whole as we moderns are in danger of doing. It is our lot merely to fill in the details of the picture which they outlined, and most of us are busy on our little piece of it without

reference to what our fellow-workmen are about. They were philosophers, we are only scientific specialists.

Sedgwick was in most respects the antithesis of Murchison. He possessed genius and humour, and the art of pleasing in a high degree. He was full of fire, and his words winged their way to the hearts of those who heard him. He lacked, however, the robust health, the business-like qualities, and it may be added, the opportunity of pursuing his quest with a single eye, to make him a far greater geologist than Murchison. The work which they did between them was the classification of the older rocks. Murchison, in company with Geikie, was the first to identify the Laurentian group of strata in Europe. Sedgwick added the next chapter in the world's history by his investigation into the Cambrian rocks; Murchison carried it on in the Silurian. Their joint labours resulted in the addition of the Devonian, or Old Red, chapter. To the labours of both is due the classification of the Permian or Magnesian rocks which overlie the Carboniferous. Sedgwick survived his old comrade, dying at the ripe age of eighty-seven, leaving behind him the Woodwardian Museum as an enduring monument of his labours in the University of Cambridge.

Professor Phillips, born in the year 1800, at Marden in Wiltshire, was the son of an officer of Excise who married the sister of William Smith, the revered father of English geology. His father died when he was seven years old, and young Phillips came under the care of his uncle. Before he was ten years old he passed through four schools, and laid the foundations of that wide culture for which he was so remarkable. In course of time he was transferred to his uncle's house in London. It was indeed Professor Phillip's lot to take up the work of classifying the Secondary rocks where it had been left by William Smith. In 1829-36 he published the 'Geology of Yorkshire,' and had just finished a new edition of this work a few days before his death. In 1871 appeared the 'Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames,' a book on which the changes in the life of the Secondary period were treated with a masterly hand. These two works, together with the 'Treatise on Geology,' published in 1837, are those by which his name will be known in the annals of geology. If we owe to William Smith the classification of the Secondary rocks, we undoubtedly owe to Phillips the details of their life-history. He brought to bear upon them a profound knowledge of zoology, gained, to some extent, as he used to be delighted to tell, at the feet of Cuvier. Early in life he showed great gifts as a lecturer, and, after gaining considerable experience

in the North of England he held successively the Professorship of Geology in three universities, London, Dublin, and lastly Oxford. Phillips was active in more fields than that of geology only; he did good work in meteorology and astronomy, more particularly in the investigation of the planet Mars and in the examination of the surface of the moon. He was the first secretary of the British Association, and to his tact and genial manners the success of that almost national institution, as the phrase goes, is mainly due. In all his relations it may be truly said that he was a philosopher in the highest sense of the term, free from vanity and jealousy, with a keen appreciation of what may be termed the relative unimportance of things. The even tenour of his life was unruffled by either hopes or fears, and he looked forward to its end with feelings of perfect equanimity. In a conversation a few days before his death, after expressing his satisfaction at having completed the new edition of the 'Geology of Yorkshire,' he remarked, 'My work is now done, and the rest of my time I intend to give to the study of the beautiful works of nature in the Museum—the corals, the sponges, and the like.' But this was not to be: within ten days of this he met with the accident in 1874 which terminated fatally. It is not a little singular that his predecessor at Oxford came also to a violent end. Hugh Strickland was killed by a passing train, Professor Phillips died from falling down stairs. The magnificent Geological Museum at Oxford is largely due to Phillips, and his name will always be associated with the wonderful gigantic fossil reptiles he discovered and described.

The most recent loss to geological science in Britain which we have to deplore, is that of Sir Charles Lyell, who died in February last, at the ripe age of seventy-eight, after the uneventful life of a student and a *littérateur*. From the time that he left Sedgwick in Provence, to the day of his death, he devoted himself to the task of collecting together and comparing observations which were made by other men, and more especially did he give himself up to the study of present causes and their application to the past history of the earth. His works, passing through many editions, have popularised British geology more than any others, and obtained for him the honour of knighthood, which was subsequently raised to a baronetcy by the favour of Prince Albert, who highly appreciated his society. The share which he had in the classification of the Tertiary rocks constitutes, in our opinion, his principal claim to be remembered by posterity.

It remains for us now to sum up briefly our estimate of

these four men. Murchison may be defined as the practical, shrewd, successful man. The noble Sedgwick had the divine gift of genius. Phillips was essentially the politic man; and of Lyell it may be affirmed that his chief characteristics were those of a retiring student. Each worked at the great problems offered by geology in his own way, and to their combined labours is mainly due the wonderful history of the changes which the earth has undergone. We close the memoirs of Murchison's life with a hope that some one will rise to tell the story of the other heroes as ably as Professor Geikie has done his part.

ART. VIII.—*The Early Kings of Norway ; also an Essay on the Portraits of John Knox.* By THOMAS CARLYLE.  
London : 1875.

FOUR centuries and a half of time and the reigns of more kings than we can count on our fingers though we had twenty instead of ten, all summed up in two hundred and three pages of large type, form a literary feat which even the genius of Mr. Carlyle fails to accomplish satisfactorily. We cannot help regretting that the *Essay on the Portraits of John Knox*, interesting though it is, which runs on to another hundred pages, had not been reserved for separate publication, and that the space thus gained had been devoted to Norway and her royal race. But we must take great writers as we find them, and if the author of the 'Life of Frederick the Great' chooses to show how shortly as well as how lengthily he can treat important periods of history, we must be content to listen to him in the hope of learning something. Let us first inquire from whom Mr. Carlyle himself learnt; what master taught our great master these accidents and elements of Northern History? The main sources of Mr. Carlyle's information, so far as we can gather, are, first, the *Heimskringla* of Snorro Sturleson, and secondly, 'the accurate, learned, and unwearied Dahlmann, the 'German Professor.' These, it must be admitted, would afford materials sufficiently solid to build the very slight superstructure raised out of them in this volume; but when it is added that Mr. Carlyle's knowledge of Snorro is derived from Laing's Translation, which was itself taken from Aal's translation of the original Icelandic, it will be seen that this portion of his work is doubly second-hand, bearing a sad resemblance to that twice-cooked cabbage, which, according to the old Greek adage, was

equivalent to death. Nor is the work of the German Professor, accurate, learned, and unwearied though he was, altogether to be relied on. He too was ignorant of the language in which the early history of the Norwegian kings has been handed down to us, not to mention the fact that his *History of Denmark* was written more than thirty years ago, since which date, inquiry into the history of the North has not stood still either at home or abroad. We could name writers whom Mr. Carlyle has not deigned to consult or to quote, whose inquiries would have thrown more light on his subject than he is aware of, and made his fantastic reproduction of Norwegian history much more lifelike than it is. What can be more puerile and more like a page out of ‘*The Percy Anecdotes*,’ or that still more respectable production ‘*The Evenings at Home*,’ than the very first words of the preface to the ‘*Early Kings of Norway*’? “The Icelanders in their long winter had ‘a great habit of writing, and were, and still are, excellent in ‘penmanship,’” says Dahlmann. . . The Icelanders, it seems, ‘not only made beautiful letters on their paper or parchment, but were laudably observant and desirous of accuracy, and have left us such a collection of narratives—Sagas, literally ‘Says,’ as for quantity and quality is unexampled among rude ‘nations.’ Setting aside their beautiful letters on paper or parchment—parchment having been for many centuries their only vehicle for writing, and their letters being in no respect more beautiful than those of other scribes in the Middle Age—it is impossible to give a more false notion of the Sagas and the preservation of Early Northern History than is contained in this passage. In the true Saga age the Icelanders had no ‘habit of writing;’ they simply told their stories, which were handed down with scrupulous fidelity by word of mouth, and without the use of either ink or pen. When the art of writing came in the true Saga period perished. Just as the printing press extinguished manuscripts, so did manuscripts extinguish Sagas in Iceland and the North. The story once fixed in writing, oral tradition languished. What need to cultivate the memory any more when you had an artificial memory before you in the shape of a written book? Before quitting Mr. Carlyle’s preface we cannot forbear to say that he is utterly wrong when he says that next to nothing has been shown in histories of England of the many and strong threads of connexion between English and Norse affairs. The ‘*History of the Norman Conquest*’ by Mr. Freeman, and a series of articles on England and Norway in early times, first published years ago by Dr. Dasent in the ‘*North British Review*,’

and since reprinted in his collection of essays called 'Jest and Earnest,' would have afforded information much fresher than any to be found in the 'accurate, learned, and unwearied' 'Dahlmann,' and much more original than the '*crambe repetita*' of Snorro Sturleson as presented by Laing.

But now we step into the first chapter out of the preface, and stand at once in the awful presence of Harold Harfagr, or Fairhair, who first attempted to consolidate Norway into a kingdom, and ruled the land for more than seventy years, every inch a king. When we say that these seventy stormy years are disposed of in nine pages of wide print, the reader will see how much must be left to the imagination in Mr. Carlyle's sketch. In this book he is the David Cox of history, and his blurred outlines awaken our interest and admiration while they by no means satisfy us. That our sketch may not be so marred, let us say that this mighty prince was born the son of a small kinglet in Westfold, a province of Norway near the modern Christiania, and which lay close to the Swedish border, in the bight of 'the Bay,' or 'Vik,'\* as it was called. It was at the close of the early mythical Viking time, when the old heroes of the Scyldings and the Younglings had fought it out in Denmark and Sweden, when in Sweden the royal race of Ragnar and his sons had restored the old supremacy of Sweden, and when the king who ruled at Upsala in Svithiod, or Sweden Proper, made claim to be the overking of the North, and as such was certainly acknowledged by Harold's father, Halfdan the Black. From this petty prince and his wife Haelga was born, about the year 850, the Charlemagne of Norway, Harold, at first called 'Shockhead,' and afterwards 'Fairhair.' Round this boy, who was tall and fair and kindly, in after years clustered legends which seemed to foretell his coming glory. His mother dreamt that she stood out in a garden and plucked a thorn out of her sark, but as she plucked it out it grew and grew into a mighty branch, which overshadowed the land, and threw out roots which struck deep into the earth, while its crown reached up to heaven. On every side it burst out in twigs and boughs. Soon afterwards she bore Harold to Halfdan. Halfdan himself was no dreamer, but this dream of his wife begot a wish that he too might dream,

\* From this word, which we find in the 'wick' and 'wich' in 'Berwick' and 'Greenwich' and many other English names, the Northern pirates of that age were called 'Vikings' from their habit of lurking in creeks and bays in order to lie in wait for the traders who were their prey.

and he betook himself to a wise man. 'Go and sleep in a pigstye,' said the seer; 'if anything will make a king dream, that will.' The king slept among the swine, and soon fell a-dreaming. He thought he had the fairest hair that man might see. It fell down in locks, some of which touched the ground, some came down to mid-leg, some to his knee, some to his hips, some to his breast, some to his neck, while some only clustered round the crown of his head in small curls. Each lock had its own colour, but one of them was fuller, thicker, fairer, and brighter than the rest. Next morning the seer interpreted the dream to mean that Halfdan's descendants should reign with great glory, though not all with equal fame. That lock, the fairest of all, was in after times taken to betoken the reign of Saint Olaf; and this mention of that pious king probably marks the period when these stories about Halfdan's and his wife's dreams were thrown into shape. When this boy of promise was but ten years old, Halfdan was drowned in the ice when returning from a banquet, and the young Harold was left alone.

The glory of his after life has thrown its beams over his boyhood, but it is likely that at first he had a hard time of it. Even after he had accomplished the task which he set about with such energy and steadfastness, his reign must be considered a failure if judged by the duration of his system. In this again he was like the great pattern of the early Middle Age, Charlemagne. The empire in the West and the kingdom in the North fell to pieces after the death of each, because in both cases the system of either ruler existed only in his determined purpose, and had not been assimilated and adopted by the nation as one whole. We agree entirely with Munch in believing that the race of Harold Fairhair was considered, not only by the branches of the race of Ragnar, which ruled both in Sweden and Denmark, but also by his own people, as that of an upstart rebel who had the power but not the right to break away from the old dynasties and make a royal race for himself. This was not accomplished in Norway till the thorough conversion of the kingdom to Christianity in the time of Saint Olaf. With that event, which at once extinguished the last feeling of respect for the monarch of Ragnar's stock who ruled at Upsala, and inspired all Norway with a new spirit of devotion to their martyred king, the independence of the country and its consolidation as a kingdom which could hold its own both in power and in principle with the sister kingdoms of the North, were permanently established. But though Harold was in theory and by right only an upstart king, he

had his work to do, and that was hard enough. It was fortunate for him that he was an example of that early vigour both of body and mind which is more common in the South, but which is sometimes found in the North. At ten years old he was strong and tall and handsome, and at the same time shrewd, calculating, and farsighted. His father Halfdan, who was a good lawgiver, had begun to annex the petty kingdoms around him; but on his death all the daw's borrowed plumes fell off, and the young Harold and his guardian and uncle, Guthorm, had much trouble in keeping Westfold. So things lasted awhile, till Harold grew in years and daring, and then he and his uncle fell on their unruly neighbours, slaying some and reducing others to subjection, and in a little while he found himself lord of a wider territory than his father had ever ruled. The dreams were being fulfilled, and the branches of Halfdan's race already overshadowed what would now be called the Province of Christiania, besides stretching north-west into Sogn, beloved of tourists, which outlying province the young king confided to an earl named Atli. It is possible though very unlikely, regard being had to the overbearing and aggressive spirit of the age, that these conquests might have satisfied the adventurous temper of the young king, and that he might have sunk into a lawgiver like Halfdan. But this half-glory was not to befall Harold, and the annals of the time have traced the continuance of his conquests not to policy or kingcraft, but to love. The romantic story is told in two ways, but it is indifferent which we adopt, for both come to the same in the end. There was a fair and proud maiden, by some called Gytha and by some Ragna. The young king saw and loved her, but after the fashion of those days wished to take her not as his full and lawful wife, and sent her a message to that purport. 'Never,' said the proud girl, 'will I unloose my maiden belt for a king who has no greater realm than a few small provinces. Why arises there no king in Norway to throw the whole land under his feet like King Eric of Upsala in Sweden and King Gorm in Denmark? Go back and tell King Harold that I will only consent to be his lawful wife if he puts all Norway under him for my sake, and rules over it as freely and fully as King Eric over Sweden and King Gorm over Denmark.' The messenger went back and told Harold that this proud maid deserved punishment. 'Not so,' was his reply, 'for she has only put me in mind of what I ought to have first thought of myself. And now I swear by all that I hold holy, and I call the God to witness who hath made me and rules all things, that I will never cut



‘or comb my hair till I have made myself lord over all Norway or died in doing it.’ It is sad to think that perhaps the only part of this pretty story that is true is the unsavoury fact that Harold never cut or combed his shaggy locks till he had conquered Norway; for, not to mention other discrepancies, at the very time that the maiden was adducing the example of Gorm in Denmark that king had not yet established his rule. That Harold was nicknamed ‘Lufa,’ or ‘Shock-head,’ in the poem made on his crowning battle at Hafrsfirth by his skald Hornklove is an undoubted fact, but it remains to be proved that this vow, which reminds one of that made by the French Legitimists in 1830, not to cut their hair till the Duc de Bordeaux enjoyed his own again, had ought to do with Harold’s love matters. It is far more likely, as Munch supposes, that the vow was made at his father’s funeral-ale, for it is expressly said that at Hafrsfirth his hair had been uncut for ten years, and that space of time had then passed since his father’s death.

During these ten years, whether the incitement were the passion of love or the adventurous spirit of the age, the young king steadily pursued his object, the entire subjugation of the country. All over Norway the old patriarchal institutions, by which every freeman was prophet, priest, and king in his own family and on his own allodial freehold or ‘odal,’ as it was called, had passed away into an aristocracy of chiefs of greater or lesser means and power scattered over the county in Fylkir or provinces, each ruled over by such a king or kingling as Halfdan the Black, Harold’s father in Westfold. Over such a province or petty kingdom the kings we mention had certain duties, as the expounders of the law and the chief priests at the sacrifices which were celebrated at fixed seasons of the year. In this state of society the royal and the priestly authority were combined in one person, and thus the North escaped the danger of a hierarchy such as we behold it in the Hebrew Commonwealth. For the rest the King had large possessions of his own, and well-defined rights over the common land of the community. Dues he had, and rights as Priest and King, and the right of treasure trove to which no owner could establish a claim. In time of war it was his privilege to call out the levies of the freemen and to lead them to attack a neighbour or repel invasion, and when in the field his authority was supreme; but in time of peace he was little more than ‘*primus inter pares*,’ as compared with the allodial freemen, though his race as coming down from the gods of the land was regarded with greater respect. So for ages the Norwegians at home, whatever they

might have been when they went out as 'vikings' or sea-rovers to gain wealth and fame, lived on peaceably on their farms, under the rule of these petty princes. But at the dawn of true history in the North, we find a restless spirit on foot which threatened to shatter the old constitution of the country to pieces. Men ceased in some measure from piracy abroad and became conquerors by land; the rights of neighbours were no longer respected, the rule of the petty princes was despised, they quarrelled and fought among each other, and in a word the time was come for a strong will to curb the growing tendency to anarchy. This Harold Fairhair attempted in a series of inroads on the petty rulers of provinces all over Norway, who fell down one after another before him like a ripe harvest before the reaper's sickle. In ten years it is recorded that he had conquered all the Fylkir or provinces on the sea-coast, from the North Cape to Sogn, and besides, he had subdued that mighty Drontheim district, then, as now, considered the very heart of the country. One formidable band of foes still remained in the kings or chiefs of the provinces south of the great promontory Stad on the seaboard, who rallied round them all the adherents of the old system for a final effort. Hastening south from his conquest in the North, Harold met them in Hafrsirth, a name which Mr. Carlyle does not even mention, but which was as much the young King's crowning battle as Worcester to Cromwell. Here arose a bloody and obstinate struggle. It was long doubtful. Many of Harold's brothers in arms fell, and on his own ship every man before the mast, except his band of Baresarks, was either wounded or slain; but the result of the battle was still more disastrous to his adversaries; and from that day no foe dared to levy a force against him, and his supremacy was firmly established in Norway. His matted hair was now shorn and combed, and from a shock head it fell down on his shoulders in comely locks, which gave him the nickname of 'Fairhair.' Now, too, he claimed the hand of the proud maiden who had laid this quest on him, and made her his lawful wife.

But as the power of Harold rose, that of the old allodial freemen waned before it. With a bold pretension, intensely shocking to the free spirit of the North, the young king, now absolutely lord over the whole country by right of conquest, laid claim to every man's 'odal,' and either gave it away to his vassals to hold it of him, or made the original holder redeem it for money. At the same time new imposts and dues were levied in the king's name, and Norway, in the opinion of the heads of most of the great families, was no longer a place in

which a freeborn man could live. Then ensued one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. A great rush arose out of the land, as freeman after freeman sold his land for money or goods and emigrated from the country in which existence was a burden. Then it was that the North and West of Scotland, that the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, that Orkney and Shetland, became the abode of Norwegian freemen who had fled from the overbearing rule of Harold. Further still did these bold spirits steer their ships in search of a new home. Just then came news brought by a Swedish viking of a great island in the far West, every straw of which dripped with butter, a land inhabited only by a few anchorites, where cattle could remain out the whole winter through. These were joyful tidings to a great band of emigrants, and in about fifty years Iceland, for that was the name of the new land, was colonised by freemen from all the Northern kingdoms, who sought in that island so shrouded in mist and so rent by volcanic fire an asylum against the tyrant who had invaded their homes and overthrown their ancient freedom.\* Leaving the land with such feelings of hatred against the new monarch, it was not to be supposed that these emigrants spared him or his men when they had them on the hip. In those days a Northman took to piracy as soon as his ship was launched as naturally as a cygnet takes to the water. Lingering in Ireland, in Wales, in Man, and in Orkney and Shetland, these vikings were soon such a thorn in the side of Harold that he resolved to quench the evil by pursuing his old enemies to their new abodes, and by hunting them out of their lairs across the western main. Not once but twice he crossed the sea to Shetland and Orkney, and passing down the west coast of Scotland to Wales and Ireland, harried and wasted those lands further, it is expressly stated, than any Norwegian king before or after him. At last, having put Norway completely under his feet, and having thoroughly established his system, Harold gave it a death-blow by dividing the conquered country among his many

\* We are tempted to quote for the benefit of our classical readers the following noble epigram on Iceland by Mr. Lowe. It will be found at the end of the Introduction to the Cleasby-Vigfússon 'Ice-landic Dictionary':—

χαῖρε καὶ ἐν νεφέλῃσι καὶ ἐν νιφάδεσσι βαρεῖαις  
καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σεισμοῖς νῆσε σαλευομένη·  
ἐνθάδε γὰρ βασιλῆος ὑπέρβιον ὕβριν ἀλύξας  
δῆμος Ὑπερβορέων, πόντου ἐπ' ἔσχατι,  
αὐτάρκη βίον τιῶν τ' ἐρεθίσματα Μουσῶν  
καὶ θεσμούς ἀγνῆς εὗρεν ἐλευθερίας.

children, over whom in his last days of decrepitude he established as Overking in the Drontheim district his darling son Eric Bloody-axe. Dissensions arose even before his death amongst those unruly princes, most of whom were by different mothers; for, however true Harold might have been to the proud maiden who made him win Norway for her sake, it is certain that in after years she shared his affection, if she kept any of it, with many rivals. At last full of years, aged at least eighty-four, after a reign of over seventy years, Harold Fairhair died at Hauge in the province of Rogaland, not far from the spot where he had won his last great victory, and was buried in a barrow which is still to be seen. So the great and terrible king was gone, and it remained to be seen how much of his system would exist after him.

Like Charlemagne he had introduced a system of fiefs and vassalship which was utterly unsuited to the temper of the North and which carried in it the germs of its own decay and destruction. Under a strong and absolute king like Harold, his arm was ever outstretched to curb and chastise unruly vassal and rebellious freeman alike; but when weak princes came it was easy for the vassal to convert his fief on the true Northern principle into an allodial holding, and easier still for the freeman to reassert the rights of which the universal opinion of the people held him to have been unjustly deprived. Like heathland turned into meadow without a sufficient series of ploughings, the native heather soon reasserted its old natural right to the soil. There beneath the artificial system of fiefs lurked the allodial freeman ever ready to resume his rights. Other considerations too besides this natural tendency to reject what the nation could not assimilate, also hastened the downfall of the new-fangled system. Despite of his overbearing nature and highhanded policy, Harold Fairhair had many friends who clung to him with unswerving devotion; for though his rule was stern it was in general just, and he was liberal to a fault in his gifts, though, strange to say, he gained a reputation which clung to all his descendants, of being rather near and stingy to his retainers in the matter of meat and drink. Though all feared the grand old king, therefore, many loved and respected him; but with his son Eric Bloody-axe it was different. Though a bold and successful warrior, he was treacherous, false, and faithless; and these bad qualities were not mended by the temper of his wife Gunnhilda, one of the worst women that the North has known; 'a most contriving, fierce-minded, irreconcilable woman, and a fell, vehement, restless personage,' says Mr. Carlyle, who seems ignorant of the fate

which befell her, when he says that, 'in the Sagas we hear less 'and less of her, and before long nothing.' This lustful, treacherous, and baleful woman was the daughter of Assur Tote, a chief of Helgeland, the northernmost province of Norway, and Eric came under her influence on a voyage undertaken on his father's business to that remote district. In afterdays when the whole land was full of her charms and of her crimes, wild stories went of how Eric's men had found her out at nurse with two Finnish wizzards to learn witchcraft. How she had contrived the death of her teachers after she had learnt enough of the black art to make her dreaded for life. But it is probable that her power of charming lay more in her rare beauty, and that it only ceased with age, not in her own opinion indeed but in that of others. It will be a comfort to short women to know that this Norwegian Queen Joan is described as little of stature but of commanding presence, of wonderful beauty, great gifts of mind, and with a most winning manner and persuasive tongue. But she was cruel, false, and faithless, even to her own friends, greedy of money, and ambitious and overbearing in temper. Out of such a woman, even with these faults, a strong man like Harold might have made something, but Eric was weak. Gunnhilda soon had him completely under her thumb, and instead of his making her she unmade him, and was in every respect the evil genius of him and his children. Even in his father's time Eric had cut off two of his brothers, and after that event his violence and treachery provoked the freemen as though they had been whipped with scorpions.

It is strange in the history of Norway how the right man ever appears in the very nick of time to save the State. So it was in the case of Olaf, the son of Tryggvi; so with St. Olaf himself; so with his son Magnus the Good, and so with Harold Hardrada. In this the earliest instance of that 'coming man,' whom Mr. Carlyle so constantly expects to save our degenerate modern State, the deliverer of the country appeared in the person of Hakon, a son born in Harold Fairhair's old age, whom he had sent to be fostered by Athelstane, the great English king, in all probability to keep him from any harm that might befall him from his treacherous brother Eric. When the news came to England that Harold was dead, and that the freemen were disgusted with the rule of Eric and Gunnhilda, Athelstane fitted Hakon out, and before anyone knew that the lad was in the land, he appeared at a meeting of the exasperated freemen in the Drontheim district. Of wondrous beauty and great bodily strength, like Saul taller by a head than the tallest man in the assembly; with long golden locks

and strangely like his father; merry of mood, faithful to his friends, wise, and with a good word for every man; it was not wonderful that he should have won the hearts of all beholders as he burst upon them in a strange apparition of strength and beauty. But when he opened his mouth and spoke words full of wisdom and comfort, and passed his word to give every man back his odal, and make him a freeborn holder of his lot as in the old time, the crowd burst out into a tumult of applause, and declaring that Harold Fairhair had come back to them in all the vigour of youth, swore that they would have none other for their king than Hakon, Athelstane's foster-child. When the news ran through the land, province after province fell away from Eric, who, to use Mr. Carlyle's words, though he tells us nothing of the restoration of the odal, the great secret of Hakon's popularity, and the direct reversal of the old king's policy, 'had to run with his queen Gunnhilda and seven small children; no other shift for Eric.' Strange to say, after a stay in the Orkneys and a season or two of viking life, Eric Bloody-axe betook him to Athelstane, his brother's foster-father, who granted him Northumbria as a fief, where not long afterwards he was slain, bravely defending the land against an invasion of vikings led by Anlaf or Olaf, an Irish king, or rather, a Northman who had conquered himself a kingdom in that island. Of this fact, as of many others, Mr. Carlyle does not seem to be aware. At his death Gunnhilda betook herself to the Orkneys, where she married one of her daughters, who seems to have been as bad as herself, to the Earl of those islands; thence, having done all the harm she could, she departed to Denmark with her children, and put herself under the protection of Harold, nicknamed Blutooth, because he had a waxy blue front tooth. In the meantime, Hakon, surnamed the Good, had prospered in his reign in Norway, his only difficulty with the freemen being his devotion to Christianity, which he had taken upon him at the court of Athelstane. This was a great trial to him, for the king, as we have seen, had to play the part of the chief priest at the great festivals to the gods, and to partake of the flesh of the sacred horses which were slain on those occasions. By a seeming conformity, however, and by the ready help of Earl Sigurd, the Earl who lived at 'the Barns' in the Drontheim district, he escaped being stoned to death; but, on the other hand, all his efforts to introduce Christianity failed before the stubborn will of the freemen, to whom, amongst other things, it seemed absurd to cease from labour for one whole day in the week. 'How can we support ourselves and make

both ends meet unless we work ourselves and make our thralls 'work on that seventh day which you say your new faith requires to be given to your new God? No! We will have 'nothing to do with such an idle religion.' But because he was a brave and valiant king and kept the land in peace, warding off incessant attacks which Gunnhilda and her eldest son Harold Greyfell, aided by Harold Bluetooth, made on Norway, and because he was a wise lawgiver, the people forgave him his wavering faith, and clung to him for fourteen years. At the end of that time Eric and Gunnhilda fell upon him with overwhelming force at Stord, and though Hakon manfully routed them and put them to flight, he was smitten by an arrow under the armpit, which was universally believed to have been sent by the black arts of Gunnhilda when the battle was won, and thus, mortally wounded, died, bequeathing his realm with his last breath to Harold Greyfell as the rightful heir of Harold Fairhair.

Harold Greyfell, the eldest son of Eric Bloody-axe, who succeeded to rule in Norway, is called by Mr. Carlyle 'brave 'and honest,' and 'not a bad man, but the contrary indeed.' This may have been his character among his retainers, but the people, that is the freemen, apart from his followers, hated and despised him as a weak man, the tool of his still more hated mother. His reign was a series of murders, one of his victims being that Earl Sigurd of the Barns at Drontheim, whose counsel had been so good to Hakon. But the earl was married to a granddaughter of Harold Fairhair, and too near the throne to be acceptable to Gunnhilda. Behind him he left a son of whom we shall hear more, Hakon also called the Barn Earl, who betook himself to Harold Bluetooth in Denmark, and there plotted against Gunnhilda and her sons, cutting off at least one of King Harold's brothers. But his masterpiece of policy was that by which in one day he got rid of Harold Greyfell, his own enemy, and another Harold, Bluetooth's cousin and rival, called Gold Harold, on account of the wealth he had got by sea-roving. The way he accomplished this was by telling Bluetooth to ask his foster-child Harold Greyfell to come to a banquet in Denmark with a small force, and then cutting him off by the help of Gold Harold. But when Gold Harold and his men were faint and weary after the fight, Hakon came down on them with a still stronger force, defeated them, hanged their leader, and seized his gold. After this he settled his blood feud with Harold Bluetooth and departed for Norway, promising allegiance to Denmark, which he never fulfilled. Before him the rest of Eric's sons fled the country,

and Hakon ruled the country for many years as Earl. It is probable that Gunnhilda took refuge with her daughter in Orkney and died there; but another most graphic story was told of her end which well accords with her character. It is said that before the news of Harold Greyfell's death could have reached her, Hakon allured her to Denmark by a message that Harold Bluetooth was enamoured of her charms and wished to wed her. Strong in her conviction of her power, she accepted the bidding, only to find herself seized on landing and sunk into a moor which was called after her Gunnhilda's Moss. The story must go at what it is worth, but it is true to the character of the queen, and antiquaries in recent times have tried to identify the body of a woman found undecayed in that morass with the wicked Queen of Eric Bloody-axe.

Earl Hakon, the son of Sigurd, was now supreme in Norway. Mr. Carlyle says that he had engaged to pay some tribute to Harold Bluetooth 'if he could,' but in truth there was no such consolatory condition. He returned to Norway as the liegeman of the King of Denmark, which kingdom had always asserted such a right of tribute over Norway. Nay more, it is certain that Harold Bluetooth went along with Hakon to Norway backed by a fleet of six or seven hundred ships, and when he reached the town of Tunsberg in 'the Bay,' he granted Hakon seven Fylkir or provinces in fief, besides Drontheim, which was looked on as his hereditary possession, on the understanding that he should in time of peace pay half the revenue derived from crown dues and estates to Harold Bluetooth as his liege lord. Besides this, he was bound to assist the Danish king with a fleet and levies of men in case of need, and we know that he did send such a fleet to help Harold against the Emperor Otho. As for the rest of Norway round 'the Bay' in the East, Harold Bluetooth placed his son Sweyn, known as Forkbeard, to rule it as his vassal. It is perfectly true that Earl Hakon threw off this tribute as soon as he could, and with it he repudiated another obligation which he had undertaken in Denmark, where, at the instigation or something more of the Emperor Otho, he had become a convert to Christianity, and promised to bring Norway over to the new faith. But no sooner was he well established in his rule at home, than he forgot both his tribute and his new religion, becoming, in fact, a Northern Julian the Apostate, and clinging, with a conservatism which endeared him to the freemen, to the old faith. He was at that time in his twenty-eighth year, a very handsome lively man, of middle height, with fair hair and beard, but sometimes with a dark scowling face.



Besides this, he was skilled in arms and exercises, a great orator and of deep wit; dangerous to his foes both in open and secret attacks. He was liberal both of money and food, and was soon beloved by the whole nation as their natural leader. His mother, Bergliot, was the granddaughter of Harold Fairhair, and by his father Sigurd, the Barn Earl, he belonged to the noblest family of the land. Content with the title of Earl, he ruled the land for many years after the old fashion, allowing the freemen their rights, and managing the estates which belonged to the ruler all over the land, whether by confiscation or right, by liegemen and stewards. With regard to his religion, Mr. Carlyle is strangely in error when he says that he practised perfect toleration, for a more obstinate heathen probably never existed in all the North. He was zealous, in season and out of season, to bring back those who in that eclipse of the old faith had either gone over to Christianity, or preferred to 'trust in themselves,' to what he considered the true fold. His relations with Denmark, as might be imagined, were not the most friendly, and the one great peril of his reign came from that quarter, where Sweyn Forkbeard, Harold Bluetooth's son and successor, having made the Vikings of Jomsburg drunk, led them on to vow that they would pull down the house of Earl Hakon before three winter nights were past, or perish in the attempt, he himself vowing to turn Ethelred the Unready of England out of his realm within the same space. How these vikings attacked the Earl and fought a bloody battle at Hjøringsvœ, in which, in his utmost need, Hakon offered up his son to the ancient gods, and so was thought to have won the victory by their help, may be read in the Saga of the Vikings of Jomsburg, which is now accessible to every English reader. That defeat of his foes was the crowning point of Earl Hakon's rule. At the end of his power he grew overbearing to the freemen, whom he robbed of their wives and daughters and otherwise insulted. As soon as he touched them on these tender points, in spite of his belief in the ancient gods his power was gone. At that critical moment, Olaf Tryggvi's son, the ardent Christian, appeared in the land—lured thither by the schemes of Hakon; the freemen rallied round 'him, and Earl Hakon, the powerful, 'now called the bad,' fled away into a pit beneath a pigstye with one thrall, who cut off his master's head and carried it to King Olaf, who rewarded the traitor by cutting off his head and placing the two side by side on a gallows.

With Olaf Tryggvi's son the direct male line of Harold Fairhair returned to power. His father, Tryggvi, was the

son of Olaf the son of Harold, and his mother, Astrida, was a daughter of one of the noblest families in the land. So long as Hakon the Good ruled Norway he was good and bountiful to his nephews Tryggvi and Godred, the latter the son of Bjorn the Chapman, another child of Harold Fairhair. Tryggvi, he set up as a king in 'the Bay,' and Godred in the old kingdom of Westfold, the *Stammhaus*, as the Germans would call it, of Harold Fairhair's family. So the two cousins whose realms touched each other ruled mightily over those difficult border provinces, and lent each other a helping hand. But when the good Hakon fell and Eric's sons and their cruel mother came to power, those cousins in the East were alike objects of hate to Gunnhilda and Harold Greyfell, and it was not long before they were both cut off by treachery. After Tryggvi's death Astrida bore him a son, this very Olaf, who now succeeded Earl Hakon. No sooner did the vindictive Gunnhilda learn this than she sought to cut off both mother and child, and pursued them from house to house as they fled before her emissaries, till at last they found a refuge across the Swedish border with King Hakon the Old. Godred, too, had left a son, Harold of Greenland, who had a son, another Olaf, more famed in the North than this Olaf Tryggvi's son of whom we are now speaking. Whether it was that Astrida did not feel safe with her boy in Sweden, or whether she wished to seek her brother Sigurd, who stood high in favour with the Russian Prince Waldemar, certain it is that she left her asylum and passed East across the Baltic. Then it was that the really romantic story of the young prince began. Embarking in a trading ship, they were captured by Esthonian pirates, separated and sold as slaves, not to meet again till Olaf became King of Norway. Astrida was bought in open market by a rich Wend named Lodin, who treated her well and married her, while Olaf, with his foster-father Thorolf, fell into the hands of Klerkon, one of the pirates, who killed Thorolf out of hand as being too old to be worth feeding, and bartered away the three-year-old Olaf and another child in Esthonia for a fat goat to a man named Klerk. Nor was this the end of Olaf's barterings, for Klerk again parted with him to a man named Reas for a kirtle or a cloak. With this master Olaf spent six years well treated. At last, one day as he was playing with other children on the turf before the house, who should ride by but his uncle Sigurd, who had come to Esthonia to gather in Waldemar's dues. Struck with the look and mien of the boy, he asked him his name. Olaf told him his story, and Sigurd at once bought him from Reas and took him with him to Novgorod. At first he

resolved to keep the perilous secret to himself, that a pretender to the crown of Norway and a great-grandchild of Harold Fairhair was fostered in his house. But the boy Olaf soon took the matter into his own hands, for seeing one day the viking Klerkon, who had slain his foster-father, walking in the street, he went up to him and split his skull with an axe. By the laws of Novgorod it was death to break King Waldemar's peace, and the bystanders swarmed round Olaf to take his life. Snatched from this peril by Sigurd, and confided to the care of the Queen of Waldemar, Olaf's story became known, and Waldemar acknowledged his rank and had him taught all manly exercises. At last when Olaf was eighteen years old, Waldemar grew jealous of him, and he had to leave the land and take to a viking life. Calling himself 'Ole the Russian,' he rapidly gained fame and goods, married Geira, King Burislaf's daughter of Wendland, stood by the Emperor Otho when he attacked the Dannevirke, and then on the death of Geira passed west out of the Baltic and harried England as one of the worst foes of Ethelred the Unready. All this time he had been a heathen, but he now became a convert to the new faith, whether it were in Greece to which land his sea-rovings stretched, or at Scilly in English waters at the prayer of a pious hermit. Whatever the cause, in his twenty-fifth year 'Ole the 'Russian,' now the greatest champion of the age, became a zealous Christian, and soon after married Gytha, the sister of Olaf Kvaran the King of the Norse colony established in Dublin. By this time the fame of the searover, who whether single-handed or in league with Sweyn Forkbeard had wasted England, and made the wretched Ethelred pay down many thousand pounds' weight of silver, had reached to Norway, where Earl Hakon was now at the summit of his power. It was well known that Astrida and her child Olaf had escaped the pursuit of Gunnhilda, and the similarity of age, and the name 'Ole,' which is only a colloquial form of Olaf, were enough to rouse the Earl's suspicions. Foiled in an attempt to cut off the dangerous stranger in Dublin, he succeeded in luring his enemy to Norway, intending to cut him off by treachery; but on the arrival of his victim in the land the freemen rose in open rebellion, and Earl Hakon, as we have already seen, was himself cut off, while all Norway welcomed the invincible warrior who appeared in the land in all the pride of his strength and beauty as the legitimate descendant of Harold Fairhair.

It was given to Olaf Tryggvi's son to accomplish in the rough what Hakon the Good had failed to compass. He

found the land heathen, with the old faith, to the eye of a casual observer, more firmly established than ever by the heathen 'revivals' of Earl Hakon. Never, perhaps, in all the history of the North had the sacrifices to the gods been more scrupulously maintained, never were there more temples and altars and high places, never more images of the gods, and especially of Thor, the patron god of the land, than in Hakon's time. His own temple on his paternal estate at 'the Barns,' near the modern town of Drontheim, was a miracle of architecture, and so was another in Gudbrandsdale, which he rebuilt after it had been sacrilegiously burnt down by a vagabond Icelandier named Rapp. But yet at that very time, while the old faith was decked with so much outward show, it was smitten to the heart by the doubts of many of the wisest of the nation, who either halted between Odin and the 'White Christ,' in whom the 'rationalists' of the day discerned a revival of their pure god Baldur, or refusing to believe in anything divine, trusted, as the phrase went, only in themselves. At this moment, while the edifice of the old religion was sinking under the weight of the ornaments which concealed its dilapidation and decay, came a young king burning with faith in Christianity, and ready to carry out by the might of his arm what his heart told him was the truth and the whole truth. Nor was he strong in arms alone. That invincible warrior who could fight, or run, or swim against all comers, and conquer them all, had the gift of most subtle and persuasive speech. As soon as he was established on the throne, and had made the freemen easy as to their 'odal,' Olaf set himself resolutely to work to convert Norway and her dependencies to Christianity. His indeed was a rough and ready method, but in that state of society it was the only way open to him. If he spoke to the assemblies of the people, and they were converted and pulled down and broke their idols, well and good, all things went smoothly; but if they were recalcitrant and stubborn, as they often were, up went axe and sword, and the heathen had to quail and yield before the mighty arm which backed the tenets of Christianity with such unquestionable force. By the end of his reign, in the year 1000, what Mr. Carlyle well calls 'the rough harrow of conversion' had passed over the whole of Norway, and not over Norway alone, but in the Faroes, in Orkney and Shetland, and away west in free and independent Iceland, his emissaries, sometimes by persuasion and prayers and incense, but more often by duels and wager of battle, had nominally converted the whole Norwegian race to conformity with Christianity.

This storm of conversion, as might be expected, left the old conservatives of the country at best but half converted. Convinced against their will, they were no doubt of the same opinion still, though dread of Olaf made them keep their opinions to themselves. Whether their sullen discontent would have broken out at last into open flame is hard to say, for Olaf's rule was not long enough to prove this. He had made enemies abroad, for he had slighted the haughtiest woman of the time, Sigrid of Sweden, who had thought nothing of burning Harold of Greenland and a Russian prince with him alive in their beds, because they came bothering her with offers of marriage. 'This,' she said, 'will teach petty princes not to be so bold.' She would have married Olaf had he not pestered her to give up the ancient gods and turn Christian, and when he grew impatient and was so rude as to smite her on the cheek with his glove, there was an end of the alliance, and naught remained but a longing for revenge in the proud queen's heart, which she fulfilled when she married Sweyn Forkbeard not long after. Then too Olaf had married Sweyn Forkbeard's sister Thyra without his leave, and he had a quarrel with her former husband Burislaf, the Wend, his old father-in-law, about her dower; and Sigvald, captain of Jomsburg, hated him as a Norwegian, and was in league with his foes, though seemingly his friend. So the end of it all was that Olaf and his gallant fleet, his own ship, 'the Long Snake,' being the tallest and trimmest and stoutest ship that ever swam in Northern waters, sailed away up the Baltic to a friendly meeting, and on their way back were treacherously fallen on and destroyed by the combined forces of Sweden, Denmark, and the sons of Earl Hakon and the Wends, whom the faithless Sigvald also joined after luring Olaf to his doom. That was called the battle of Svoldr, in the year 1000, the tale of which is the most graphic page in all Northern story. Beloved and feared and admired as Olaf the son of Tryggvi was, it is no wonder that after he leaped overboard from his 'Long Snake,' when her decks were cleared and all was lost, the story ran that, like Arthur, he still lived, and that the peerless and blameless king who had brought Norway to the true faith would one day return to save his country in her utmost need.

The downfall of King Olaf threw Norway for a while under the quasi rule of Sweyn Forkbeard, who set over the land as earls Eric and Sweyn, the gallant sons of Earl Hakon the Bad, who had stood by their father in the great battle against the Jomsvikings, and who, after the part they had played in cutting off King Olaf, were the most famous warriors in the

North. So for a while they ruled the land in the old way, halting, we may be sure, between the old faith and the new, not very hot heathens and still less warm Christians; till another Olaf came into the land to confirm and consolidate the work done in the rough by his namesake the son of Tryggvi. It will be remembered that Godred, that King of Westfold cut off by Gunnhilda, left a son Harold, called 'of Greenland' from a petty kingdom which he held in the east of Norway, and that this Harold came to a miserable end by burning for daring to lift his eyes so high as the haughty Sigrid, who, we have seen, after the slight put on her by Olaf, married Sweyn Forkbeard, and so added fresh fuel to the flame which burned in Sweyn's heart against the King of Norway. It rather reconciles us to the sad end of Harold when we know that at the very time on which he set off on what Mr. Carlyle calls 'that deplorable 'Swedish adventure,' he had an excellent wife, Aasta, and a babe about to be born. 'Aasta,' according to Mr. Carlyle, 'was greatly shocked; composed herself however, married a 'new husband, Sigurd Syr, a kinglet and great-grandson of 'Harold Fairhair.' There the boy, who was called Olaf, was reared, and early showed himself of high and commanding nature. Sigurd Syr, or 'the Swine,' was a thrifty hardworking man, a good example of what may be called a 'labouring 'king,' of which it is a pity that there are not more examples now-a-days, just to show that it is no disgrace to anyone, however high his rank, to put his hand to the plough and look after his affairs instead of leaving them to go to rack and ruin. But the young Olaf was too ambitious to bide with his prudent father-in-law. At twelve years old he was strong and skilled in arms, not tall but very thickset and stout-built, not fat as some have described him, but broad-shouldered, deep-chested, and strong-limbed—a northern pocket Hercules. Away he went to the great harvest-field of all adventurous spirits in those days—the sea; and on all the waters of the North and West he led for years a roving, buccaneering life. On land England, unhappy England under Ethelred, was his chief battle-field; and on one such occasion, between the death of Sweyn Forkbeard and the return to England of his greater son Canute, the young Olaf, aiding the Danes, took and broke down London Bridge which barred their progress up the river. Mr. Carlyle wonders where he got his intense adherence to the Christian faith. The answer is probably in his namesake's time in Norway; a faith no doubt confirmed by his long stay in England. When Sweyn died, and the rule of his son Canute was established in England and Denmark, there was an end of

inroads on England, and by that time the young Olaf had completed his military education and had amassed wealth enough to appear as a pretender in Norway. There, too, was an opportunity; for the brave Earls Eric and Hakon had passed into England with Canute, and there was only a young Hakon the son of Eric, with his uncle Sweyn, left to rule the land under the Danes, who just then had their hands full with English affairs.

About the year 1015, therefore, one fine summer's day, when the thrifty King Sigurd was busy reaping in a broad flapping hat and veil against those midges, which the tourist to the North so painfully remembers, news came to him from Aasta to hasten home, for her Olaf was come back, and meant to claim the throne. Sigurd was for deliberation and Olaf for action, and the end was that, accepted at one 'Thing' or local Parliament, his acceptance ran through the land, and fortune having thrown the young Earl Hakon into his hands, whom Olaf generously spared, Olaf with very little trouble became King of Norway, much to Canute's indignation, who still claimed the land as his own. For the time, however, Olaf having routed Earl Sweyn and forced him to fly into Sweden, had it all his own way, and that way was to complete the good work which his namesake had begun. If the one had rough-harrowed the land, the other now cross-ploughed and rolled it, and sowed the good seed which since then has never ceased to bear fruit in Norway. But it was still the same story, words eked out with blows, and with blows very often forming the whole process. The peasants still obstinate and sullen, and the King and his retainers and his house-carles forming a little standing army, strong enough to carry out his purpose in each valley of the land. But this conversion by force naturally made him enemies, and the end was that when Canute had his hands less full he sailed to 'the Bay' with a great fleet, and Olaf, worsted on the whole after some successes, and reduced to twelve ships, finding public opinion at home against him, quitted his ships on the shore, and marched across the Fells into Sweden after a troublous reign of fifteen years.

From Sweden he went with his little son Magnus, born, not of his queen, but of a bondwoman, to the court of the Russian Prince Jaroslaf at Novgorod, where he had a friendly welcome. After a while news came from Norway that Earl Hakon the Young, whom Canute had set up over Norway, was dead, drowned with all his crew while trying to sail through the wild Pentland Firth in winter time, and that Canute meant to send a bastard son of his, called Sweyn, with his English mother,

Alfifa, to rule the land. What the temper of the chiefs and peasants was he hardly knew—some no doubt were for him, if many were against him. It was worth while having one more throw for that fair realm, and he would throw it. Leaving his son Magnus under the care of Jaroslaf, Olaf started on the expedition which was to secure him immortal fame, and raise him to be a power in the North of which he never dreamt.

Before he set out he dreamt a dream not unnatural in his state of feeling. He thought he saw a tall majestic man clad in royal robes, whom he knew at once to be Olaf Tryggvi's son, who stood at his bedside and said, 'Go back to thy kingdom, which belongs to thee by right. Do not be afraid of thy subjects, for it is glory to a king to conquer his foes, and a royal mantle is a brave winding-sheet. Doubt not that thou hast right with thee, but march boldly into the land, and God himself will bear witness that it belongs to thee.' Just then he woke, and fancied he saw the skirts of a man's clothing as he passed out of the door. So he left Russia, and passing through Sweden, gathering force as he went, he entered Norway with no great number of men, from Jemtland, one of the northern provinces of Sweden, which was then a debateable land between the two kingdoms. As he was crossing the border and climbing the ridge which looks down upon Veradale, Sigurd, his court bishop, who was with him, asked him why he was so silent, and why his lively flow of wit had ceased. "Yes, I am silent," said the king, "for strange things have now for a while come over me. As I gazed from the Fells towards the West, I thought how many happy days I had spent in this land. Then methought I saw not as far as Drontheim alone, but over all Norway; and lo! the longer the vision lasted the further I saw, till I saw over the whole earth, both land and sea. Then it seemed as though I knew clearly not only all the spots whither I had been before, but just as clearly saw I the spots which I had not before seen; yea, some even I had never heard tell of, both where men dwell and where no man dwells, so far as the wide world stretches." Then the bishop alighted from his horse, bowed before the king, and embraced his feet: "It is a saint we here follow," were his words to the wondering band.\* A saint indeed that was to be, but no more King of Norway. At that moment the government of Norway was in the hands of the great chiefs and vassals, men of large possessions and stern wills, who were at enmity with Olaf because his growing



power threatened to clip their wings. Many were still sullen, too, at his zeal for the new faith which they only half believed. Up to that time, too, Sweyn and his mother Alfifa had not reached Norway, so the chiefs had it all their way. They mustered an overwhelming force, and met the king at Sticklestad, as we reckon, on the 31st of August, 1030. Foremost in the fight was the king's half-brother Harold, the son of Sigurd Syr, a lad scarcely fifteen, but tall and manly beyond his years. In the midst of the battle a total eclipse of the sun came on, and it grew nearly dark. The forces of the chiefs were ready to fly, but they plucked up heart when they saw the scantiness of Olaf's force; and as he pressed on into the thick of the fight he fell dead, smitten with three wounds, one of which was reckoned to the axe of Kalf, the son of Arni, a mighty chief whose brother Finn was fighting on the king's side. When the king fell, his men were routed, though they still fought stoutly; and his brother Harold, desperately wounded, was with difficulty brought out of the battle by Ronald, the son of Brusi, the Orkney Earl, whose beauty and bravery made him renowned even in that valiant age.

So the Norse chiefs and freemen had their revenge and their triumph over Olaf, whose body was buried hastily near the spot by one Thorgils and his son Grim, freemen who lived at Sticklestad. But the triumph of the chiefs was short lived, and repentance followed swiftly on their victory. The boy-king Sweyn arrived in the land, and it was soon found that the rule of his mother Algiva, or Alfifa, as the Norsemen called her, was anything but light or just. Canute, too, was slow in granting earldoms and estates. The rule of Olaf began to be looked back to with regret; he became a national champion, and when his death in the cause of religion was remembered as Christianity spread more and more, a report arose that as he had died a martyr he ought to be revered as a saint. This feeling once expressed spread like wildfire, and Olaf was canonised in the hearts of his people long before his holiness was acknowledged by the Pope at Rome. While what may be called the national party thus rallied round his memory, wonders and miracles were declared to have been worked by his body, which had been dug up and decently buried eleven months after his death. As the rule of the Danes grew more and more intolerable, the chiefs who had been Olaf's bitterest foes bethought them of his son Magnus, who was growing up in Russia under Jaroslaf's care. A deputation of twelve chiefs departed for Kieff, where Jaroslaf then kept his court, and after they had pledged themselves with

solemn oaths to stand by the young prince, the Russian Prince confided him to those who had been his father's worst enemies, and they all departed for Norway, whence Sweyn and his mother speedily fled before the holiness of the saint and the national devotion to his son. And now that unity and consolidation of Norway into one kingdom out of many petty states and provinces, which Harold Fairhair and his descendants had aimed at in vain, was accomplished under the influence of Christianity, which had slowly leavened the whole mass; and all the people could now look back with pride and affection on one who while on earth by his vigour and zeal had been a true example of Northern worth and daring, and who after the death of a martyr still looked down from heaven on the land he loved, ever ready to protect her and her children by his special intercession as a saint.

As Magnus was but a child in years the earlier part of his reign was really the rule of the great chiefs in his name. The time was not yet come, though it was near at hand, when those unruly spirits were to be curbed and broken. The reader must not forget that Harold, the son of Sigurd, the saint's half-brother, after being healed of his wounds got in the fight at Sticklestad, had passed on from Sweden into Russia, and for a time was lost sight of. Magnus was ten years old when he returned to Norway.\* His was also another case of early

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\* The origin of the name Magnus, afterwards and now so common in the North, is curious. At his birth, which was unexpected, the king was asleep, and no one was in the house except a few women, a priest, and Sighvat, the king's skald. The child was all but stillborn, but as it showed some signs of life the priest bade Sighvat go and tell the king lest the babe should die before it was christened and named. 'That,' said Sighvat, 'I dare not do, for the king told me on 'no account to wake him, but to let him sleep his sleep out.' 'But 'the child will die and so lose salvation if unbaptised,' rejoined the priest. 'Then I will myself undertake to give him a name sooner than 'wake the king,' said Sighvat; 'and I will call him "Magnus" after the 'greatest king that ever lived;' meaning by 'Magnus' Charlemagne. When the king woke next morning and heard what had happened he sent in wrath for Sighvat, and asked him how he dared to have the child christened without his knowledge. 'Because,' said Sighvat, 'I had 'rather give two souls to God than one to the devil.' 'How so?' asked the king. 'The bairn was at death's door,' said Sighvat; 'if it died 'unbaptised of course it would belong to the devil, whereas now it 'belongs to God.' That makes one. As for the other, I knew, however wroth you might be the worst that could befall me would be to 'lose my life, and if I were slain in such a cause of course I should go 'to God too. That makes two.' The king, softened by this answer,

development, where body and mind grow in just proportion, and the child is scarce a boy before he is a man both in strength and thought. All confessed that the young king was a model of manly beauty, and a more proper man in this respect than his father, whose figure was too full and his frame too short and thickset. His powers of mind, too, were great, and his power of self-control great, as was shown by the general forbearance which he showed, with one exception, to his father's murderers. That exception was the arch-rebel Kalf Arni's son, who had played the part of his foster-father since his return, but whom it was scarce in human nature, especially in that revengeful time, that he could ever forgive. So it fell out once when the young king, now about seventeen, was at a feast near Sticklestad with both his foster-fathers, he said, 'We will go to-day to Sticklestad and see what tokens are left of the things that happened there.' Einar Bowstring-twanger, the other foster-father, the bold archer who had stood with Olaf Tryggvi's son on the 'Long Snake,' and came out of the fight alive, said, 'Lord, I know little to tell about them, for I was not near the spot on the day of the battle; let Kalf ride with you, he will be able to tell you plainly about everything.' Kalf was loth to go, and told the king outright that it would be better not to rake up old scores, but to trust entirely to those who were now his firm friends; but the king insisted on his going. Then Kalf called his waiting-man, and bade him ride to his strong house at Edge, and bid them launch his long-ship, and have her ready for sea by night. Then the king and Kalf rode to Sticklestad, and Magnus said, 'Whereabouts fell King Olaf, my father?' Then Kalf stretched out the shaft of his spear and said, 'There he lay.' 'And where wast thou?' asked the king. 'Here, where I now stand,' answered Kalf. 'Then,' said the king, 'thy axe might well have reached him,' and the king's visage grew very red. 'My axe did not reach him,' said Kalf, and with that he leapt on his horse and rode away, and so home to Edge, and got on ship-board, and sailed out of the Firth, and away west to the Orkneys, and he and King Magnus never saw each other again. So the king had pulled down the first of the great chiefs who had conspired against his father, and

went on to ask why he called the boy Magnus, a name none of his stock had ever borne. 'I called him,' said Sighvat, 'after the greatest carle I ever heard of, Karl Magnus.' 'Verily, Sighvat,' said the king, 'you carry luck with you, and after all it is not strange that luck should follow wit; stranger still sometimes that the witless carry luck with them, and so their silly deeds turn to good.'

from that day forth he grew harder and harder against them, till his friends grew alarmed and warned him not to be too severe, the chief of these friends being the outspoken Skald Sighvat, who had been with his father in the battle. Matters came to a head when at a 'Thing,' or gathering of the freemen, the king spoke harshly to some, and even threatened the freemen as a body. Then a freeman named Atli rose and said, with Spartan brevity and force, 'My shoon pinch me so I 'can't stir a step.' That was all he said, but his words were enough to show Magnus the error of his policy, and from that day he was mild and forbearing.

But now came into the land one who was the true tamer of these great chiefs. This was that Harold, the son of Sigurd, known at the end of his reign as Hardrada, or the Stern, that is, the man of 'hard redes' and grim counsels. While he had been away in Russia he had passed on to Constantinople, or Miklagard, that is Micklegarth, the town of towns. There he had taken service under the Emperor in the Varangians, had risen to be their captain, had warred in the East and in Greece, where it is likely that he scored his exploits on that lion in the Piraus, which now lies before the arsenal at Venice. Besides this he had been in the thick of the intrigues in the Emperor's palace, had won the favour of Zoe, the daughter and wife of emperors, had quarrelled with her, and been thrown into a dungeon with his two faithful followers, who there slew a grizly dragon or crocodile. In popular tumults he had thrice 'swept or scoured' the Emperor's palace, as the phrase ran, and at last, after twelve years full of adventure, he had made his way to Russia, laden with a huge store of gold, singing songs as he sailed up the Don in praise of Jaroslaf's daughter Elizabeth, whose hand he now claimed, and whom he soon afterwards wedded. This was the warrior who, on the strength of his kinship to the Saint, and his descent from Harold Fairhair, now demanded a share of Norway from his half-nephew Magnus. That he was an unwelcome guest to the young king could not be denied; but Magnus was wise; and he had wars on his hands with the heathen Wends, besides that old quarrel with Denmark, over which Sweyn, the nephew of the great Canute, was now king. Though strong in the affection of his people, Magnus was poor in goods. The gold of Harold, which seemed inexhaustible, as well as the strength of his arm, would stand him in good stead. So he shared the kingdom with him, and they were joint kings for about two years, that is from 1045 to 1047. Then Magnus the Good died of a fever, and the whole land was left to the

tender mercies of the gigantic Harold. It would be long to tell how he proved the truth of the old adage, that a king's hands are long, his eyes quick, and his ears sharp. Though constantly at war either with Sweden or Denmark, he never for a moment relaxed his policy of repression and subversion at home, and there was in his dealings with his people a cruel calculating state-craft, which he probably brought with him from the East as a legacy from Zoe and her partners on the throne. In an evil hour for himself he was beguiled by the promises and persuasion of Tostig to play a bold stroke for the great prize which fell to the superior strength and wisdom of William the Conqueror. It is well known how he got his seven feet of English ground at Stamford Bridge, on the Derwent, and how his huge store of gold, as to which Mr. Carlyle is absurdly incredulous, passed for a few days into the possession of his English namesake, only to enrich the coffers of the Norman invader. Some time after the battle, probably in the year 1069, his son and successor Olaf sent Skuli the son of Tostig, to King William, to beg for his father's bones, when that huge frame, once so full of fire and cruelty, was exhumed, put on shipboard at Grimsby, and buried at Drontheim, by the side of his half-brother the Saint.\*

To that tumultuous reign in which the freemen and great vassals had been tamed, and the Church as a hierarchy firmly established, Saint Olaf becoming the patron-saint of the land, and giving his name to numberless churches at home and abroad,† a period of rest and peace succeeded under the reign of Harold's sons, Magnus and Olaf the Quiet. The land indeed required repose and peace to recover the loss of the flower of her manhood cut off with Harold Hardrada in England. Magnus died soon, but Olaf ruled well and wisely for twenty-six years, and then was succeeded by his son Magnus, who became for a while joint-king with his cousin Hakon the son of Magnus. In a short time Hakon died of sickness, and Magnus became sole ruler. He was a mighty warrior, and made at least two expeditions to Scotland and Ireland. On his return from the first he brought back with him the Scottish fashion of dress, and his subjects, ever ready with nicknames, called him 'Barelegs.' He, too, was a thorn in the side of the freemen who had now degenerated almost entirely into vassals of the crown, and cut off the mightiest and most crafty

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\* Jest and Earnest, vol. i. p. 309.

† Tooley Street, on the other side of London Bridge, derives its name from St. Olaf's Street.

of them in the person of one Thorir whom he seized and hanged. At last he was cut off on an expedition to Ireland, not without treachery on the part of some of his allies in that island, and on his death Norway was again shared between his three sons who ruled the land, not altogether for its good, with their separate courts. Olaf, the youngest of the three, died while still a boy aged fifteen, and, as the Icelanders say, he is 'out of the story.' The two elder were of different characters. Sigurd, called the Crusader or 'Jewryfarer,' being a warrior given to pomp and bravery, which he exhibited on his crusade in a way which astonished even the Greek Emperor. Eystein his brother, on the contrary, was not a warrior; he turned his attention to improve the law, and especially to what we should now call the advancement of the material prosperity of the kingdom. By negotiation he, for a time at least, added that debateable Jemtland to Norway, and all through the country he made roads and built bridges, and erected inns and refuges for travellers on the fells, immensely to the public advantage. It was not without reason, therefore, that when his brother Sigurd returned from his crusade and boasted of his mighty deeds, that Eystein could point to the good roads and strong bridges and thriving towns which were rising on all sides under his peaceful rule, while his brother had been strutting like a peacock in the East. After Sigurd's return the brothers had quarrels, but they patched them up at last, and under their joint rule Norway continued to prosper. In their reign, too, we first hear of fixed sees for bishops, who had up to that time been what the Americans would vulgarly call 'carpet-bag bishops,' following the king about from place to place and from grange to grange. This no doubt was a great gain to the land for the bishoprics and monasteries which were then established at Bergen, Stavanger, and other places, became so many centres of civilisation and commerce. Of this pair the thrifty Eystein died first, renowned for arts and policy rather than for arms, and now Sigurd the Crusader was sole king.

The latter part of his reign was marked by the arrival of the first of those pretenders to royal birth who afterwards caused so much trouble and bloodshed in the land. Just about the same time, too, King Sigurd fell into temporary fits of madness, which were a great grief to him and his people. The story of the pretender was this: While King Sigurd, who had lately made the Things all over Norway swear to obey his son Magnus as king after his own death, kept court at Tunsberg, a young man was brought into his presence who said he was a son of Magnus Barelegs, and therefore Sigurd's brother,

begotten while the kilted monarch was away on one of his Western expeditions. This story was backed by several of the great vassals, and the pretender himself offered to prove the truth of his words by undergoing the ordeal. So said so done. He must walk blindfold over seven red-hot ploughshares; and he did so, led by two bishops, having first implored the aid of Columba his patron-saint. While the pretender, whose name was Harold Gille or the 'Serving-man,' was undergoing this fearful trial, Magnus, the son of Sigurd, who stood by, called out, 'He does not tread the iron as though he were a man.' 'Thou speakest ill and cruelly,' said King Sigurd; 'he has borne himself bravely throughout.' After the ordeal he was put to bed and his feet bound up, and three days afterwards they were found unburnt. Then King Sigurd acknowledged him as his brother, though after all his paternity was very doubtful, and Harold Gille was reckoned as one of the royal family. His strange dress and habits, his long gaunt figure, long neck and long face, his black hair and eyes, and above all his imperfect Norse speech, made him an object of derision at court; but King Sigurd never wavered after he had once acknowledged him as his brother. The head, naturally, of the mocking party was Magnus the king's son, but even the mockers sometimes got the worst of it with Harold; for once when he asserted that there were men in Ireland so swift of foot that they could keep up and even outstrip a horse at full speed, and Magnus said 'it was a lie,' and they had a bet about it for a gold ring against Harold's head, the Irishman utterly outstripped Magnus on his fleetest horse, and so won the wager with flying colours. In 1130 King Sigurd died, and then his son and the pretender were left to fight their quarrel out. This they did with ceaseless strife and varying fortune, one getting the better of the other by turns, till at last Harold seized Magnus in Bergen and with Celtic brutality put out his eyes and otherwise cruelly mutilated him, and then cast him into prison. This was in the year 1135; but Harold had hardly time to reap the fruits of his cruelty before he was confronted by another pretender, who in the summer of 1136 came into his presence at Bergen, and having claimed and obtained the King's peace, declared that he was his brother and a son of Magnus Barelegs, to whose love adventures there seemed to be no end, only this time the pretender claimed to be born of a Norwegian mother. His name was Sigurd and his nickname 'Snap-deacon,' from some hasty orders that he had received. In boyhood he was believed to be the son of one Adalbrigt, a priest in the South of Norway, but as he grew up he told this

story of his birth in Orkney and in Iceland, and many both at home and abroad put faith in him. In himself, whatever his origin, he was one of the most remarkable men of his time. Well versed in priestly lore and at the same time most accomplished in all manly exercises. Young, handsome, eloquent and daring, he was a darling wherever he went, and at the court of the Earls of Orkney he was in high favour.

Such was the man who now stood before Harold Gille and claimed to be his brother. The demand was too dangerous for the king to admit for a moment. He had set an example only too likely to be imitated, and it threatened to rain pretenders. Some of the courtiers cried out he ought at once to be thrown in prison and slain, for as Harold was a foreigner, and let the great vassals do as they pleased, they feared their reign would be over if this accomplished Northman came to power. As Harold had granted him his peace, he did not dare to seize him openly, but he did not scruple, after Sigurd had gone to his lodging, to arrest him and carry him off to prison in a boat. But neither the king nor his emissaries were aware of the dexterity and daring of their captive. Two men watched Sigurd while the rest rowed. The two held him by his cloak, and thought him safe, when, as though by sleight of hand, their prisoner tossed them both over the side, and leaping overboard himself, dived. Before the boat, which was at full speed, could regain the spot, the Snap-deacon had swum to shore and made his way up to the fells, though, having left his cloak behind him, he was nearly frozen to death. Joining his friends, who aided in concealing him, he soon raised a flock of bold spirits discontented with the rule of a foreigner, and coming suddenly on the house in which the king slept, slew him in his bed on December 14, 1137. So died, in his thirty-fifth year, Harold Gille, who, if a king's son, showed little of a royal nature in his life and deeds. To us he seems, though Munch believes him to have been the son of Magnus Barelegs, nothing less than an impudent Irish adventurer; a Gilly of the time both by name and nature. He left behind him several sons, Ingi, Sigurd, and Eystein, the two first children, who were set up as kings under the guardianship of their mother and some of the great chiefs. Unable to resist them by making a party of his own, Sigurd Snap-deacon resolved on a bold stroke. This was to seize the blind and mutilated King Magnus and to put him forward as king, and so to rule in his name. In this purpose he succeeded for a while, but Magnus had to fly the land while Sigurd betook himself to the Hebrides to gather sufficient force to attack the young kings Sigurd and Ingi.



At last, after many adventures, the blind king and his supporters reappeared in the east of Norway with thirty ships, against which the adherents of the two young kings launched twenty; but when the battle began eighteen of the foreign ships fled, and Magnus and Sigurd were left to fight it out with twelve. The kings' ships were stout and tall, and their adversaries' weak. The invaders were utterly routed; King Magnus was slain. As for Sigurd, when the battle was lost he leaped overboard, relying on his extraordinary skill in swimming, and lay for some time with his shield over his head. At last one of the prisoners who was about to be slain betrayed him. His captors tortured him to death in the most cruel way, breaking his arms and legs, and then literally flaying him by flogging. All these pangs he bore without flinching, no more, said a bystander, than if he had 'been a stock or a 'stone.' So he died singing psalms and praying for his foes. All admitted his daring and courage, but what could a man do, they said, who had not fortune on his side; 'a true saying,' says Munch, 'for had Sigurd Snap-deacon won the day the 'annals of the country would have spoken of him as if he had 'had right on his side.'

After this came a host of puppet kings, set up and pulled down again by the great vassals who sided with them either from family ties or interest. We have not time or space to waste upon them; but at the end of that century came Sverrir, a greater pretender than all, who by the force of his energy and wit raised himself, after a series of desperate struggles, to the throne and died a king, calling himself the lawful son of Harold Wrymouth, one of the puppet kings. He was in reality the son of a poor combmaker in a petty Norway town; but whatever his birth, he blazed like a meteor through the troubled air of the thirteenth century, and left his mark upon the age. More than that, this son of a combmaker established a dynasty, and was the father of Hakon the Old, well known in Scottish history for the part he played at the battle of Largs.

We have now filled up to the best of our ability the blanks left in Mr. Carlyle's brilliant but most kaleidoscopic sketch of early Norwegian history. It is a remarkable and a suggestive work, not only for what it says but what it omits to mention. Had he known more of his subject and availed himself of materials close to his hand, his work would have been better still; but we must take great writers as we find them, and if, like Paganini, they choose to play on one string rather than three or four, we must listen all the same to their music, for music it is, and not the mere dubbing of a tomtom or the droning of a bagpipe.

ART. IX.—*Lucrezia Borgia. Nach Urkunden und Correspondenzen ihrer eigenen Zeit.* Von FERDINAND GREGOROVIVS. Stuttgart: 1874.

THE sphinx-like riddle of the story of Lucrezia Borgia has of late much occupied the attention of historical investigators in various countries. In Italy, especially in the cities of Turin, Ferrara, Modena, and Milan, books have been published to vindicate the honour of the too famous daughter of Alexander VI. In France, M. Armand Baschet, to whom the world is indebted for researches by which he has brought to light many interesting documents from the archives of various states of Italy, has for years been occupied in collecting materials for a life of Lucrezia Borgia. This, however, is unfortunately not yet completed. A Dominican monk, Ollivier, in 1870, made a desperate attempt to whiten-wash the whole of the Borgias in the first part of a book entitled ‘*Le Pape Alexander VI. et les Borgias.*’ This book, which forms a fantastic contrast to the tragedy of Victor Hugo, has not been received with favour even by the most Ultramontane organs of the Roman Catholic Church, who acknowledge that the moral character of Alexander VI. cannot possibly be rehabilitated in the face of irrefragable contemporary documents. In England Mr. William Gilbert published a meritorious biography of Lucrezia Borgia in two volumes in 1869.

The first writer, however, who entered the list as a serious champion in behalf of this enigmatical lady was Mr. Roscoe, whose apology of Lucrezia speedily aroused the warmest recognition among the Italians, and has been the forerunner of all subsequent efforts of the same character. Since his time, however, it may be said that the difficulty of giving anything like a fair reputation to Lucrezia is indefinitely increased by the success which has attended the drama of a great poet and the opera of a great composer; through both of which the theatre and opera-going public of Europe have made such acquaintance with Lucrezia, as a sort of Bacchanal of blood, equally free in the use of the poison cup and the dagger, that it would seem an anomaly or a paradox to divest this heroine of the tragic qualities which have endowed her with the power of stage-fascination.

Herr Gregorovius, however, already so favourably known by his monograph on Corsica, and by his ‘History of the City of

'Rome in the Middle Ages,' has now produced the most complete and trustworthy work on the subject which has yet appeared; and although we cannot affirm that all obscurity is removed from the life and character of Lucrezia Borgia, we can at least recognise that a quantity of new and important documents have been brought to light, which enable us to take a clearer view of the difficulties of the problem.

Herr Gregorovius appears to have been moved to undertake the subject by a discovery which he made among the archives of the notarial acts of the Roman capital. He was already possessed of a number of original documents concerning the Borgias which he had collected during his researches among the archives of Italy, for the purposes of his work on Rome in the Middle Ages, when he came upon a volume of protocols of Camillo de Beneimbene, who was the confidential notary of Alexander VI. during the greater part of his career. From the documents therein contained, the genealogy of the Borgia family, both in its legitimate and illegitimate relations, could be clearly established, and the book contained the whole series of the marriage contracts of Lucrezia Borgia, besides other papers from which details of the inner relations of the Borgia family were to be drawn. He has also spared no pains in the collection of other materials. He has visited every city and town where Lucrezia abode and with which she had any connexion. He has visited Modena, Mantua, Nepi, Pesaro, Ferrara, and Florence repeatedly in the course of his researches, and he found in the State Archives of the Este family at Modena the richest treasure-trove in the way of Borgia documents. The work as thus composed cannot be regarded as an apology for Lucrezia Borgia; but it is difficult after reading it to believe that the woman was such an incarnate fiend as her enemies, who were her contemporaries, have made out. At the same time it would evince remarkable credulity to accept as true the panegyrics of the poets and writers and courtiers who knew her only as Duchess of Ferrara; it would be indeed an anomaly if a paragon of virtue had been born out of the foul nest of the Borgias.

The Spanish race of the Borjas or Borgias, whose story will always remain as illustrative of the florid exuberance of the Renaissance Period in crime as well as in virtue, were a remarkable race. They belonged to the same national type as the Cortez and the Pizarros, or as Loyola, who later was the founder of the most powerful political and religious institution which the world has ever known. They were endowed with extraordinary gifts, with physical beauty and power, as well

as with quick intelligence and courage, and fierce energy of will. Although they professed to descend from the kings of Aragon, their origin cannot be traced further back than Alfonso Borgia, who ascended the Papal chair as Callixtus III. in 1455. Alfonso Borgia was born at Xativa near Valencia. He began his Italian career as private secretary of Alfonso king of Aragon, who became afterwards king of Naples.

The family of the Borgias were related to two other Valencian families, the Milas and the Lanzols, and members of both these families came flocking to Rome, even as early as 1444, when Alfonso was made Cardinal. Spain having by this time terminated her wars against the Moors, her sons began to divert their energies abroad, and in both hemispheres they placed their country, for a while, in a position of paramount influence. No city at that time offered a more ready and more attractive field of ambition than Rome. She was the political centre of the world. The Papacy was still revered through all civilised nations as the highest spiritual power, and no deficiency of birth or fortune could be so great there as to prevent a man from aiming at the chiefest offices of ambition, in an institution in which the highest dignity might be, as it was later, achieved by the son of a swineherd.

Callixtus III. had two sisters, one of them married a Lanzol and had two sons, Pedro Luis and Rodrigo, besides daughters. Callixtus adopted both his nephews and gave them his own family name of Borgia. Rodrigo, the youngest of these nephews of Callixtus III., he who afterwards became Alexander VI., was made a cardinal in the twenty-sixth year of his age, and one year later was advanced to the high dignity of Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church.

As for Rodrigo's elder brother, Pedro Luis, he was overwhelmed with honours, offices, and possessions, with a profusion which made him a prototype in some measure of the position attained later by his nephew, Caesar Borgia. Pedro Luis, however, died young, not long after the death of his uncle the Pope; and as he was unmarried, his immense property in lands and goods went to swell the resources of his brother the Cardinal, who was beginning to amass from the spoils of Christendom that immense fortune which enabled him to outbid all competitors for the chair of Saint Peter, to enrich mistresses and assassins, and to make opulent and powerful a whole tribe of illegitimate descendants. Cardinal Borgia was the richest of all the princes of the Church, at a time when the Papal exchequer was flooded with the tribute of the whole Christian world. His uncle, the Pope, Callixtus

III., had by his influence with foreign potentates procured for him a crowd of ecclesiastical benefices and sinecures in various countries of which he received the incomes at Rome. He expended a portion of these in keeping up the state of his office, and amassed the remainder so as to be ready for the day when the Papacy should become vacant.

‘He is a man,’ writes one of his contemporaries, ‘of a spirit equal to all things, and of great intelligence; ready in speech, to which, being moderately versed in literature, he understands well how to give style; subtle by nature and of marvellous skill in the conduct of business. He is extraordinarily rich, and the protection of many kings and princes gives him reputation. He inhabits a beautiful and convenient palace which he has had built between the Ponte Sant’ Angelo and the Campo de Fine. From his ecclesiastical benefices, his many abbeys in Italy, Spain, and his three bishoprics Valencia, Portus, and Carthago, he draws boundless incomes, while the office of Vice-Chancellor alone, as they say, brings him in yearly 8,000 golden gulden. The quantity of his silver plate, of his pearls, of his hangings worked in gold and silver, and his books of all kinds of knowledge is very great, and all this of a splendid magnificence which were worthy of a king or of a pope. I do not speak of the inestimable adornings of his beds and of his horses, nor of all his similar ornaments of gold and silver and silk, nor of his costly wardrobe, nor of the great mass of coined gold in his possession.’

As long as Callixtus lived, the Spaniards who flocked to Rome during his pontificate were all-powerful, and enjoyed a monopoly of all the Papal patronage, to the exclusion of the great Roman families, who on the death of the Spanish Pope arose in revolt against the hateful supremacy of foreigners, and some of them were obliged to leave the city. Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia was then twenty-seven years of age; he retained his office of Papal Vice-Chancellor, and seems to have lived quietly through the pontificates of Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII., still continuing to amass wealth, and waiting his time to make a bid for the Papacy. There are few details of his private life at this period. One letter of exhortation, however, is still extant, addressed to him by Pius II., in his twenty-ninth year, from which it appears that his dissolute conduct during a visit to Sienna had raised a scandal in the town, and filled the Pope’s heart with shame and indignation. He had many mistresses, but Vanozza is the one best known to history, since she was the mother of Cæsar and Lucrezia, and with her Cardinal Borgia became acquainted about the year 1466. The name Vanozza was a familiar transformation of Giovanna—her full name was Vanozza Catanei, but of what family she came is not known. Some

years after his connexion with Vanozza he contrived, as some cloak to his relations with her, to bring about a marriage between his mistress and one Giorgio di Croce, a Milanese, for whom he had obtained the post of apostolic writer for Sixtus IV., and who was willing to accept this dishonourable alliance for the sake of advancement.

Lucrezia Borgia was born in the year 1480, in the pontificate of Sixtus IV., in the very same month in which Lorenzo the Magnificent had consolidated his power at Florence by the establishment of the Council of Seventy. Lucrezia was six years younger than her terrible brother Cæsar Borgia, and eight years younger than Juan, Duke of Gandia, destined to be the victim of his brother's ruthless ambition. The period in which Lucrezia was born was one for Rome of abomination, not as dark indeed as that of the Borgia epoch, but still sufficiently terrible for a city which was held to be the capital of Christianity. The Pope, Sixtus IV., of the Riario family, was a pontiff of more commanding powers than Alexander VI., and exhibited a restless activity in his endeavours to extend the temporal power of the Church by intrigue and violence; he had concerted the conspiracy of the Pazzi, whose plans included the murder of the Mediceis. His nephew, Girolamo Riario, was all-powerful under the pontificate, and it was for him the Pope was unweariedly scheming the conquest of the Romagna—that eternal object of papal cupidity—to obtain possession of which Cæsar Borgia committed some of the ghastliest in his series of crimes, with the full approbation of his father. While the head of the Church was thus absorbed in schemes of temporal ambition, and unscrupulous of means, religion itself became a mere show, in which the actors were stained with every vice and crime, and the immorality of all classes was furious and shameless. Whole quarters were swarming with courtesans, who paraded the streets in the pride and state of princesses, while the feuds of the great families broke out continually into open warfare, and the armed followers of the Colonna and the Savelli, on the one side, with those of the Orsini on the other, carried on the old war of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, recruited their strength among the other hostile families in Rome, and day by day terrified the city with scenes of havoc and assassination.

Lucrezia passed the first years of her childhood in the house of her mother, who dwelt close to the palace of the Cardinal Borgia himself, in the Piazza Pizzo di Merlo, which was situated in the quarter called Ponte, adjoining the Ponte Sant' Angelo, through which passed the high road to the Vatican,

and which was one of the most stirring and busy quarters of Rome. Cardinal Borgia appears to have acted the part of a provident father towards all his illegitimate progeny by his different mistresses. His mistresses also he looked after with paternal care as soon as he had cast them off, and this he never failed to do as soon as they were ripe for superannuation. What indeed seems to have struck his contemporaries most in Cardinal Borgia was his indefatigable love of life and pleasure, and his inexhaustible fund of good spirits and good humour. As long as he lived he never ceased to enjoy himself. Although the court of the Borgias was tainted with assassination and crime, the Vatican was by no means an abode of gloom and terror. On the contrary, its halls abounded with glitter and movement, with banquetings and music and revelries which at times, it is true, degenerated into abominable orgies. And whatever was done there in the way of assassination was not done darkly or in a corner, but in open day; and if a guest there was taken off by surprise in a cup of poison, the Pope and his guests would make merry over the event at the expense of the victim, who ought to have been on his guard. No individual at that time in all Italy was treated with so little sympathy as a simpleton or an unsuspecting victim; and probably to have any idea of the way in which successful murder was regarded at that time by the courtiers and frequenters of the Vatican, one must look to the most Western States of America, where the ruffian who succeeds in knocking over an unsuspecting enemy with his six-shooter is regarded as something of a hero, until he himself gets knocked over in his turn.

Amid the joyous division of the spoils of the Church among his mistresses and his children, Vanozza and her offspring fared well. The sons were either ennobled or provided with Church dignities; and as for Lucrezia, she of all the Cardinal's illegitimate daughters remained the especial object of his solicitude. Vanozza, too, although she lost all claim to the title of a mistress after the birth of her last papal child Gioffredo, at the age of forty, never ceased to receive tokens of kindly attention from her old paramour as long as he lived. Her first husband, Giorgio di Croce, happening to die, the Pope thought it would be well for her to have the protection of a second, and had no difficulty in finding one, Carlo Canale, first chamberlain of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, afterwards an attendant of the Cardinal Sclafetano of Parma. This latter marriage took place in 1486, when Lucrezia was six years of age and her mother was forty-six, and a child was born to Carlo Canale after this aus-

picious event. It was perhaps on the occasion of this marriage that Lucrezia was taken away from the protection of her mother; at any rate she left Vanozza's house at a very early period, and henceforward but little intercourse seems to have been permitted between mother and daughter. It may have been that Lucrezia with her golden hair was an exceptionally attractive child among the illegitimate daughters of the Pope, and that he had marked her out from the first for a high destiny. At any rate he adopted her as a child into his legitimate family by placing her under the care of Adriana, one of his cousins, a member of the family of Mila, who had been married to an Orsini, by whom she had a son, Ursinus Orsini. This Madonna Adriana, as she was called, remained the confidante and complacent abettor of the Pope's debaucheries, crimes, and intrigues up to the time of his death, not hesitating to sacrifice to him the honour of her own daughter-in-law, and consequently that of her son; and whatever education and notions of morality Lucrezia received she received under the supervision of Madonna Adriana. Although Lucrezia has no claim to a place among the celebrated learned and cultivated women of Italy, yet her apologists have laid much stress on her accomplishments. She is said to have spoken Spanish, Italian, and French, to have had a knowledge also of Greek and Latin, and to have been able to write and compose in all these languages. She was also a proficient in music and practised the arts of design, and in Ferrara in later days she excited admiration by her talent for embroidery in silk and gold.

Her knowledge of the Spanish and Italian tongues, however, need excite small wonder, since she was by birth both Spanish and Italian. Two of her letters to Bembo, yet extant, are written in Spanish; the rest are in Italian, and are neither remarkable for style nor matter. Her knowledge of Greek and Latin appears not to have been very deep; yet she must have been able to read Latin, at least, otherwise her father would not have appointed her, as he did on one occasion, his deputy during an absence, with instructions to open his correspondence, which was for the most part written in Latin. It is probable that in the '*literæ humaniores*,' as Greek and Latin used to be styled, she received instruction, as the custom then was in Rome, together with her brothers, from private teachers. These naturally in a city such as she inhabited were abundant, and consisted chiefly of young ecclesiastics endeavouring to make their way by paying court to the cardinals, in employing themselves as secretaries or in teaching their illegitimate children. Doubtless too she was instructed



in the art of making sonnets and verses, one of the accomplishments of the ladies of the time, by some of the mediocre poets with whom Rome then abounded. In fact Lucrezia went through the ordinary course of instruction of an Italian lady of the Renaissance, which was incontestably of a far more solid character, and far more likely to bring to maturity the feminine intellectual qualities than the culture of our own time. The novel, the smattering of modern science, and the newspaper were not then in existence to dissipate intellectual effort, and the piano was an unknown instrument of torture, although any well-educated lady could play on the lute. As for the novel, it is remarkable that at the present time Italy, among civilised countries, is that in which the fewest novels are produced and read.

If we compare the accomplishments, such as they appear to have been, of Lucrezia Borgia with those of some of the most cultivated women of her time, namely Cassandra Fideli of Venice, Isabella Gonzaga, and Elisabetta of Urbino; not to speak of Costanza Barano, poetess, orator, and philosopher, who had daily in her hands the works of St. Augustine, of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory, as well as those of Seneca, Cicero, and Lactantius; not to speak also of the ladies later known as Vittoria Colonna and Veronica Gambara, the daughter of Alexander VI. must be considered to have been a person of ordinary acquirements for her time. Indeed generally her qualities were of a commonplace character not at all calculated to fit her for appearing before posterity in the character she enjoys on the stage—that of being one of the most eminent female artists in crime and passion of whom fame has made mention.

That part of education, however, which was esteemed to be the most successful in Lucrezia was the religious; and religious education, or rather education in the proper and regular performance of the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, was then the groundwork of all education, just as the due observance throughout life of all the prescriptions of the Church was a sort of framework which surrounded all the rest of the actions of every day; that indeed which the Ferrarese ambassador in reporting on her qualities to the Duke found especially to praise in Lucrezia was her Catholic bearing. By this nothing else was intended than a mere tribute of praise to the public deportment of the princess in religious matters; there was no question here of internal or spiritual religion. The greatest sinners and malefactors were, and even are, in Italy at the present time, the most faithful observers of the

ordinances of the Catholic Church; and in such observance there is no ground for imputation of hypocrisy; that would presuppose an independence of thought, of judgment, in religious matters which really did not, and does not, exist among the Italians. They followed, and still follow, the prescriptions of the Church with regularity, precisely as civilised people observe the ordinary rules in social life, because they are matters of prescription, tradition, and convention which no well-bred people should omit or transgress.

One may well imagine that the first moral or immoral impressions made on the conscience of Lucrezia Borgia were of a confusing character. Her mother's husband was not her father. She was called the niece of a cardinal, and she must have soon learnt that he was her father and a prince of the Church at the same time; she would hear also of other cardinals surrounded by families; soon become aware that they were the produce of unhallowed amours, and find the Vatican itself swarming with papal children and grandchildren. As she grew up day after day some scandalous rumour of crime would reach her from the outer world in which luxury, profligacy, and crime reigned in triumphant union. When she was nine years old her father, the Cardinal, then fifty-eight years of age, contracted another adulterous alliance of a still more surprising character than any of those for which he had hitherto been notorious.

In May 1489 the young and bright-haired Giulia Farnese, styled *La Bella* on account of her beauty, then fifteen years of age, was married in the very palace of the Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia to the young Ursinus Orsini, the son of Adriana de Mila, the very lady under whose care Lucrezia was being brought up. Two years later Giulia was the declared mistress of the Cardinal, and her mother-in-law countenanced the adulterous connexion; and in reward for her complaisance remained, as we have said, until the death of the Pope, the most influential personage in the house of Borgia; and it is to this adulterous connexion that the house of Farnese owes the origin of its greatness.

From an early age Lucrezia's hand was the toy of her parent's ambition. When she was eleven years of age her father, then only a cardinal, thought himself fortunate in being able to betroth his bastard daughter to a Spanish nobleman, Don Cherubin Juan da Centelles, brother of the Count of Oliva. Hardly, however, was this betrothal arranged, when the Cardinal concluded another match for her with another Spaniard—Don Gasparo, Count of Aversa; so that Lucrezia

was at the same time the betrothed of two young Spaniards. Neither betrothal, however, came to marriage. A year later Innocent VIII. died, Cardinal Borgia became Pope Alexander VI., and a yet more brilliant match became possible for the daughter of the new Pope.

One can imagine with what anxiety the Pope's former mistress, Vanozza, now fifty years of age, Lucrezia, her daughter, Madonna Adriana, and Giulia Farnese, awaited the results of the conclave which ended in the election of Alexander VI., and with what prayers they must have besieged the Virgin and all the saints. Borgia, in fact, carried the day because he had the most bribes to offer, both in the way of promises and ready money. The main instrument in deciding the vote in his favour was the Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the brother of Ludovico il Moro, the Duke of Milan, who received for his service the government of the town of Nepi, the office of Vice-Chancellor, and the gift of the Borgia Palace, to which asses laden with silver conveyed a goodly sum of ready money on the eve of the election. In Milan, the elevation of the Pope was celebrated with public rejoicings, as it secured the alliance of the Papacy and the Sforza. In Venice and other parts of Italy, on the contrary, the news was received with the most vehement indignation; and the Venetian ambassador declared in Milan immediately after the election that the holy tiara had been purchased by simony and with a thousand villanies; and that the Signoria of Venice was convinced that France and Spain would refuse their obedience as soon as they became aware of what had happened.

In Rome, however, the coronation of the new Pope was celebrated with extravagant pomp, and chroniclers had not words enough to celebrate the splendours of the ceremonies, nor the imposing presence and bearing of Alexander VI. Alexander the Great, according to one of them, must have looked just so in his hour of triumph—he must have had the same mild composure in his mien—the same faultless nobility of aspect—the same liberality of look: in fact, the elevation of a bloodstained profligate was celebrated all over Rome as a sort of earthly apotheosis. At the festival of his coronation the Pope named his second son, Caesar, then sixteen years of age, Bishop of Valencia, and soon afterwards the Vatican became still more crowded with Spanish faces than it was in the days of Callixtus III.

From the ranks of his relatives and connexions, on whom Alexander showered all the favours at his disposal, Lucrezia was not likely long to be absent. Ludovico il Moro and Ascanio,

in order to draw still closer together the bonds of alliance between themselves and the Papacy, proposed to the Pope one of their relatives, Giovanni Sforza, Count of Cotognola, and vicar of the Church at Pesaro, as a husband for his favourite daughter. So slight a matter as a betrothal could not stand seriously in the way of Alexander, and the Sforza marriage was, after some opposition on the part of Don Gasparo, concluded.

At the time of this marriage Lucrezia was between thirteen and fourteen years of age. A palace was provided for her and her husband close to the Vatican, in which Madonna Adriana still continued to be Lucrezia's chief lady of honour, and where she was soon joined by Giulia Farnese, who bore children to the Pope in the house of his own daughter.

But Italian diplomacy in those days was a sort of Penelope's web which was being woven and unwoven daily. The alliance between the Papacy and the Sforzas had been arranged against the Aragonese dynasty of Naples, which province was then a fief of the Church. Frightened at this coalition, and having intelligence also of the intended expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, whose main end was to wrest the throne of Naples from the house of Aragon, the Neapolitan princes were lavish in offers of alliance to Alexander VI., to detach him from the league of their enemies; and they succeeded. The first fruit of the alliance between Alexander VI. and the King of Naples was the marriage of Gioffredo Borgia, his youngest son by Vanozza, with a daughter of Alfonso. Gioffredo was created Prince of Squillace. The husband of Lucrezia, who naturally watched eagerly any sign of change in the Papal policy, began to grow uneasy about his own position and security, and to look round on all sides for assistance.

In the beginning of September 1494, Charles VIII. of France entered Piedmont. He reached Florence in November, and his army swept unresistedly through the patrimony of the Church: the advance of his troops was so rapid that they surprised Madonna Adriana and Madonna Giulia, the mistress of the Pope, with her sister: all three ladies had been on a visit to Lucrezia Borgia at Pesaro, and thus fell into the hands of the Pope's enemies as they were returning home. This event made a great sensation throughout all Italy. Nevertheless Charles VIII., notwithstanding the recent and present hostile attitude of the Pope, being unwilling to press his advantage to extremity, had the ladies liberated and conducted to Rome. The Pope received them, we are told, as they entered Rome, 'clad in a black doublet edged with gold brocade, with a

‘girdle round his waist of the Spanish fashion (the *faja*), in which were stuck a sword and dagger. He had Spanish boots and a velvet cap—quite *galant*.’

The Pope succeeded so far in cajoling Charles VIII., that the French king, instead of calling a council together to sit in judgment on the profligate Pope, and decapitating him, as some anticipated, fell on his knees before the old monster and recognised him as the head of the Church. Charles continued his triumphant march to Naples, and took possession of the throne, when he found that his allies, the Sforzas, jealous of his success in the north, had deserted him and joined in a general league formed against him by the princes of Italy; and he had to fight his way back to the Alps. This change of policy on the part of the Sforzas reconciled the Pope for a time with the husband of Lucrezia. However, the house of Aragon, after the retreat of the French, seemed to grow again in strength as the fortunes of the Sforzas declined, and Alexander resolved at length irrevocably to put an end to the marriage of Giovanni Sforza with his daughter. Sforza was asked quietly at first to allow his union with Lucrezia to be dissolved without opposition, but he refused. He soon, however, got wind that arrangements were being made for taking away his life by violence, and he escaped from Rome. According to a chronicler of Pesaro, it was Lucrezia herself who found means to warn him of his danger. The escape of Sforza was regarded by the Pope and his son Cæsar as extremely inconvenient. The assassination of the man was the simplest and most quiet way of dissolving the marriage, and now they were driven to the round-about proceeding of a sham trial, which would necessarily entail some delay, together with much scandal. Nevertheless, the matter was managed at last. Sforza, unwilling to try to the utmost the patience of his terrible father-in-law, as well as of his terrible brother-in-law, Cæsar, who though but a stripling had already shown that his dagger was as dangerous as the claw of a tiger, consented at last to make no opposition to an action for divorce; and although he had had children by a first, as he had afterwards by a third marriage, confessed under his hand and seal that his marriage was a nullity, and the sentence of divorce was passed on December 20, 1497. The scandal of this divorce was naturally great throughout Italy, but this scandal was infinitely increased by the tragic and horrible event which followed it a few months later.

The ambition of Cæsar Borgia had been incessantly increasing ever since his father had donned the papal tiara. He loathed the priestly robe and profession to which as a younger

brother he had been condemned, and as he regarded his brother the Duke of Gandia, who had been made Gonfaloniere of the Church and loaded with other secular honours and dignities, as an impediment in his way, he determined to get rid of him. The occasion for Cæsar to execute his murderous project was not long in occurring. On the evening of the 14th day of June, 1498, Cæsar Borgia and the Duke of Gandia supped with their mother Vanozza, near the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli. They started to return home late together, and the Duke was never again seen alive. Three days later his body was found in the Tiber pierced with nine wounds, and that Cæsar was his real assassin there can be no serious doubt.

The divorce of Lucrezia followed so quickly as it was by the murder of her brother the Duke of Gandia, naturally caused all the scandal-loving world of Italy to discuss the Borgias. One of the worst charges against Lucrezia and her father may in fact be traced to Lucrezia's divorced husband Giovanni Sforza at this time. Sforza, in his rage and indignation, wrote to the Ferrarese ambassador some months before the divorce, that his Holiness the Pope was taking his daughter away from him to have her still more completely in his own power. However, this accusation of Sforza's is in great part refuted by the rapidity with which the succeeding marriage of Lucrezia was arranged, and there can be little doubt that the divorce had been obtained for political purposes alone, and with a view to contracting an alliance with the house of Aragon at Naples.

The Aragonese dynasty, which had established itself at Naples after the retreat of the army of Charles VIII., was however again tottering to its fall, and even before the murder of the Duke of Gandia the Pope had been scheming to place his son Cæsar on the throne. This murder, which removed Cæsar's nearest rival in the good graces of his father, brought the Pope's second son at once much closer to the various objects of his ambition. It made, however, no change in the plans of the Pope, who, notwithstanding his grief at the death of his eldest son, never displayed any resentment against the fratricide; he probably, in spite of his own affliction, thought his son Cæsar had but behaved in accordance with natural instincts and according to the morals of the time, and that all paternal remonstrance would be scoffed at as vain sentimentality.

Consequently, even before Cæsar with some show of decency had put off the cardinal's robe, the Pope made proposals to King Federigo for the hand of his daughter in favour of the

fratricidal Cæsar. Neither the King of Naples, however, nor his daughter could overcome the horror inspired by such a proposition, and it was refused. One sacrifice, however, to the Moloch of the Vatican the king was induced to make; he consented to the marriage of the younger brother of Donna Sancia, the illegitimate son of Alfonso II., who was styled the Duke of Biselli, with the divorced Lucrezia Borgia. The Pope had hit upon this project as an advance towards the other and yet closer alliance which he still coveted. This ill-fated marriage was solemnised at the Vatican on July 21, 1498. Lucrezia was then eighteen years of age, while her new husband, who was as beautiful as Antinous, was a year younger.

This marriage lasted a little more than two years, and came to an end on August 18th, 1500, by the assassination of the young prince in his nineteenth year. There is little doubt that Cæsar Borgia was the author likewise of this crime—'*is fecit cui prodest*,' says the old rule, and Cæsar Borgia, and he alone, was to profit by it. Cæsar's political situation as respects Naples had changed rapidly after the marriage of Lucrezia with Alfonso. Louis XII. had succeeded to Charles VIII. on the throne of France, and resumed the project of his predecessor of acquiring the crown of Naples. With this view he formed alliances with various princes of Italy, and especially with Cæsar Borgia, whom he invited to his court, and to whom he offered the dukedom of Valentinois and the hand of Charlotte d' Albret, sister of the King of Navarre. The marriage took place in 1499. The King of France undertook to forward the projects of Cæsar Borgia for the conquest of the Romagna, that traditional object of cupidity, as we have said, of papal relatives, while Cæsar Borgia undertook on his side to aid the French king in possessing himself of the Neapolitan throne, as well as in overthrowing the Sforza family at Milan, which the French had made a kindred object of policy in revenge for the treachery of Ludovico il Moro.

Ascanio Sforza, who had been the chief instrument in procuring the Papacy for Alexander, and up to this time had lived in Rome in friendly relations with the Borgias, perceived his danger and fled from Rome. Following his advice and example, the unfortunate Neapolitan prince, the husband of Lucrezia Borgia, fled likewise, leaving his young wife behind him in the sixth month of her pregnancy. Lucrezia Borgia, we read in a letter of the time, was continually in tears after the departure of her young husband, and this is the only proof we have that her heart was ever touched by any of the princes to whom she was successively betrothed or married,

or indeed by any lover at all. Alfonso, who had retired to Genezzano, wrote to her urgent entreaties to follow him; the letter fell into the hands of the Pope. The Pope, who had sent a troop of horse in vain pursuit of his son-in-law as soon as he had news of his departure, forced his daughter to write to Alfonso praying him to return; meanwhile, to get rid of Lucrezia's lamentations and reproaches, he made her, then a girl of nineteen, Regent of Spoleto and despatched her away from Rome. The unfortunate Alfonso, between whom and Lucrezia there probably did exist some real affection, was enticed back by his wife's letter; he joined her at Spoleto, and from thence returned with her through Nepi, of which town Lucrezia was also regent, to Rome.

Peace was then made for a time for the young couple, for Cæsar Borgia was absent; but meanwhile the political situation was fast ripening to that condition in which the young prince's death was considered by the ruthless adventurer indispensable. Alfonso was now as useless for Cæsar's ambitious purposes as Giovanni Sforza had once been, and he determined to get rid of him in order to provide for his sister a husband whose alliance would be of more real advantage. Nevertheless some months passed before the catastrophe occurred. Louis XII. entered Milan in October 1499, and Cæsar up to July was occupied in reducing one by one the chiefs of the district of Romagna, and the Pope on his side was carrying on war against the heads of the Roman nobility.

At length Cæsar could wait no longer. As Lucrezia had had a child by her marriage with Alfonso, no such pretext as had been contrived in the case of the marriage with Giovanni Sforza was available for bringing about a dissolution; nothing remained but violence. A first attempt at assassination was made on the young prince as he was going to the Vatican to see his wife, who was then sitting with the Pope; a band of men in masks fell upon him with daggers as he ascended the steps of the palace. Alfonso, struck with several wounds, escaped to the Pope's presence, where at sight of him Lucrezia sank fainting to the ground. This time the Pope himself was indignant; he had the wounded prince carried to a room in the Vatican, and absolution was given to him by a cardinal. Owing, however, to the strength of youth and to the unremitting care of his wife and sister-in-law Donna Sancia, the wife of Gioffredo, the young duke was on the way to recovery, when, after waiting for about thirty days and losing all patience, Cæsar Borgia entered the sick man's room, about nine o'clock in the evening, made some excuse for causing Lucrezia and



Donna Sancia to retire, and had his victim strangled by Michelletto, one of his captains and his habitual executioner. Close upon the assassination of the Alfonso of Naples negotiations were entered upon for marrying Lucrezia to another Alfonso, Alfonso of Este, the son and heir-apparent of the reigning Duke Ercole, by whose assistance Cæsar Borgia hoped to become secure of his dominion now established in Romagna, and to whom also he might look for aid in his further plans of conquest over Florence and Bologna.

Both the Duke of Ferrara and his son looked on the proposed alliance with horror, and it was necessary to set in action a most complicated network of diplomacy in order to accomplish the wished-for end. The influence of the King of France was the most decisive element in the matter, and the marriage contract was signed precisely a year after the assassination of the unfortunate Alfonso Duke of Biselli, though Lucrezia did not enter Ferrara in all the pomp of a bride until February 2, 1502.

Lucrezia Borgia was then only twenty-two years of age, and since she continued ever after to live at Ferrara, and all testimony is uniform that, both before she became Duchess of Ferrara and afterwards, her life was free from the abominable vices and crimes of which history has made her as it were the incarnation, those who would clear her memory from the foul charges which have blackened it, must confine their attention chiefly to the Roman period, and endeavour to prove that she kept her life comparatively pure amid the horrid orgies of the Rome of the Borgias. It is very difficult even to imagine that such should be the case, and yet her defenders make out a much better case for her than could be anticipated. Lucrezia, as we have seen, was early removed from the care of her mother and placed under that of Madonna Adriana, till she was thirteen years of age, when she was married to Giovanni Sforza; after which Lucrezia had an establishment of her own in the neighbourhood of the Vatican, in the Palace Santa Maria in Porticu, and thither Adriana accompanied and remained as her chief lady of honour. Not long after Donna Sancia, the young and beautiful wife of her brother Gioffredo, came to inhabit Rome, and lived in a palace in the quarter of Sant' Angelo.

It was not likely that these three young and beautiful women, one of whom, and perhaps the most beautiful, was mistress of an old man of sixty-two, who was also the most sacred dignitary of her religion, would lead the lives of nuns or recluses. On the contrary their palaces resounded with

music and dancing, with banqueting and masquerading; and they caused amazement as they passed in splendid cavalcades through the streets of Rome, followed by swarms of Italian and Spanish cavaliers. One cannot doubt that in such a society there was a great deal of love-making going on, and that sometimes of the most forbidden and unholy character. Public report said that the Duke of Gandia and Cæsar Borgia were rivals for the favours of their sister-in-law Donna Sancia. That Lucrezia Borgia kept herself unstained in such society, and in such a hotbed of vice as Rome then was, no one will believe. It was reported, indeed, that she had an illegitimate child within a year after her separation from Giovanni Sforza; and this is very probable. The question, however, is, was she such a beautiful Menad of crime as the worst accounts of her have portrayed? Was she habitually guilty not only of licentious conduct and of assassination by the dagger and the poison-bowl, but also of crimes so repugnant to human nature that they cannot be mentioned?

It is here noticeable that all the most monstrous accusations brought against Lucrezia deal with the time of her residence at Rome, and the chief authors of this accusation are Sannazaro, the Italian poet, Pontanus, Matarazzo, Marcus Attilius Alexius, Petrus Martyr, Burkard, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini. But in contrast with their testimony must be considered the evidence of those who attest to the virtuousness of the life of Lucrezia during the period that she was Duchess of Ferrara, and who form as imposing a body as those above; such as the Strozzi, Bembo, Aldus Manutius, Ariosto, and the chroniclers of Ferrara.

Of all those, however, who are cited as authorities for the truth of scandals afloat about Lucrezia during the Roman period of her life, no one of them was a resident of Rome, or can be regarded as an actual witness of the facts, with the exception of Burkard. Her gravest accuser, Guicciardini, derived his facts chiefly from the satires of Sannazaro and Pontanus, and both these poets lived in Naples and were devoted to the Aragonese dynasty, who were brought to ruin by the Borgias. Burkard, however, not only lived at Rome, but he was the master of ceremonies at the Papal Court, and consequently was a witness of most of the scenes he describes. Nothing more strange was ever written than the Diary of this Alsatian prelate: the most atrocious murder, the fratricide of the Duke of Gandia, is chronicled by him in the same calm fashion as a wedding or a christening. No trace of an emotion of joy, or sorrow, or horror, is to be found in his Diary; hence

for all that he saw with his own eyes he may be trusted—such a man was most probably as incapable of invention as of hatred. Catholic writers have used all their diligence to upset the authority of this chronicle of Burkard, but in vain. The chronicle has been accused of interpolations, and Burkard of mendacity, but both accusations are probably groundless; and in fact Burkard has been silent in his journal about many of the worst crimes of the Borgias, and about numerous incidents testifying to the habitual corruption of the Papal Court. One scene, however, he gives in his Diary, which, if true, places Lucrezia Borgia among the most abandoned of women. Burkard, in these pages, gives a description of an infamous orgy held in the Vatican on the eve of Lucrezia's marriage with Alfonso d'Este, in which the most abandoned women and men of Rome were invited to participate by the Pope, Cæsar Borgia, and his sister. According to this account it would seem that Lucrezia took leave of her licentious life at Rome in a family fête, in which the foulest abominations of the Borgias and of the time were put in practice.

This passage has been suspected of being an interpolation, but apparently without grounds; report of a similar bestial orgy is to be found in other writers, in Matarazzo of Perugia for example. At the same time the story of this orgy is beset with great improbabilities: however cynical and abandoned Alexander VI. may have been, it is almost impossible to imagine that he would have been present at such an orgy on the eve of the wedding of his daughter which he had prepared at the cost of such pains and difficulty, and that moreover he should have permitted his daughter to accompany him. There were three brothers of the bridegroom present in Rome with their suites; there were the envoys of Ferrara and of Mantua, instructed to give reports of everything connected with the wedding. Some of their reports are still extant, but neither in these nor in any other way does any notice of such a scandalous scene ever seem to have reached the ears of the Duke of Ferrara; and the most probable solution appears to be that Cæsar Borgia may have given some banquet of a scandalous nature, that this was embellished and amplified by popular rumour, and that Burkard in his Diary merely wrote down an account of what had reached his ears by public report. However, even this explanation subjects Lucrezia to the unpleasant surmise that the worthy Alsatian prelate, who must have known her well, did not see anything incongruous or improbable in her taking part in, or being witness of, such a scene.

But it is one thing to believe it to be possible that Lu-

crezia Borgia may have practised gross immorality during her Roman life, and another to accuse her of unnatural vices and of being an habitual murderess. The balance of probability is in favour of there being no truth in these last accusations; the report that her father was her lover has been traced to her injured and divorced husband Giovanni Sforza, and the reports of her horrible loves with the Duke of Gandia and with her brother Cæsar rest also on still vaguer and more suspicious authority; and as for murder and assassination, no specific charge of any kind has ever been brought against her. It is intelligible enough, however, that both the Duke of Ferrara and his son should have been shocked at the notion of a matrimonial union with a child of the house of Borgia, who had Pope Alexander VI. for a father. Although they might believe none of the horrible scandals publicly reported of Lucrezia, yet any alliance with the Borgias at all might well be regarded with horror. The opposition of the reigning Duke was overcome by two main considerations—the importance of preserving the goodwill of the king of France, and of conciliating to himself the friendship of Cæsar Borgia. Cæsar Borgia was at this time, by the energetic pursuit of a policy compounded of intrigue, treachery, violence, crime, and military skill, proceeding rapidly in his ambitious aim of founding for himself a kingdom in central Italy. One by one the small princes of Forlì, Faenza, Imola, Pesaro, Rimini, and other places, fell before him; some betook themselves to flight, some, like Astorre Manfredi of Faenza Sforza and Caterina of Forlì, were imprisoned, and were either subsequently assassinated or lived in fear of assassination.

It was not, however, till a year after the marriage was really solemnised that Cæsar Borgia committed a master-stroke of murder and treachery which drew a rapturous cry of admiration from Machiavelli himself. Vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto, Orsini, Gravina, his chief captains, men themselves odious for cruelties and massacres committed in his service, revolted and brought him near to his ruin. With the subtle fascination of a serpent Cæsar drew them with hopes of further reward to his fortress of Sinigaglia, to banquets of reconciliation. They came, were received graciously at the door by Cæsar himself, and then one by one were passed into his oratory and strangled. His father made a mock of the fate of the murdered men. ‘God,’ he said, ‘had punished them for trusting to the Duke of Valentinois after having sworn that they never would do so.’ One of the most comic as well as characteristic incidents of this tragedy was that Vitellozzo Vitelli, with the rope

about his neck, begged of his executioner to ask the Pope to grant him plenary indulgence for all his sins.

A young man so determined to succeed in all he undertook, and executing it so cleverly, must needs be an invaluable ally for any prince of the time. Louis XII. consequently took great interest in the project which Cæsar had so much at heart—the marriage of his sister Lucrezia to Alfonso of Este. The Duke of Ferrara was therefore the object of frequent representations on the part of the French envoys of the desirableness of the union; and these representations, backed by the persuasive awe inspired by the terrible Cæsar, induced the Duke at last to say he would consent to the marriage provided he could arrange the terms of it with the Pope. The terms indeed which he demanded were enormous, and he insisted upon their performance with such strictness that the Pope was stung into calling him a ‘mercante,’ at which the Duke was annoyed. All points were, however, ultimately conceded by the Pope, and the marriage went off smoothly enough.

Lucrezia, as soon as the marriage was arranged, was impatient to leave Rome, which she told the envoy of Ferrara seemed to her like a prison. This impatience and this sentiment were indeed honourable to her; but they were also both natural and politic, and she acquired the esteem and friendship of the Duke of Ferrara by the tact and zeal which she displayed in getting the Pope her father to comply with all his demands and in hastening the time of their fulfilment. After all difficulties in the way of provision on both sides were arranged, the cavalcade of honour advanced from Ferrara, and another was prepared at Rome to conduct the princess to Ferrara, and this in those days of pomp and parade was a serious matter, requiring reflection and preparation. Not less serious was the preparation of the wardrobe of the bride and her array of jewellery, all of which were provided on as great a scale of magnificence as though she had been a king’s daughter. The arrival of the Ferrarese cavalcade of honour in Rome, the scenes of festivity which followed, and the departure of Lucrezia for Ferrara, convoyed by the Roman and Ferrarese cavalcades of honour, form the most gorgeous episode in the way of spectacle of the whole papacy of Alexander, and was the apogee of glory of the Borgia family. The dowry of the bride consisted of three hundred thousand gold ducats, without reckoning the presents which she was to receive on all sides—silver plate to the amount of three thousand ducats, besides jewels, fine linen, and costly ornaments for mules and horses,

all amounting to another hundred thousand. Among other things she had an embroidered robe worth fifteen thousand ducats; two hundred costly chemises, of which every one was worth a hundred ducats; every sleeve of them, with its gold fringe, &c., was worth thirty ducats.

The future sister-in-law of Lucrezia, Isabella of Gonzaga, who kept an agent at Rome whose chief business appears to have been considered to be that of keeping up a regular *journal de modes*, in order that his mistress might be *au courant* with all changes in matters of dress at Rome, wrote to Mantua that a single dress of Lucrezia's was worth twenty thousand ducats, and a single hat had been valued at ten thousand. 'More gold work,' he wrote, 'has been done at Rome and Naples in six months than at other times in two years.' Besides this she brought as a dowry to the state of Ferrara two fortified places, Cento and Pieve, and the exemption of Ferrara from tribute to the Papacy. The number of horses and attendants which the Pope appointed to attend his daughter amounted to more than a thousand, with more than two hundred waggons, and to these were to be added the escort which was to come from Ferrara.

The Ferrarese cavalcade entered the gates of Rome at last on December 23rd. They were met at the Ponte Molle by the senators and authorities of Rome, and a company of two thousand followers on foot and on horseback, and further on by the cavalcade of Cæsar Borgia, with his six pages and two hundred nobles on horseback, two hundred Swiss on foot, and followers to the amount of four thousand. At the city gate nineteen cardinals received them, each of whom had attendants with him to the number of two hundred. After two hours' speechifying the whole body moved on to the Vatican, under a salute of cannon from the castle of Sant' Angelo, and were received by the Pope and by Lucrezia. On the very same evening the envoy of Ferrara, Giovanni Luca Pozzi, despatched a missive to his sovereign giving an account of the impression produced upon him by Lucrezia Borgia, which is of capital importance among the few documents which enable us to form a judgment of the moral character and bearing of Lucrezia. After praising the discretion and charm of her conversation, the envoy writes:—

'She shows perfect grace in all she does, and a charming and sincere modesty of manner; she is also a good Catholic, shows fear of God, and avows an intention of receiving the Communion the day of the Nativity of our Lord. Her beauty is sufficient in itself, but her graceful movement, bearing, and way of walking increase it and make it

seem greater. In conclusion, she seems to possess such qualities that *one ought not and could not suspect anything sinister from her.*

This last sentence is especially remarkable. No envoy, unless he had been enjoined to do so, or unless very sinister reports were current in public rumour about her, would have ventured to make use of such an expression of negative praise, that it seemed to him 'nothing sinister was to be expected from her' ('*Che di lei non si debba ne possa sospicarsi alcuna cosa sinistra*'). Had the envoy hints from his master that he would stand in daily fear, when his daughter-in-law had entered the palace of Ferrara, of the *cantarella* of the Borgias, a powder as deadly as the essences of Locusta or the *poudre de succession* of La Voisin? It would seem that something of the kind must have passed, or Pozzi would never have dared to insert a phrase which was evidently intended to reassure his sovereign and his son, who, it may be imagined, had suffered terribly in imagination at the thought of taking a Borgia into the family.

To form to one's self any picture of the state in which Lucrezia left Rome and travelled by short stages in the month of January 1502 to Ferrara, one must call to mind the coronation scene in the 'Prophète,' or some other of the most gorgeous processions of the modern opera, with all the performers mounted on horseback. The time was the very height of the Renaissance, when the artistic sense was general in the people, and the love of show and splendour universal. Every dress and equipage was such as an artist might have designed, and the displays of colour and of gold and jewellery indescribably gorgeous. When Lucrezia departed from the Porta del Popolo, all the cardinals, ambassadors, and magistrates of Rome accompanied her for a short distance. The bride rode on a white ambling horse bridled with gold, in a travelling dress of red silk trimmed with ermine; she had a hat with a plume on her head, and the procession which accompanied her consisted of more than one thousand persons. Close to her rode the princes of Ferrara, the brothers of the bridegroom, and the Cardinal Cosenza. Her brother Cæsar accompanied her for a short distance and then turned back to the Vatican, accompanied by the Cardinal Hippolito, also a brother of the bridegroom.

The state entrance of Lucrezia into Ferrara was, however, a still more imposing part of the show. The town swarmed with thousands of guests and strangers come to witness the solemnities. The Duke himself had been occupied for weeks in making arrangements for the reception of the guests he had invited, and in providing stores for their refreshment. Envoys

from all the chief towns of Italy and from its princes, and from the King of France, were all lodged in different palaces in the town. The procession of state entry began at two o'clock in the afternoon, and it was evening before the palace of the Estes was reached. It opened with a body of mounted archers in white and red, the colours of the house of Este, followed by eight trumpeters and a number of pipers; then came the nobles of Ferrara and the nobles of the courts of Urbino and Mantua; then rode Alfonso, surrounded by pages, and followed by mounted courtiers; then followed the cavalcade of Lucrezia, in the middle of which she herself rode, in all her pride and beauty, on a white horse caparisoned with scarlet; a purple baldachino was held over her head in turns by the doctors and professors of the colleges of Ferrara; masters of the horse accompanied her on both sides. The bride herself was clothed in a dress of black velvet with wide sleeves and fine gold trimmings, in a mantle of gold brocade fringed with ermine. Her fair hair hung down on her shoulders, her head had upon it a net sparkling with gold and diamonds, and a chain of huge pearls and rubies coiled round her neck. The ambassador of France rode outside the baldachino on her left side, as though it were he who conducted her into the palace. Behind Lucrezia came the Duke of Ferrara himself in black velvet on a dark steed caparisoned with black velvet; at his side rode the Duchess of Urbino, clad in a black velvet robe. After a crowd of other nobles, princes of the house of Este, gala-carts filled with court ladies, the procession wound up with eighty-six mules, which bore the wardrobe and treasures of the bride. 'As all this long baggage-train,' says Herr Gregorovius, 'swept through the street, the good Ferrarese might say to themselves that she was a rich bride which Alfonso had chosen, but few could render account to themselves that all these bales, and trunks, and coffers, dragged along the streets with such ostentatious splendour, contained the lavished wealth of Christendom, laid under contribution.' The marriage festivities were kept up for six days—banquets, balls, and theatrical performances succeeded each other day by day, and the guests amused themselves so well that some of them, especially those from Rome, overstayed their welcome, and the Duke became extremely impatient to get rid of them, as his supplies of provisions began to get exhausted.

The marriage of Lucrezia Borgia took place by no means too soon for her good fortune. For the Pope, her father, died in August in the next year, and she had thus barely eighteen months to secure herself in her new position. This, however,



she had effectually done. There can be little doubt, independently of all other considerations, that she must have looked forward to the death of her father with great apprehension, when one considers that her first husband was still alive, and that a new pope might well have declared her divorce from him to have been illegal; and the Duke of Ferrara and his son might very well too have seized the occasion to get rid of a woman, an alliance with whom they might well have held to be disgraceful, and which they had both at first contemplated with horror.

If Lucrezia had entertained any such forebodings on the death of her father, what dismay must she not have felt when she heard that her brother Cæsar, whose increasing power had formed another such important feature in the considerations which had brought about her marriage, was also on the point of death.

The legend, as is well known, runs that the Pope and his son had prepared a banquet in which they intended to poison off five cardinals, but that by mistake they drank themselves of the poison intended for their enemies. The story seems too apposite to be true; but, at any rate, the nearly mortal illness of Cæsar at the period of his father's death upset all his plans. 'The Duke of Valentino,' writes Machiavelli, 'told me at the time of the election of Julius II., that he had reflected on every thing which could happen on the death of his father, and had provided against everything except that he had never imagined that it might be possible that he himself might be on the point of death at the time' ('*Eccetto che non pensò mai in sulla sua morte, di stare ancor lui per morire*').

We find in this volume a curious letter from the Duke of Mantua to his wife respecting the death of Alexander VI., which collects some of the popular rumours and proves that the Duke himself was as credulous as the most ignorant of his subjects:—

'Most illustrious lady, our dearest wife. In order that your excellency may be as well informed as ourselves of the departure of the Pope Alexander VI., we relate as follows: when he became ill he began to talk in a way that those who did not understand his thoughts imagined that he was wandering, when in fact he was talking in full consciousness: his words were:—"I am coming, it is right, wait a little." Those who understood his secret explained it thus: that when he was in conclave, after the death of Innocent, he made a pact with the devil and purchased the Papacy with the price of his soul, and among other articles of the agreement it was stipulated that he should occupy the seat twelve years, and this he enjoyed with an addition of four days. Some affirm, too, that at the moment at which he gave up

the ghost seven devils appeared in his room. As soon as he was dead his body began to ferment, and his mouth to foam like a kettle over the fire, and so it continued to do as long as he was above ground; he became so swollen that he was no longer of human form, and his breadth was as great as his length; he was carried to his grave with small ceremony. A porter dragged him from off his bed with a rope tied to his foot, and so to the place of his burial.'

Though the burial of the deceased pope was not conducted exactly after the fashion narrated by the Duke of Mantua, yet there was not much more ceremony and decency displayed in it. As for Cæsar, a popular legend, romantic as an ancient myth, reports that when he found himself writhing under the internal torture of the corrosive poison he had swallowed, he ordered a bull to be slain and cut open, had himself enclosed in the reeking carcass, and derived a new life from this horrible bath of blood; he came out cured of the effects of the poison, but striped on his body like a tiger.

The danger he was in was great; the partisans of the Borgias were openly assassinated in the streets of Rome, and the whole of the Romagna at once rose against him. Cæsar met his disasters with a proud face. He fortified himself for a while in the castle of Sant' Angelo, negotiated with the conclave, forced the disclosure of the treasures of his father from the cardinal-treasurer by holding a dagger to his throat, and made his conditions first with Pius III., who died almost as soon as elected, and then with Julius II. Julius II., however, having made what use he could of Cæsar to obtain the Papacy, soon put him aside, and Cæsar threw himself into the arms of Spain. The widow of his brother, the Duke of Gandia, was there on the watch for him, eager to revenge her murdered husband, and Cæsar was arrested. He was passed over to Spain and confined in one castle after another, and finally in the citadel of Medina del Campo. Lucrezia his sister, and even the Duke and Duchess of Mantua, made many applications to the King of Spain for his liberation. But neither the Pope nor any other of the princes of Italy wished for his release and return. His courage and ability, his restless intriguing spirit, excited suspicion and fear in all quarters, and his presence in the peninsula would have been the signal for fresh war and revolution. He contrived, however, to escape from prison, and to join his brother-in-law, the King of Navarré, on an expedition against a rebellious baron at Pampeluna; and there he fell fighting bravely. A strange caprice of fortune, to terminate the life of Cæsar Borgia by an honourable death!

Lucrezia may well have felt many pangs and fears as the fortunes of the house of Borgia were going to ruin. Nevertheless, she had played her part so well, and ingratiated herself so much with the various members of the house of Este and with the people, that her position was not shaken by these family disasters. She had, as we have said, displayed considerable activity in order to procure the release of her brother Cæsar; but she may have used her influence in his behalf from motives of self-interest, unwilling that the most considerable member of her family should perish, and leave her as the last Borgia in a conspicuous position; for it is difficult to imagine that she could have felt much affection for the murderer of her husband the Duke of Biselli, the only person to whom she appears to have been really attached. There is no record of the way in which Lucrezia took leave of her mother at Rome, or even of her legitimate son Rodrigo Federigo; but if she possessed anything like a mother's heart in her breast she must have been much affected by the news which reached her from time to time of the unprotected state of her boy, the son of her murdered husband, who, after passing from the hands of one distant relative to those of another, died in his thirteenth year in 1512. Of the illegitimate son she is said to have had history makes no mention. With her mother Vanozza she held occasional correspondence. Vanozza naturally also, on the death of Alexander VI., and on the downfall of her son Cæsar and the dispersion of her kindred, became anxious for her own possessions, to the greater part of which it is intelligible she could not show the best title. She had a good many panics on this account to undergo, as records manifest, and a good many more, we may be sure, about which record is silent. The lonely woman sought for assistance on all sides, and among other letters of supplication she addressed some in very humble language to her daughter the Duchess of Ferrara. The succeeding popes, however, of the Rovere and the Medici family preserved the old woman scatheless in her possessions. None would set an example of severity; and it seems to be a maxim of the popes to respect the illegitimate connexions and relatives of their predecessors, since they knew that their own mistresses and their children would in turn stand in need of a similar forbearance. She died in 1518 in the pontificate of Leo X., and was buried in Santa Maria in Popolo, with nearly as much pomp as a cardinal. She had of course betaken herself to religious exercises in the latter part of the life, and gave much money and goods to the Church and

to religious corporations. Masses, it is good to know, were said for the soul of this sinful old lady for more than 200 years after her decease.

Lucrezia Borgia became herself Duchess of Ferrara on January 25th, 1505. All accounts unite in testifying to the grace, tact, and cleverness with which she fulfilled the duties of her almost royal dignity for the fourteen years during which she reigned in Ferrara down to the time of her death from the effects of childbirth in her thirty-ninth year, on June 28th, 1519. Her husband the Duke was a rough uncultivated man; slovenly in his dress, and with no taste for the fine arts. Such talents as he possessed were of a practical turn; he took great interest in the casting of artillery, and spent his leisure hours over a turning-lathe. The deficiency he showed in the taste for the elegancies of life was supplied by Lucrezia, whose taste and liberality and charm of manner won the good inclinations of all who approached her, and appear, during her lifetime at least, to have effaced the recollection of the scandals of her Roman adventures. Even the houses of the Gonzagas and the Rovere, who were allied to the house of Este, forgot the antipathy they had shown to the alliance of Alfonso with the notorious daughter of the ill-famed house of Borgia, and admitted her to terms of the friendliest intimacy. Her court was frequented by some of the most distinguished noblemen and artists and scholars of the Renaissance, with whom she carried on a lively personal and epistolary intercourse. Among the persons with whom she thus associated were Baldassar Castiglione, Aldus Manutius, Bembo, and the two Strozzi, Tito and Ercole, father and son. Her acquaintance with Bembo is that which has made the most noise in the world, in consequence of the letters and the lock of hair (supposed to be hers) which so many visitors have seen in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. That Lucrezia was on terms of great intimacy with Bembo there is no doubt, but it may be fairly questioned whether their intimacy was of any other character than such as the manners of the time permitted between an accomplished gentleman and scholar on the one side and an agreeable and cultivated princess on the other. The lock of hair has been supposed to be Lucrezia's merely because it was found with the letters. It is very possible, however, that the heart of Lucrezia may have felt something warmer than mere friendship for the handsome and accomplished courtier to whom her dull husband Alfonso formed such a striking contrast; at any rate she visited Bembo on one occasion when he was ill, and sent him many presents; and it is possible that the

jealousy of Alfonso was at last awakened, and this may be the cause why Bembo withdrew from the court of Ferrara and retired to that of Urbino.

The two Strozzi also addressed to her verses of an amatory cast, but not more so than the manners of the time permitted. Nevertheless, the murder of the younger Strozzi, who was assassinated in Ferrara on the eve of his intended marriage to a beautiful lady of Ferrara, has been made the occasion of casting suspicion on Lucrezia, while some have accused Alfonso himself of contriving the assassination from motives of double jealousy. Proof, however, is wanting in both cases.

The greatest poet, however, who has celebrated Lucrezia in his verse is Ariosto, being at this time in the service of the Cardinal Hippolito d' Este, her brother-in-law; perhaps he believed the duchess to have been innocent of the crimes laid to her charge; but Ariosto wrote with equal enthusiasm of his own patron, this same Cardinal d' Este, who began his infamous career by putting out his brother's eyes and ended by starving the poet himself.

‘La prima iscrizione ch’ agli occhi occorre,  
Con lungo onor Lucrezia Borgia noma,  
La cui bellezza ed onestà preporre  
Debbe all’ antiqua la su patria Roma.  
I duo che voluto han sopra se torre  
Tanto eccellente ed onorata soma,  
Noma lo scritto, Antonio Tibaldeo,  
Ercole Strozza; un Lino, ed uno Orfeo.’

The last years of the life of Lucrezia, which closed prematurely, were devoted to her children, of whom she had four, and to the alleviation of the sufferings of the people from the miseries brought upon them by war and famine. She too ended by following in the beaten track of ladies of questionable reputation in those and more recent times by becoming excessively devotional. The Duke of Mantua states, in a letter written just after her death, that she had worn hair-cloth next her skin for ten years, that she had confessed every day for the last two years, and that she had taken the Communion three or four times every week.

Two days before her death she addressed a pious letter to the Pope, which has been preserved.

‘Most holy Father, and my most blessed much to be honoured Lord,—With all possible reverence of mind I kiss the holy feet of your Beatitude, and humbly recommend myself to his holy favour. I have suffered much from a difficult pregnancy for two months; as it pleased God the 13th of the present month, in the morning, I had a

daughter, and I hoped after this that I should get better; but the contrary has occurred, so that I must yield to nature. Yet the power granted me by my Creator is so great that I recognise the end of my life, and I feel that in a few hours I shall be no more, after having received all the holy sacraments of the Church; and on this point as a Christian, albeit a sinful one, I have called to mind that I should supplicate your Holiness that you may, with your holy benediction, grant some relief from your spiritual treasures to my soul; and this I devoutly pray. And I recommend to your holy grace my Lord and Husband and all my sons, all servants of your Holiness. At Ferrara, the 22nd of June, 1519, the 14th hour. Of your Holiness the humble slave, LUCREZIA DA ESTE.'

Notwithstanding that Dosso Dossi, Garofalo, and other celebrated artists who lived and worked at the Court of Ferrara, took portraits of Lucrezia, and that Titian also painted her, no authentic portrait of this notorious woman is known to be in existence. There are, however, two medals from which an idea can be formed of her style of feature, and in them her physiognomy forms a striking contrast to her reputation. The portrait on one of these medals shows us a fine frank face, with almost a childish openness of expression; her nose, though well formed, is not of classical form; her mouth is small, and the chin is slightly retreating; her eyes are large, with well-marked eyebrows; and her golden hair falls broadly over her shoulders.

Notwithstanding, however, all that honest historical research and criticism may achieve to clear the reputation of Lucrezia Borgia from the worst crimes and vices which have been imputed to her, it is probable that she will remain an unchanged figure in the imagination of the world, and as a sort of feminine incarnation of the florid extravagance, licentiousness, and unbelief which distinguished the Renaissance period. The exuberance of æsthetic genius in its productions of every kind which marked this extraordinary epoch, one of the most remarkable in the whole history of the human race, had its counterpart also in the grosser fields of sense and passion. European life, emancipated from the narrow asceticism of the Middle Ages grasped at enjoyment, both spiritual and physical, in every form. It was to this general exultation of emancipated feeling that the Restoration itself is to be in part ascribed, and it has been said that the flesh-tints of the Venuses of Titian were no less strong protests than the theses of Luther against the stern doctrines of mediæval Catholicism. The manifestations of this joy of deliverance were no less extraordinary in the fields of sensuality and passion than they were in the domain of poetry, art, and religion. The grosser appetites

and cupidities gave themselves unbridled license ; and ambition, covetousness, and lust made a jest of all laws and ordinances human and divine. The grossness and bestiality of some of the Italian literature of that period is intelligible only after making acquaintance with the manners and morals of the great dignitaries of the Church as exemplified in the lives of the Borgias.

The period, in fact, was one of a strange and partial moral eclipse in the human mind, a period, too, in which the maxims of state policy had become so perverted that duplicity and treachery were always esteemed honourable if successful, and the victim and the dupe fell amid the applauses of mankind. More wicked men are to be found in the pages of history than Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia ; but what is especially remarkable in them is that they committed all their crimes with imperturbable serenity, and seem neither of them to have known a tinge of remorse. There appears to have existed in neither of them any inborn love of cruelty or even any spirit of revenge ; indeed they never seem to have committed any useless crime, though probably they never omitted to commit one if it suited their purpose. After the perpetration of so many abominable actions one might have imagined that Alexander VI. would have ended his life as a gloomy tyrant, living in a state of seclusion and suspicion like Tiberius or Louis XI. Instead of this he led a joyous existence up to the last, and his natural exuberance of spirits never deserted him. Two years only before his death a Venetian ambassador wrote : ‘ Nothing gives him care ; he seems to grow young every day.’ Such a life, led by a man who was the head of the Church, would seem to imply that he was either a consummate hypocrite or an atheist. Nothing, however, would be more untrue ; he seems to have had as credulous a belief in all the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church as the humblest peasant in his dominions ; and even though he had his adulterous mistress, Giulia Farnese, painted in the character of the Virgin Mary, he believed himself to be an especial favourite of the mother of Jesus, and to be living under the protection of all the saints.

Born of such parents as she was, and brought up in an atmosphere of vice and crime, it is difficult even to imagine Lucrezia Borgia to have been a woman of any moral perceptions. Possibly she may have been endowed naturally with good impulses which her early education reduced to a state of neutrality. As she possessed, however, a great deal of intelligence and also a desire to please and to appear pleasing, she may,

when removed from the foul and horrible scenes amid which she lived in Rome to the court of Ferrara, have discovered that the only way in which she could command respect, and even place herself in a secure position, was to acquire a reputation for goodness and decorum of life at the court and among the people; and thus she may have acquired some sense of virtue which had been stifled in the filthy corruption of the Papal court. At any rate, whatever may have been her motives or springs of action, she did succeed in establishing for herself a good reputation at Ferrara, one of the chief proofs of which is the notice given of her by the biographer of the Chevalier Bayard, who visited her shortly after the famous battle of Ravenna:—‘*J’ose bien,*’ he writes, ‘*dire que de son temps, ni beaucoup avant, il ne s’est point trouvé de plus triomphante princesse ; car elle était belle, bonne, douce et courtoise à toutes gens.*’ There can be little doubt that such was the impression conveyed to the mind of ‘*le bon Chevalier*’ by the Duchess of Ferrara, and that the *loyal serviteur*, who was his biographer, received the same impression from the lips of his master.

After the death of Lucrezia, the only one of the descendants of Vanozza and the Pope Alexander VI. bearing the name of Borgia who made a noise in the world was Don Francesco Borgia, Duke of Gandia, grandson of the murdered Don Juan, who became third general of the Order of Jesuits; he died in Rome in the year 1572, and was canonised by the Church; so that the great-grandson of Alexander VI. was a saint. The descendants of Lucrezia Borgia, however, held the duchy of Ferrara till the extinction of the line in 1597. Her grandson Alfonso II. was the gaoler of Tasso, and he, too, has shared the unenviable notoriety of his progenitors.



ART. X.--*England and Russia in the East, a series of Papers on the Political and Geographical Conditions of Central Asia.* By Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S., formerly Envoy and Minister at the Court of Persia. 8vo. London: 1875.

WE are informed by Sir Henry Rawlinson in the first paragraph of the preface, that he intends his recent publication, styled 'England and Russia in the East,' to be a sort of manual for students of the Eastern question. If we consider the authority of the accomplished and gallant writer on Oriental matters, his diplomatic and his scientific reputation, we may be sure this book will be eagerly consulted. By some thinkers it will be hailed as a welcome and much needed exposition of a side of policy but little understood by the ordinary British public, a useful warning against serious dangers. To others the book will appear to be fraught with mischievous tendencies, and to display intense jealousy and suspicion of evil motives against a Power with which we at present exchange relations of peace and amity. It tends to resuscitate feelings of animosity where we desire the contrary to prevail, to blow a decided note of war in the midst of profound tranquillity; in short, to create, or at least to evoke, the very evils against which the writer professes to wish to guard us. It will be said, and with some truth, that the authority of Sir H. Rawlinson's name, familiar as it is to Russia, to Turkey, to Persia, to Afghanistan, and to India, is but a voucher of the influence, whether for good or for evil, which this book can hardly fail to exercise. And it will be then again said by the more cautious school of Anglo-Indian politicians, that this influence must be an evil one. But not to Anglo-Indian politicians alone will this view occur. It will also present itself to many of those who take what may be called the European aspect of the Eastern question as distinguished from the Anglo-Indian one. It will be argued that it is not well to suggest a dangerous policy to your possible rival, by announcing your suspicions and attempting to drive the Government of this country into a premature struggle for supremacy in far distant lands, which from the nature of things can only find an issue in the march and conflict of hostile armies. The assertion will be hazarded, and the proof will not be far to seek in the pages of 'England and Russia in the East,' that while we are warned against the ambition of Russia, England is in truth invited to adopt

as her own the policy of territorial absorption at the cost of weaker neighbours, against which writers of the school of Sir Henry Rawlinson are never tired of inveighing when speaking of the other Power. If the invective be just in its application, how can we justify to ourselves a course of action which would expose us to similar accusation? If, on the other hand, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg is able to show that for much of the territorial expansion of Russian power in Central Asia it is strictly within its right; that other portions of Russian policy admit of such explanations as we have held to be sufficient in the analogous development of British dominion in India; that in the steppes of Central Asia boundaries and frontiers are as uncertain and fleeting as the footprints of Nomad tribes; that when civilisation or even semi-civilisation comes into contact with downright barbarism, the latter must give way before the former, security of life and property coming thus to be cause and effect of invasion or absorption,—if reasoning of this character be advanced, on facts which it is hard to dispute, however we may nourish suspicion of ulterior design against ourselves, we should assuredly find it difficult to justify on our side the appropriation of territory for which such causes cannot by any possibility be assigned, and the extension of our military posts for many hundred miles beyond our frontiers, which have been marked out as it were by Nature as the proper and sufficient boundary of the Indian empire of the Queen of Great Britain. In this sense then, we propose to examine the reasoning and conclusions of the volume before us. There is no wish to weaken the force of Sir Henry Rawlinson's statement of facts. These facts we are willing to accept as they are set out, and we hold them to be the really valuable part of this manual of the student of the Eastern question. With the political inferences from those facts, with the suggestion of far-sweeping action, we must pursue a different course.

The student may be fairly warned to beware of the reasoning and the conclusions, while he treasures as he best may the historical and geographical data supplied to him. For it is not only fair but right and necessary to inquire into the tenets of the school of politics and diplomacy which produces works such as that now under consideration, and to observe the colour of the glasses through which it scans the international phenomena engaging its attention. Sir Henry Rawlinson appeals to his experience of forty years. This interval of time stretches back very nearly to the date when, stimulated by the writings and exertions of Sir John Mac Neill and others, and fairly under

the influence of what may be called the anti-Russian craze, Lord Palmerston and Sir John Hobhouse in England, and Lord Auckland in India, determined that the time had come for a demonstration of war in Afghanistan which might secure the power of that country to British interests, and thus afford greater security to British India. The attempt was made, with what ill success we all know, to impose a ruler on Cabul for whom the people did not wish, and we were committed to the military occupation of Afghanistan and Candahar in support of Shah Soojah. 'The proclamation dated November '8, 1838, stated that the main object of Lord Keane's expedition was, "the establishment of a permanent barrier against "schemes of aggression upon our North-west frontier."

It is unnecessary to follow Sir Henry Rawlinson into the details and facts which apparently in his opinion justified Lord Auckland's policy, although he condemns the measures of the Governor-General as being unsuited and impracticable. It is sufficient to say that the conditions and circumstances presented to view at that date by Persia, Candahar, Cabul, and the Russian policy, afforded a 'menacing combination,' the result of which might be, in Lord Auckland's mind, 'the 'immediate establishment of a Russian mission at Cabul and 'the opening of friendly relations between the Emperor 'and Runjeet Singh.' It is then clear that, in Sir Henry Rawlinson's opinion, Lord Auckland was right in his views although wrong in his measures. The experience of forty years has not shaken his faith in the anti-Russian idea, as it prevailed during the viceroyalty of Lord Auckland, although in another passage the author talks of 'the Russo-phobia' of 1838-39. It follows then that he must be considered the representative of the political school which conceives its mission to be to exercise a vigilant supervision over the doings of Russia in Asia, which sniffs danger from afar, which is ever engaged in attributing subtle and far-reaching designs to that Power, with a view to the establishment in the first place of influences hostile to British dominion in the East, and ultimately of military aggression on our Indian frontier.

We confess to being somewhat impatient of the pertinacity with which such views are forced on us, and of the difficulty apparently felt by their advocates of applying, in behalf of others, the pleas or excuses we are apt to consider sufficient for ourselves amidst analogous or similar circumstances. During the forty years referred to, Russia has in truth received a never-ceasing and pressing invitation from the alarmist writers

in this country to turn her thoughts towards India. We are thus made to appear as if we lived in a constant state of terror, that we are powerless to defend ourselves, that we are alike unprotected by our disposition of military strength, by our political and diplomatic relations with the countries immediately beyond our proper frontiers, by the mountain chains which encircle the north of the Indian peninsula as a great defensive barrier if only they be put to a right strategical use. And yet nothing can be further from the truth. In India itself there is no fear of Russia. It is not too much to say, that except in the minds of a very small class of writers and officers who have served in a political capacity on the N.W. frontier, there is not even thought of Russia.

We sometimes hear of excitement being caused in the Indian bazaars by the news of Russian doings in Central Asia. But those living in India and in the immediate neighbourhood of these centres of population know nothing of the alleged excitement. It is simply idle and foolish to attribute to the action of opinion in India among our Hindoo and Mahometan fellow-subjects the results we look for in Europe from the like cause. What may be called the political class does not at present exist in the native community of British India. It is a country of caste and immemorial custom. It is a country absolutely free and pacific, but retained in a condition of disarmament for the better maintenance of the Pax Britannica. It is a country in which the foreign ruler, while supported by the bayonets of his countrymen, relies for his power entirely on the equality of all before the law and the purity of his absolute administration, opposition to authority being inconceivable alike in the mind of the subject and the ruler. At the same time the utmost latitude, it may indeed be said excessive license, is accorded to the press. Hitherto the latter has been found to be compatible with all that is essential for the government and administration of the country, notwithstanding the fears entertained to the contrary before the experiment of a free press was tried by the late Lord Metcalfe. This reasoning is not weakened by the alleged hostility of the Mussulman portion of the population of India. It is doubtless true that the Mahometans do view our rule and ourselves with hatred and bitter enmity in their hearts. Their feeling in this matter is a deeply seated religious one. On the other hand we have always been able to employ a considerable section of Mussulman soldiery in our ranks, and we have not been afraid to use them against the Mahometan populations and against mountainous districts

where a strong Wahabee fanaticism has prevailed, or where the tribes were excited by a religious zeal resting on the neighbourhood and the immediate influence of such a theocratic ruler as the Achoond of Swat, who is established in the N.W. corner of our Peshawur frontier. It is thus seen that the strength of Mahometanism can be overcome by the military idea, by the force of discipline, by the habits of regimental and garrison life. If we consider the population at large, we observe that the Mahometans are not as one to ten; that if it be true their numbers in India amount to twenty millions, the Hindoos in their various castes, military and civil, and the dissenters from the old tenets and idolatry of Hindooism, including the Sikhs, may be reckoned at about two hundred millions, the Mahometans being thus absorbed in the vast numbers of the latter. Our best soldiers for fighting purposes and endurance are not the Mussulmans of the plains, or the Pathans of the mountains, though good men come from these sources. But those on whom the greatest reliance may be placed, when aligned as regular troops, are the Hindoo Goorkas and the Sikhs. After them come perhaps the best, but only the very best, of the Mahometans of Rohilkund, and of the border tribesmen on our Western frontiers; in the third class we should be inclined to place the tall large-limbed Sepoy who is recruited in Behar and Oudh; and lowest in the scale the inferior castes of agricultural Hindoos and the Mahometans bred in cities who to a limited extent seek for military service. We shall have occasion hereafter to revert to this description of the native army of India.

But if the Mussulmans of India share the feeling of all other Mahometans when contemplating a Christian rule and the effect of their contact with the Christian Kaffir, it must be recollected that the Russian in this respect labours under the same disadvantage as the Englishman. Indeed, we are told, and by no less an authority than Sir Henry Rawlinson himself, that Islamism is bitterly opposed to the Russian advance in Central Asia, and that if we were engaged in a struggle with Russia on the continent of Asia, on our consenting to take the forward and aggressive line of policy he recommends, we should have no difficulty in so stirring and using the Mussulman element of Central Asia as to render the Russian position in the region now occupied or influenced by Russian arms, extremely dangerous if not indeed impossible to maintain. Coming from such a quarter the testimony is important. We are, on the other hand, disinclined to attribute any advantage to the British or Anglo-Indian influence in this matter. We

believe that the Christian, whether English or Russian, will always be viewed by the true Mussulman as a Kaffir or heretic, to be turned to use and profit when pecuniary and political circumstances permit, but to be conspired against, to be attacked, to be betrayed if occasion offer a sufficient motive. Such occasion is very easily found in the Mahometan countries with which we have been more immediately brought in contact, more especially Afghanistan; and it may be safely assumed that the Mahometans of Central Asia are not more trustworthy in their political relations with Christian allies or a Christian dominating Power.

Therefore, without attributing a superior skill in arms or diplomacy either to Russia or Great Britain, it is not improbable that the former begins already to feel inconvenience from the Islamism of her new possessions, and the intensification of the religious and therefore of the hostile feeling among the populations she coerces. If we can conceive the presence of a British force acting in Central Asia, we could doubtless turn such a feeling to use so long as we might be successful. It might indeed be done by skilful agents without the presence of a British force. There is a great probability that even without either a British force or British agency, the tribes of Central Asia might seize the opportunity of a Russian war with England, if prosecuted on Asiatic soil, to rise in insurrection and strike at the posts and communications of the common enemy.

At all events, the fact of occupation of the vast districts traversed of late years by the Russian arms, the hostility of the population which is based on rooted religious feelings as well as on those generated by military aggression and punishment, cannot fail to cause the Russian generals to call for more and more troops for the domestic defence of their administration. Instead of being able to draw on their garrisons in case of a Russian war with British India, it would be incumbent on the Russian Minister of War to largely reinforce the divisions of every general officer from Orenburg to Kokan and Samarkand.

We acquit Sir Henry Rawlinson of Russo-phobia. His book is rather that of the military diplomatist who during a long official life has been contemplating the policy of a rival. But it cannot be denied that he has lent the aid of his great name to the alarmist writers who, not to speak disrespectfully of them, whether they are in India or in England, are either unable or unwilling to grasp the full meaning of the facts which have been thus briefly alluded to. If taken by themselves they disclose the enormous difficulties and risks which

would attend the position of Russia in Central Asia if she provoked us to a conflict on the Indian border. Sir Henry Rawlinson has shown he is alive to their importance. But this will escape, or purposely be overlooked by the alarmist writer, whether he be one who wishes to establish a political theory, or if he belong to a class sighing for war and the chance of taking part in it. The former may perhaps be more easily found in England, and the latter in India; for military ambition and the longing for military prizes are by no means confined to the Russian army.

Captain Trench, the clever son of the Archbishop of Dublin, devotes the first chapter of the treatise he published in 1869, styled 'The Russo-Indian Question,' to the origin, growth, and progress of 'Russo-phobia' to the present day. While he shows that the policy of Russia in Central Asia, dating from the time of Peter the Great, has not varied during nearly two centuries, the feeling of England and of British India known as 'Russo-phobia' may be said to have first made itself apparent in 1800. Thus the Russian Central Asia policy denounced by the school of which Sir Henry Rawlinson is the principal authority, and to the tenets of which Captain Trench strongly adheres, was a fact and was in course of development long before the battle of Plassey, that is to say, before British rule had established its foothold in India. But even in 1800, nearly fifty years after that decisive conflict, that foothold was but slenderly secured. The siege of Seringapatam had been brought to a close in the previous year. The campaigns of Wellesley and Lake had not been fought. Real native Powers still existed. Formidable native armies were yet on foot. When in the year 1800, the Emperor Paul of Russia and Napoleon contrived their mad and impracticable scheme for a Russo-French invasion of India, for the purpose of more effectually breaking down British power in the struggle to which Napoleon chose to commit himself before and after the peace of Amiens, they could have had but little accurate knowledge of the position in the East then really occupied by us. They must have given us credit for far more interest in India than we possessed at that time, however great that interest may be now. Considering the weakness of that position when England was engaged in a great European war in 1800, we can easily understand local alarm in India at the notion of the excitement likely to be caused among the native courts and the native princes of India by the rumours of such combinations. In those days to reinforce the British army in India was an affair of ten or twelve months from the

date of a requisition leaving Calcutta. The Governor-General of India was obliged to rely on his own resources. The situation in which he found himself was that of an intruder, the danger of whose presence in the Deccan and Hindostan was felt and keenly appreciated by every native Power, it being understood, as before alluded to, that at that time the native courts did present real military strength. And yet the intruder was removed by twelve months of time from reinforcements if the progress or failure of his arms and of his diplomacy compelled him to ask for aid.

We can understand then, how the policy of the Anglo-Indian Government was likely to be affected by rumours not only of the hostile action of Russia and France, but of Persia and Cabul, with the consequences of excitement at the neighbouring courts with which it was more immediately in connexion, and amidst the Mussulman population which had recently passed under its own dominion. Directly therefore, and indirectly, there was reason for the Anglo-Indian Government to be on the watch, and for suspicion of evil intention. We may believe that in England, during the early portion of this century, but little attention was paid to Russian designs in the East, European events of a most extraordinary character having entirely engrossed the public mind and shut out all knowledge of Asiatic affairs.

When Lord Auckland in India, and Lord Palmerston in England, yielded to the Russo-phobist argument or outcry in 1838, and committed us to a wrongful occupation in Afghanistan, whether considered from the military or the political point of view, but little excuse can be urged for them. Russo-phobia was in the ascendant, and for the time it seemed to turn the heads of statesmen otherwise held to be safe and not easily excited. Nevertheless it must be said, that while Lord Auckland acted under a complete misapprehension of the power and designs of Russia in 1838, the Government of India was by no means so firm and consolidated as it is at the present day. The Mahratta power of Gwalior had not been shaken. The Mahrattas both of Central India and of the Deccan were still considered of some importance. There was no province of Burmah. The Punjab, a powerful monarchy with a numerous and highly disciplined army, trained by European generals, acknowledged the sway of Runjeet Sing. Sindé was still independent. Oudh was a separate kingdom. In short, though not to such an extent as Lord Wellesley in 1800, Lord Auckland in 1838 was in the position of a viceroy who had to lean much on his diplomacy for the progress



and security of his affairs. Native Powers and native courts in India still signified dominion and military strength, and not pageantry and mere domestic administration as in these times.

But what is the case now? All necessity for diplomacy, such as was known in 1800 under Lord Wellesley, and in 1838 under Lord Auckland, has vanished. The native Powers as they existed at those dates exist no longer. Sindia has been reduced to the political level of the princes of Rajpootana. War between native states is simply not permitted. We everywhere see British provinces where formerly native princes held independent sway. Pegu, Oudh, Central India, Sind, the Punjab, are now firmly held under British administration. British garrisons have taken the place of rival and hostile armies. When Lord Auckland ruled in India there was not a made road throughout the peninsula except in the immediate neighbourhood of the presidency towns. The communications were in the same rude and barbarous condition as when Alexander retired from the Hyphasis. It was impossible to reinforce the distant points of the British provinces or to make strategical combinations, without spending long months in the marches of concentration and so forth. Now on the contrary, the country is knit together by the trunk lines of railway which connect north and south, east and west.

The troops of Bombay and Madras, as well as those of Bengal, are immediately available, that is, the former in a few days at the extreme north-west, and the latter in one or two. In Lord Auckland's time many months must have elapsed before they could have been alligned on that frontier. The troops in the north, south, and east of India were practically out of the question, except after plans and preparation of a year's continuance. A similar improvement has taken place in armament. British and native troops alike participate in arms of the best modern construction, instead of the flint locks and smooth-bore six and nine-pounders in use in 1838, when it was considered that for mountain warfare the juzail of the Afghan was a more effective weapon than the musket of the British soldier. In that year the fashion still prevailed of moving field batteries with bullocks, the guns being thus practically position guns only, their mobility under fire being miserably poor and slow according to the character of the draught. All this is now changed, the field artillery of India being able to vie with that we are accustomed to admire on Woolwich Common, whether as regards matériel or cattle. The British garrison in India has been considerably strengthened since the war of the mutiny, the native army

having been much reduced; a not unimportant consideration if we should be required to meet a European enemy on the soil of Asia. That very war afforded us the means of confirming and consolidating the British dominion in India not dreamt of in the days of Lord Auckland, means which have been turned to ample advantage. Indeed the results of that war have been termed, not inappropriately, the second conquest of India.

The progress of Indian administration attracts but little notice in England. But the facts thus shortly set out if fairly weighed, show how excellent is our modern military position as compared with older times, and therefore how unworthy is the cry of alarm as if we were not fully equal to meet all comers. How miserable then and unstatesmanlike the suspicion that other Powers, whether Russia or anyone else, are constantly cherishing hostile designs! Can we believe that they are ignorant of the strength of our administration, of the firmness of our foothold, of the national guarantee afforded for the maintenance of the Anglo-Indian empire in the wholesale subscription of English capital for the development of industry, the extension of railways, and in the extraordinary expansion of Eastern trade?

Perhaps even the unenlightened British public may after all be alive to these facts, and their necessary bearing on our policy as well. Thus we read in the beginning of the third chapter of '*England and Russia in the East*,' the same being a republication of a review article published in 1865: 'To those who remember the Russo-phobia of 1838-39, the indifference of the British public to the events now passing in Central Asia must appear one of the strangest instances of reaction in modern history.' But is it indeed so very strange that the English public have to a certain extent profited by the experience of the military and political mistakes which characterised the policy and the conduct of the Afghan War? They may have further come to see that the expansion of dominion and influence, and the progress of the arms of Russia in Central Asia were things which did not very seriously affect British interests, and might be viewed without disquiet by the British Government in India in the plenitude of its recently developed power.

It is but fair to Sir Henry Rawlinson to say he has carefully described the British advance, while contrasting with it the progress of Russia. We may surely ask, and the Russians do ask, what is the meaning of the English outcry against Russia, for pursuing what she is pleased to call her destiny, this being really the prosecution of a policy a hundred and fifty years old

towards the wide plains and barbarous tribes of Turkistan, and what is styled the garden of Central Asia, by General Romanovski.\* For 'England in taking possession of the line of the 'Indus from the seaboard to Peshawur has penetrated on one 'side nearly one thousand miles into the debateable land of 'former days; Russia, on the other side, by incorporating the 'great Kirghis Steppe into the empire, has made a stride of 'corresponding dimensions to meet us.' It is to be borne in mind that the whole of our stride has taken place since the commencement of Lord Ellenborough's viceroyalty in 1842; there having been no political or traditional claim according to which we could, of right, seize the countries annexed.

That act, or rather series of acts, was the result of our destiny as the Russians might say, or in other words, caused by the necessities of our position and the aggressiveness of conterminous countries. Perhaps the annexation of the province of Sindh was the only one liable to censure on moral grounds, whereas the political expediency of the step, amounting in truth to necessity, is sufficiently apparent to the present generation of Anglo-Indians. This should, however, render us chary and forbearing with other Powers dealing with neighbours less civilised and more warlike and quarrelsome than the inhabitants of Sindh. It should make us reflect on the difference between action proceeding from the conditions of urgent expediency amidst the uncertainties of Asiatic supremacy and territorial boundaries, and a policy springing from a desire to attack or annoy a very powerful but not very close neighbour, with whom there may be peace and even close relations of amity in another hemisphere.

It is admitted that the British and Russian Powers have viewed their relative positions in Central Asia from entirely different standpoints. It is indeed difficult to discern how our standpoint in Central Asia can be described. But in a note (see page 145 of '*England and Russia in the East*') very curious and exact information is given on the authority of Mr. Michell, by which it is shown that voluntary homage was rendered to Russia by Khiva so far back as 1700. It thus appears that what has been recently affirmed is but the reassertion of a claim of sovereignty which was actually acknowledged by the subordinate Power, the Khanate of Khiva, nearly two hundred years ago; or before the beginning, so to speak, of the British empire in the East, against which the Russian proceedings in Central Asia are assumed to be exclusively directed.

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\* *England and Russia in the East*, p. 141.

During the 18th century voluntary homage was paid to Russia by five rulers of that Khanate, a positive right to it having been thus established by Russia according to Mr. Michell, although the Russian Government only sought, we quote the same authority, protection for the Russian trade in Central Asia. It certainly appears to us there is more reason for agreeing with Mr. Michell than with those who persist in attributing no importance to such considerations. General Romanovski's pamphlet, which was translated by order of the Government of India in 1870, alludes to the same point. He says very fairly the Russian Government has, since the close of the seventeenth century, undertaken several large expeditions into Central Asia and the Khanates, but that owing to the imperfection of the old frontier lines along the Ural and the Irtysh, and the primitive condition of geographical and statistical data, these expeditions could only be looked on as reconnoissances rather than as enterprises based upon a preconceived plan. As a great empire gathers power, and its development both internal and for foreign and international purposes becomes more pronounced, insecurity of frontier, submission to the cruelty and depredations of such savage tribes as the Turcomans of Central Asia, their man-stealing and general barbarism, become simply intolerable to the public sense of the country concerned, and to the government which, whatever its constitutional system, enforces order and is bent on forwarding the interests and the civilisation of the people committed to its charge. Thus it came about that the object of Russian policy made itself clearly apparent in the thirty years preceding 1834. Then, according to General Romanovski, 'it was resolved by a special committee, and 'confirmed by the empire, to connect the then newly-established 'Syr Daria line with the newly advanced Siberian line of 'frontier.' In other words, those steps were to be taken which should enable the Russian power to dominate in Turkistan, to exercise an effective police over the wide plains of Central Asia, to assert the power which should ultimately bring the barbarous governments of the Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan into such relations with Russia, whether of positive subjugation or of influence supported by arms, as might secure security to her traders and caravans. Thus was to be commenced the work of order and law where for ages the population had submitted to the most savage and oppressive misrule known to the annals of humanity. That such language is not too strong is shown by our own experience, by the testimony of every

traveller in Central Asia, of every writer who has studied original sources of information. Thus, if we refer to Vambéry,\* no great lover of Russia as we all know, we find a narrative of piracy, man-stealing, oppression and cruelty to captives, the reality and truth of which it is hardly possible to conceive.

The Turcoman tribes, whose habits are thus described are those against which the late Russian expedition was directed. On his arrival at Khiva Vambéry found that the Khan was in the habit of at once making slaves of all strangers of doubtful character. Of this he gives an instance in the person of a Hindostani, who claimed to be of princely origin, and who was now, like the other slaves, employed in dragging along the artillery carriages. At pages 138 and 139 of the same work he describes the wholesale execution of the prisoners of war; those who were under forty years of age being reserved as slaves, while the older men were executed with an exaggeration of previous cruelty. This was said to be a retaliation for a no less barbarous act committed in the previous winter on an Uzbek caravan. It is distinctly declared by Vambéry that such treatment of prisoners is not an exceptional case. Let it be recollected that Russian as well as Persian subjects have encountered this treatment. One brief quotation may be permitted:—

‘The Khan has affixed the punishment of death not only to adultery but to other offences against religion, so that in the first year of his reign the Ulemas were even obliged to cool his religious zeal; still no day passes but some one is led away from an audience with the Khan, hearing first the fatal words pronounced, which are his doom, “Alib barin” (away with him).’

A like tale is told of the wholesale official murders practised at Bokhara, and slave-dealing as at Khiva formed part of the ordinary and daily traffic of the bazaar. The price of the slave varies with the political circumstances of the Turcoman, the amount of ‘the article’ in the market, the results of a successful campaign, human beings having been habitually sold at all ages from three to sixty years of age. The fate of Stoddart and Conolly at Bokhara is as yet not forgotten among us. Russians and Persians alike, with regard to their neighbourhood with these savages, have had far more to complain of than enters into our imagination.

\* Travels in Central Asia performed in the year 1863, by Arminius Vambéry.

If we look still further to the East and consider the third of the Khanates, Kokan, which has felt the weight of the Russian arms, and in part acknowledged the supremacy of the Czar, we find, on the authority of Mr. Michell,\* that the predatory habits of the Kirghis under the nominal sway of the Khan of Kokan, were the real cause of the Russian advance to the Syr Daria or Jaxartes in the first instance, which resulted in the erection of the fort of Porofski. The Russian travellers who wrote in 1863 declared † ‘that at the head of the Syr Daria, and along the left bank of the river, the Kirghizes still suffer from the robberies and extortions of the Khivans and the Kokanians, to which they are, to a certain extent, obliged to submit.’ They further say, ‘that the Khanate of Kokan is alternately under the sway of one ruler, or is chronically divided into numerous petty territories at enmity with each other. The country of Kokan is richer than that of Bokhara in the gifts of nature, but its population is much more barbarous, and there is consequently greater reason for establishing the civilising influence of Russia in those parts.’

We are no apologists of Russia. But it does appear on the most authentic and irrefragable evidence that in her gradual, persevering, and long drawn out advance on the Steppe, first from the west and the north, and finally on the three Khanates of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kokan, she has but yielded to the invincible force of circumstances, and that with regard to her modern power in Europe and Asia, and her recent development, less could not have been expected from her. It appears to us idle therefore to speculate on other causes of far-reaching designs on the possessions of a great and friendly Power when we survey these circumstances and all the conditions attending them.

But let us look at this matter somewhat more closely. Let us regard it from the point of view of commercial extension. We then become aware of the fact, that while making full allowance for military or other professional ambition, ample reason is found for what is clearly a national, as distinguished from a mere administrative determination, to insist on order and supremacy in the Steppe first, and afterwards throughout Central Asia, for the pushing of commerce and ensuring the safety of traffic and traders. It is true that the Russian policy

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\* See introduction to the ‘Russians in Central Asia,’ translated from the Russian by John and Robert Michell.

† See pp. 478, 485, of the same work.

in Asia is guided by the same spirit of monopoly as we see generally throughout the world. But in this sense she is not worse than the great majority of the ruling Powers. We ourselves are perhaps the only exception to what is otherwise a general rule. And how recent is our policy of the non-exclusion of others from our sources of commercial gain! With what jealousy are we obliged to watch free trade in Parliament and in the press to prevent recurrence to mistaken views and false principles! But to find a ground of quarrel in the fact that a great and friendly Government, while pursuing an immense work of civilisation, prefers a line of policy not yet believed to be unwise or obsolete by the vast majority of mankind, and acts according to her opportunities, is surely a proposition almost revolting to common sense. Yet such is the proposition presented to us by the antagonists of Russian influence and Russian trade in Central Asia.

Let these writers lay this truth home to their minds, that all commerce, all industry, have commenced on the narrowest principles of monopoly and self-interest of a somewhat ignoble kind, first for the individual, then for the village, for the guild, for the city, and finally for the nation. So far as we at present know, it is reserved only for the highest and most scientific popular development to be able to recognise in practice the truths advanced by Adam Smith and enunciated by us in law during the last five and thirty years. But after all, may not Russia plead that her legislation since the accession of the reigning Czar, her commercial extension, the opening of her frontiers, whether for the egress of her own subjects or the ingress of strangers, together with the extraordinary development of the railway system during the last few years, are conceived entirely according to modern and enlightened ideas, and that the freedom of trade we wish to see, and the unreserved intercourse of foreigners, British or others, with the countries and populations governed by her, cannot fail to follow in their train.

The railway system of Russia, as now planned and in course of rapid execution, promises to rival what we have seen effected in similar vast areas in the United States, and by ourselves in British India. The extension of that system to Orenburg and Tiflis, the connexion of the Caspian Sea, or of Orenburg, with the Sea of Aral, the ultimate and probably not very distant continuation of the means of communication by rail to Tashkend and Samarkand, display a vastness of design and a boldness of execution, both material and financial, of which the modern Russians may well be proud. And the British alarmist, instead

of being able to comprehend the necessity imposed on Russia of consolidating her widely spread dominions, of attaching the barbarians of the immense and till lately little known regions of which she has now either assumed the dominion or over which she exercises a paramount influence, can only find cause for complaint and the spreading of panic fear, as if every mile of railway constructed by Russia were an offence to England; as if the subjugation of barbarous tribes of the very names of which we were till lately ignorant, whose existence in their present form is a disgrace to humanity, were an attack on our supremacy within our well-guarded frontiers, a menace to the powerful Government of which we have already described the condition. We prefer not to give way to the madness of such jealousy, to the vileness of such suspicions.

Sir Henry Rawlinson is apparently one of those who can see no good thing and no good intention in a country and in a people of the power and expansion of which he is jealous. Thus with the utmost good faith, as we believe, the British Government was informed in 1873, that the empire of Russia was opposed to the annexation of the Khanate of Khiva, directions having been given that the conditions imposed on the Khan should not in any way lead to the prolonged occupation of Khiva. It appears that the authority of General Kauffman, the responsible general in command, was sufficient to cause the Foreign Office at St. Petersburg to revise this decision so far as was necessary for the execution of a policy which should reduce Khiva to vassalage, and secure the strategic lines across the Steppe. Without those strategic lines the police of the Steppe, the assertion of order, the prohibition of man-stealing and slavery, the security of the Russian caravans, and of property and life in general, in short, the influence of what had become the paramount Power, the institution of a Russian peace for Central Asia, as we now enforce a British peace from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, could not have been maintained. These considerations are apparently foreign to Sir H. Rawlinson's mind, but we may express our regret that his inability to think for other Powers, as he is ready enough to do in behalf of what he considers a true British policy, should cause him to declare 'that we had been grievously deceived, 'that public faith had been broken, that an Emperor's word had 'been weighed in the balance and found wanting.'\*

It is inconceivable that one of great experience in what are called in India 'political' matters, should thus misapprehend the

\* *England and Russia in the East*, p. 318.



necessity of allowing for a large margin between what may be the wishes of a central government, distant some thousands of miles from the scene of action, and the ultimate decision when it has been modified after discussion with the administrator or military commander, whose experience has been gained in the personal execution of policy, and in immediate contact with the barbarous rulers dealt with. And yet, while thus condemning the Russians for broken faith and insulting the autocrat who has passed the greatest and most beneficent measures known to any country in this century, Sir H. Rawlinson has himself afforded the explanation in his appendix of the difficulties surrounding the Russian position at Khiva, and of the necessity likely to be imposed on her. Thus, he says,\* 'to retreat or to remain in the country will be 'equally injurious;' and again: 'by thus evacuating the 'country she will lose far more than she gained before;' and thirdly: 'the disgrace of a retreat from Khiva would obliterate 'all the glory of the advance, and hold out a most dangerous 'example to other subject races impatient of a foreign yoke.'

The treaties executed by Russia with the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara in 1873 are given by Sir Henry Rawlinson. Khiva having been very lately subdued in war, was treated more harshly than the other Khanates. According to the treaties the suzeraineté of Russia was at length really defined. Khiva lost that part of her territory which lies on the right bank, or east of the Amu or Oxus, in favour of Russia, the Bokhara frontier in the like direction having been rounded off at the expense of Khiva. The slave trade and all traffic in human beings were absolutely abolished, all slaves in the Khanates having been previously liberated. Direct relations with other khans or sovereigns, and war, except with the sanction of Russia, were forbidden in the case of Khiva; and although not formally expressed, the like must be taken, it is presumed, to be understood in that of Bokhara. In the former, the Amu became a Russian river, in the latter all rights of navigation, for the making of piers, storehouses, &c., are secured. A heavy fine was imposed on Khiva. When we peruse these treaties it is difficult not to agree with Mr. Michell, who wrote in 1865, 'Great Britain ought to rejoice that any form of European 'civilisation is penetrating the howling wilderness that lies to 'the north of the Himalaya.' By these obligations the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara are bound towards Russia in the form we enforce in India, on such potentates as the Nizam, the

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\* *England and Russia in the East.* See Appendix, p. 382.

Gaikwar, Sindia, and Holkar. Those who have followed the correspondence and studied the policy of the Government of India during the last ten years, are aware of the absence of jealousy from the minds of our responsible authorities on such account; the expediency, indeed the necessity, of a broad civilising policy on the part of the Russians having been acknowledged freely in his conversation by the lamented Lord Mayo, and, as we understand, by those now engaged in the completion of his work.

In pursuance of the policy indicated by the treaties and as obligatory on Russia as it is on the Khanates, we find the police of the Steppes enforced by the former. Very recent reports have been received of an expedition to coerce the Turcomans in the neighbourhood of Khiva, the measures taken by the commander of the expeditionary Russian column having apparently the full concurrence of the Khan. When we read the account of Colonel Ivanoff's proceedings, we can almost fancy ourselves conning the report of an officer on our N.W. frontier on an expedition against Africeedes or Momunds, so similar is the provocation of the barbarous enemy, so similar the treatment in both cases.\*

\* The following extract from the Berlin Correspondent of the 'Times,' in the paper of May 18, 1875, is not unimportant with reference to the argument pursued in the text:—'Regarding the Turcomans, gratifying symptoms of their submission multiply. The Yomud tribe, living on the western borders of Khiva, has just been visited by the Khan of that semi-dependent principality, when the wild horsemen of the Steppe, remembering the chastisement inflicted a few months before by Colonel Ivanoff, hastened to comply with every requisition. They not only consented to pay the ordinary taxes and water excise of the Khanate, but also acquiesced in the decree that they shall look after their own canals and not expect them to be kept in order by the Usbeks or townspeople, as hitherto. In recognition of their praiseworthy meekness and malleability, Colonel Ivanoff thought it advisable to recommend to the Khan to treat these penitent sinners with clemency and kindness. Both the Khan and the Turcoman continue paying tribute to the gallant Colonel, and though the instalments do not exceed a few thousand roubles or so, the habit of obedience inculcated will, it is hoped, ensure absolute submission before long. Besides the crushing force of the rifle and rocket gun, the beneficial activity of the Russians in irrigating fresh portions of the Steppe seems to incline the inhabitants to acknowledge their rule. The extensive works begun last autumn for fertilising the Hunger Steppe between Tchinas and Djisak were resumed early this autumn, and in a short time are expected to create plenty of arable land, of which each of the neighbouring tribes is eager to secure a portion.'

For the plan of Sir Henry Rawlinson's book we must revert to his Preface:—

'Chapter I., which was published in India in 1849, contains a review of our relations with Persia from the commencement of the century to the accession of the reigning Shah. It shows how we sought at first to employ Persia in scourging the Afghans; how we afterwards, in defence of Indian interests, wrestled with France for the Persian alliance; and how the country subsequently, being neglected by England, yielded to the sustained pressure of Russia, till it became, so to speak, a mere instrument in that Power's hands. In Chapter II., which has been written for this work, the political history of Persia is continued to the present time, recent events of interest, such as the settlement by arbitration of her Eastern frontier, and the establishment of the Indo-European telegraph, together with the Reuter concession, and the Shah's visit to Europe, being duly recorded and explained.'

He then goes on to say:—

'The political affairs of a second-rate Oriental Power like Persia, which are discussed in these opening chapters in considerable detail, cannot be expected under existing circumstances to prove of engrossing interest to English readers; but it may be well to remark that the country is so placed geographically, midway between Europe and India, that it cannot fail to play an important part in the future history of the East; and that the condition of its people, therefore, and the temper of its Government, are entitled to the attention of thoughtful inquirers in a degree altogether disproportioned to the space which the dominions of the Shah occupy on the map of the world, or the rank which Persia holds in the scale of nations.'

And yet at the end of his second chapter Sir Henry Rawlinson states, that 'the country is in a more depressed condition than she has ever before reached at any period of 'history.' He also declares that Russia has neither the power nor the will to subjugate Persia. This being so in his opinion, for reasons he advances, he nevertheless proceeds to instigate the British Government to commence once more a policy of rivalry with Russia on Persian soil, of competition for the extension of influence, political and military, at the expense of Russia. In his strange and exaggerated apprehension of the designs of the latter Power, he does not scruple to ask the question,\* 'Can we turn the tables upon Russia by converting Persia into a means of defence, rather than of offence, to 'India?'

This question he answers by the following recommendation:—  
'Strategists will point out that any serious Russian advance from the Caspian in the direction of Merv and Herat would be

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\* *England and Russia in the East*, p. 134.

‘ impossible if the column were threatened on the flank from Persia ; and they will further maintain it would be better to fight our intended invader in Persia than on our own frontier, where any check would raise a host of enemies in our rear.’

Now, we venture to say, it would be difficult to compress in small space a larger amount of fallacy and false assumption than are conveyed in these sentences. In the first place, there is no reason whatever for imputing hostile intentions to Russia. Secondly, if there were, what sort of military aid could we expect from a Power in such a condition of weakness, poverty, and depression as Persia is described by Sir Henry Rawlinson ? Thirdly, we may take it for granted that strategists will not generally agree to the suggestion that we should engage in conflict with a considerable military Power at a distance of many hundreds of miles from our frontier, that is, from our nearest base of operations, there being no alleviation of the difficulties conveyed in the idea of distance by the facts of military communication as understood in Europe. On the contrary, whether we consider the movement of troops from the N.W. frontier of India by way of the Bolan Pass, Candahar, and Herat, or from Bombay to the Persian Gulf, with a subsequent march through Persia to the scene of action, in aid of the flank movement, we must conclude that the suggestion is one of the wildest which ever crossed the imagination of a military diplomatist labouring under a fixed idea.

And fourthly, what are we to say to the notion that if we defend our own frontier, any check would raise a host of enemies in our rear ? Where are these enemies ? Where are they to spring from ? Can it be said they have any existence except in the fertile fancy of the writer ? In reply, we confidently appeal to the picture we have ventured to give of the resources and the military disposition of British India as we know them in the present day, of the transformation of the Indian empire, which, commenced by Lord Ellenborough, continued by the Marquis of Dalhousie, was finally consummated by Earl Canning in 1859 ; provided always, that the administration of British India is prudently managed, and that the military policy inaugurated after 1857 is not forgotten. But as regards Persia, Sir Henry Rawlinson evidently perceives the impracticability of the recommendations at which we have glanced. He afterwards proposes, as the best means of meeting Russian influence, that the British Government should commit itself in Persia to ‘ an experimental contingent force of 10,000 men, raised, armed, fed, paid, clothed, dis-

‘ciplined, and commanded by British officers.’ What would he say if Russia were to make this proposal to Persia on her own account? Does he think that except under coercion Persia would agree to such an institution either from Russia or Great Britain? Is he not able to perceive that this institution, if agreed to by Persia, would at once draw upon her the anger of her powerful immediate neighbour, and effectually put an end to our amicable relations with Russia whether in Asia or in Europe? In the case of a Russian quarrel with Persia, the British officers of the proposed contingent would have to withdraw. Thus, while never to be forgotten offence would have been given to Russia, producing a permanent and dangerous effect on all our future relations with the Government of the Czar, the objects sought to be attained of safety to Persia, and of using her for means of defence to India, could not but fade away as the mirage in the desert. Truly would our last state be worse than the first. In point of fact the institution of such contingents is only possible under two conditions. The one is for the assistance of an allied Power when we are in a state of war, as was done in the instance of Turkey in 1855-56. The other example occurs in the case of mediatised or half-subjugated states, of which the paramount Power bears the diplomatic responsibility. Of this we have the illustration in the Nizam’s Government in Southern India, and the contingent commanded by British officers.

To Sir Henry Rawlinson’s final suggestion we heartily agree: that is, ‘of a judicious but genial support of enterprises aimed at supplying the wants of the natives, at stimulating their industrial and creative faculties, and raising them in the scale of civilisation—not on the selfish and wholesale scheme of the Reuter concession, but with a discriminating regard for native interests and feelings.’

Here at length we have arrived at the true character of the policy which should permanently direct our relations with Persia—a policy which has been pursued for some time. According to our author, the first considerable breach of exclusiveness which had hitherto isolated Persia from all contact with European civilisation was effected in 1863 by the introduction of the Electric Telegraph, for which Persia was mainly indebted to the enterprise and encouragement of England. It is said that Baron Reuter, having abandoned the grand concessions at first awarded to him by the Persian Government, has secured other advantages of a real and workable character through the support of Lord Derby, the Russians having withdrawn some of their pretensions and vindication of rival concession-

nares. Be this as it may, it cannot be doubted that the results of our modern policy are satisfactory, whether we consider the recent visit of the Shah to Great Britain, or the influence exerted on Persia in the cause of peace without threat or even hint of hostility.

Thus General Goldsmid was able to settle the Boundary difficulties which had arisen between Persia and our ally the Khan of Kelat, and he subsequently succeeded in adjusting similar disputes between the Governments of the Shah and Shir Ali Khan, the ruler of Cabul, regarding Seistan and the frontier line which was in future to separate their respective territories. It is stated that these results were not obtained from the Shah without great pressure, who deeply resented them. At all events, the adjudication may now be considered a permanent settlement of vexed questions, which must otherwise have led to war between Persia and Afghanistan. The success is due entirely to the moral influence of England directed with all honour and with entire freedom from interested and selfish considerations.

The two last chapters in Sir Henry Rawlinson's work, the fifth and sixth, will be held by many readers to contain the marrow of the book. The first of them is a memorandum which in 1868 had somewhat of a confidential character. This paper, never published till now, embodies a survey of the political position of Central Asian affairs as they appeared in that year to the writer, and it was then forwarded officially to India by the Secretary of State. Lord Lawrence's government is said to have taken this paper into serious consideration, an elaborate series of minutes and replies from various competent authorities having been accordingly received by the India Office in reply. These papers have not been imparted to the public so far as we have been able to learn, there being probably reasons of prudence forbidding such a step. Assuming this to be the case, of which there is no doubt, Sir Henry Rawlinson having permitted himself to refer to the arguments of Lord Lawrence and other writers in his notes, the question may perhaps be fairly asked, if the memorandum having such a confidential character ought to have been published, even at this date, seeing that the replies to it, the countervailing arguments of those most able to deal with the difficult subject, are shrouded by the obligation of official prudence and respect for diplomatic traditions? To say the least, the course pursued in this matter is hazardous and doubtful, and should by no means be construed into a precedent for other functionaries engaged in the discharge of duties under the Crown.

The series of papers forming this book, of which the first was written so long ago as 1849, is closed with the Sixth Chapter. The latter treats of many subjects bearing on the future relations of England and Russia in the East; but to use the words of the author,\* 'the essential feature of the chapter, and indeed of the whole volume, is the principle which it inculcates at the close of the argument, that if Russia should overstep certain limits in her approach to India, she must be checked by an armed resistance even at the risk of producing war between the two countries.'

Of much that appears in these two chapters notice has already been taken. It has been shown that we cannot reasonably object to the progress of the Russian arms in Central Asia; that on the contrary that progress is demanded by the interests of humanity and civilisation, while it is forced on Russia, whether she like it or not. Oddly enough, notwithstanding all his objections, Sir Henry Rawlinson is compelled to admit the obligation thus imposed on her. He cannot deny the necessity, and yet he would urge us to apply a sort of 'Munro' doctrine to Russia in Central Asia, and say to her, 'thus far shalt thou go and no further;' forgetting that to Russia belongs the advantage of position and of a long-continued and persistent policy, while we are separated from the scene of proposed interference by vast distances, by mountainous and savage countries, and further have no traditional policy on which to rest our foot. Further allusion to Persia is hardly required, although, according to the plan of republication of papers written at long intervals of time from one another, she again reappears in these chapters. We have then to consider the last division of the matter submitted by the author, the relations of Afghanistan to British India, the bearing of those relations on the so-called Central Asia question, as to whether the suggestions of Sir Henry Rawlinson are wise in a political or in a military sense.

Reference must first be made to Afghan-Turkistan, to which the term *Balkh*, the proper name of a state in the central group of tribes, is sometimes generally applied. And here, in treating of this little-known country, its limits and neighbours, we must ask the reader to refer to his map. This tract of territory is about five hundred miles long, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles broad, and stretches from the Murghab river to the Pamir Steppe west and east, and from the river Oxus to the Hindu Kush mountains north

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\* *England and Russia in the East*, p. viii. of Preface.

and south. To the north lies Bokhara, to the south Cabul. On the west are Herat and the Turkoman tribes, separating the tract from Persia. On the east rises the Pamir Steppe. The territory is divided into many provinces or chiefships. On the disappearance of the evanescent empire and political system of Nadir Shah, after his death in 1747, the petty Uzbek states were incorporated in the empire of Afghanistan, founded by Ahmed Shah Abdallee in the middle of the last century. A brief interruption occurred about 1800, when for a short period, the Ameer of Bokhara exercised supremacy over Balkh. Subsequently, a semi-independence was for a time established, by the central state of Balkh, Kunduz, and Badakshan. From 1826 to 1850, the relations of the several small states or chiefships were intricate and difficult. The western ones paid submission alternately to Bokhara or Herat, and sometimes even sought the protection of Persia. The central chiefships gave a nominal allegiance to Bokhara. Those to the east formed an independent kingdom, which for some time set at defiance the power of Cabul and of Bokhara alike. Since 1853, the Ameer of Afghanistan has been the real and only sovereign of the entire country. The re-conquest effected by this monarchy began with the city and plain of Balkh in 1850. The river Oxus was afterwards declared to be the boundary between the kingdoms of Bokhara and Afghanistan; this having been still further settled and defined by the Ameer of Bokhara, during the negotiations of 1859 between the two states.

Having thus traced the arrangements finally arrived at by the two native Powers, we may turn to the obligations incurred in their support by the Government of India on the one side, as regards the Court of Cabul, and by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg on the other, with reference to Bokhara, of which the Czar is now the virtual Suzerain. By the second article of the treaty of 1855, the Government of India agreed to respect those territories of Afghanistan which were at that time in the possession of the Ameer. The first article of the treaty of 1857 bound the Government of India to recognise the possessions of the Ameer in Balkh as part of Afghanistan.

The foregoing details have been abstracted from an excellent memorandum prepared by Mr. Talboys Wheeler of the Foreign Department of the Government of India. For what has been done by Russia we revert to Sir Henry Rawlinson's pages. 'After three years of negotiations, supported 'by unusually strong language on the part of our Foreign 'Office, and aided at last by the desire of Russia to secure



‘our acquiescence in her Khivan expedition, the line of the ‘Oxus, which we had from the outset asserted to be the true ‘Afghan frontier to the north, was formally and irrevocably ‘accepted.’ Thus, dismissing the insinuations against both the British and the Russian Governments, we find the former maintaining successfully what it had asserted by its treaties of 1855 and 1857 with Afghanistan, and reaffirmed in the *entente cordiale* of Lord Mayo with Shir Ali Khan in 1869; and that, after due investigation of the facts, Russia yielded to the argument of which the truth and justice had been proved. This would seem to be a sufficient answer to the charge so frequently preferred, of weakness and careless regard for its allies against the one, and that of hostile and far-reaching design, so unceasingly urged by Sir Henry Rawlinson and the political school he leads, against the other.

The fact of Russia’s virtual suzeraineté over the Khanates of Bokhara and Kokan is one which, with our experience of the fickle and savage temper of Central Asiatic tribes, might easily involve her military commanders in dangerous disputes with the governors and chiefs of Afghan-Turkistan. As the author admits: ‘As Russia has conceded the main question of the ‘Afghan right to Badakshan and Wakhan, she is, of course, ‘bound to accept the established frontiers of these districts as ‘the line of demarcation which limits her own dependencies of ‘Kokand and Bokhara to the south.’ This being so, can we be surprised at the Russian Government being desirous that England should undertake to influence Shir Ali Khan, the Amcer of Afghanistan, to maintain a peaceful attitude, and to abstain from all measures of aggression or further conquest? The answer of the Indian Government was perfectly reasonable, and probably effected what was desired by Russia, though carefully limiting its responsibility:—‘We have never ‘desired to interfere with the independence of Afghanistan, and ‘therefore, we can undertake no further responsibility with ‘regard to the action of the Amir, than to press upon him, in ‘case of need, in the strongest manner our friendly advice, and ‘to govern our relations with him in accordance with the action ‘he may take, in the same way as the Russian Government ‘have engaged to act with regard to Bokhara.’\*

This pressure was found sufficient for the recent settlement of the difference between the Amcer of Afghanistan and the Shah of Persia, which, without our intervention and pressure on both parties, was serious enough to have ended in war, Shir

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\* England and Russia in the East. See from p. 304 to p. 313.

Ali Khan not having been satisfied with the arrangement. With regard to infringing on Bokhara under present circumstances and abstention from further conquest in that direction, our pressure on the Ameer would be powerfully aided by fear of the Czar of Russia. In the case of Persia there was no such lever of dread with which to influence the mind of the Ameer. The system pursued by us in our relations with Afghanistan, enables the Viceroy to bring a personal influence to bear on the Ameer which is felt by the latter in the most sensitive manner. His conduct, sulkiness, disregard of important advice, would at once cause the stoppage of the pecuniary aid so eagerly looked for by him. The hint of such an occurrence has been found sufficient to ensure compliance with the advice or the desire of the Government of India. The inference to be drawn from these facts is too obvious to require more illustration. It is entirely satisfactory as regards our relations with Russia; it is a practical guarantee of security of the dominion of the Ameer of Afghanistan in the direction of Bokhara and therefore of Russia, if he behaves as he ought to do; it is an indication to the ministers of the Czar that notwithstanding the guarded language of the Government of India, and of Mr. Gladstone when speaking on the subject in England, we are able and willing to aid in the cause of border peace and order between Balkh and Bokhara, as reasonably asked for by them. Such is the proper and statesmanlike view of these matters. It may surely be preferred to a jealous hunt for hostile or dissatisfied paragraphs in Russian newspapers, to which Sir Henry Rawlinson attributes an importance to the last degree surprising in one of such long official and diplomatic experience. Considering the avowed object of the volume under review, it was not to be expected that the writer would be appeased by the successful result of the negotiations to which reference has been made, or that his apprehensions and suspicions of Russian hostility and far-reaching design would be allayed by diplomatic action between the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg, and the reciprocity established for the restraint of the untamed kingdoms respectively influenced by them.

Accordingly we find a note of alarm sounded in the direction of the Caspian, and of the line of advance eastward open to the Russian generals for the enforcement of order among the Turcoman tribes lying between that sea and Merv. It is admitted that from time immemorial these tribes, in their origin of the same family as the Uzbeks, 'are hereditary brigands and man-stealers.' While asserting the possibility of

the Turcoman horse being converted by Russian officers into the most formidable light cavalry in Asia, Sir Henry Rawlinson confesses, 'it is far more likely they will remain for ages 'the scourge of Eastern Persia, and the inveterate enemy to 'civilisation and commerce.' He then proceeds to say (p. 323), that if Russia judged it necessary to keep them under control, so as to ensure uninterrupted communication between the Caspian and the Oxus, it would be necessary to build a line of forts along the Attock, and to occupy in force both Serakhs and Merv; measures which would certainly be resented by Persia if she still retained her independence, and which would further involve the Russian Government in political combination with this country, which might compromise her whole position in Central Asia.

It is evident that, *pace* the British alarmist, Russia is determined 'the inveterate enemy to civilisation and commerce' shall no longer have his own way where Russian commerce is concerned, and where the Russian administration is intent on introducing some rude kind of civilisation in the interest of settlers and traders. The task thus undertaken is not an easy one. Persia has proved entirely unequal to it, experience having shown that although she can occupy Merv when she may find it necessary to do so, the retention of the position is difficult, probably beyond her power, if the Turcomans are not controlled in other quarters. It is not uninteresting to follow what is said of the sufferings of the Persians at the hands of the Turcomans:—

'Ever since Nadir Shah in the last century placed a colony of war-like Kurds along the frontier to arrest irruption from the Attock, there has been a chronic state of warfare in Khorassan from Merv to Asterabad. Whole districts have been ravaged and depopulated; trade has been suspended; the high road has been rendered impassable for travellers; while many thousands of unfortunate Persians have been yearly carried to the slave-markets of Khiva and Bokhara, even during the present year; while the Tekkehs, distracted apparently with terror at the imminency of a Russian invasion, have been appealing for succour to Cabul, they have on two occasions burst 4,000 strong across the border, and harried the country to the gates of Meshed.' (P. 328.)

Such being the facts regarding the habits and propensities of the Turcomans, as stated by Sir H. Rawlinson, he permits himself to doubt the reports of the Russian generals on which the reduction of these turbulent man-stealing savages is based, and to attribute the basest motives to the military commanders on what he is pleased to call Russian authority. It is patent that whether Russian or Persian, or of any other

nationality, the stranger is looked on by the Turcoman as fair prey for the slave-market, and that the entire policy established by the Government of the Czar for the extension of commerce and other civilising influences in Central Asia, including the abolition of the slave-trade in the Khanates, must be abandoned, if the taming of the Turcoman is set aside on any considerations whatever. It follows then that weakness of this kind cannot be expected from a powerful Government acting according to the traditions of an ancient policy approaching its completion for such purposes, and stimulated by the resolute determination of its people now discussing these subjects with a knowledge of all the facts to which attention has been drawn. It is perhaps natural, under all the circumstances, that Persia should feel jealous of the Russian invasion on the one side, and that Shir Ali Khan, the Ameer of Cabul on the other, should have taken occasion to invite the attention of the Government of India to the troubles which threatened the new frontier. It was also expedient to advise the Government of Russia on our part, as was done by Earl Granville, that a Russian expedition to Merv might lead to complications involving interference on our part in support of Afghanistan. But we cannot be surprised at such warnings, while received with courtesy, being estimated with regard to the stern facts adduced by Sir Henry Rawlinson in his description of the tribes, rather than with reference to the jealousy of the two States, who, while doubtless afraid of Russia, are willing to continue the barbarism and the horrors with which their own imperfect civilisation has ever been unable to cope.

At this point we encounter the question of our own responsibility—what should be our policy towards Russia in this matter of Central Asia, as raised by the recent movements of the latter eastward from the Caspian? and whether the suggestions hazarded by Sir Henry Rawlinson can possibly be adopted with justice to the Ameer of Cabul, with satisfaction to India, and with prudential regard for the best interests of England? A question was lately put in Parliament to the Under Secretary of the Indian Office, as to what we were doing about Merv and Herat. The reply was to the effect, that Herat was some 700 miles to the west of our frontier, the Under Secretary having apparently considered that the question was sufficiently answered by a statement of distance. It may be added that Herat is close to the confines of Persia; that in very old times it was a second Persian capital, a fact always remaining in Persian memory; but that since the

death of Nadir Shah, Herat has formed part of the empire of Afghanistan, with occasional alternations of quasi independence. The mere statement of distance from the north-western frontier of India, however by no means represents the real conditions of the region intervening between Herat and the Indus. Thus of all rugged and mountainous countries which have distinguished themselves by civil war and tribal contention, Afghanistan is the most rugged, the most difficult of approach, the most compromising when occupied. We are told of its physical features in the following terms in the most indisputable geographical record.\* 'Afghanistan is an elevated table land presenting a combination of lofty mountain chains, elevated uplands, rugged, deep, and narrow valleys, and extensive plains. Rich and fertile plains occur on the banks of the Cabul river, in the vicinity of Candahar, and on the banks of the Helmund, but the great body of Afghanistan is mountainous; and Nature here, as in Switzerland, presents the most striking contrasts—the icy climate of the Poles alternating with the heat of the Equator.'

The officers who wrote for our information after the Cabul War, which was terminated in 1842, have been particular in their description of the difficulties they encountered, as the immediate consequence of marching even when unopposed in a country of which the physical facts are such as here set out, there being no roads in the passes but the beds of mountain torrents, or such pathways as may suit a mountaineer, but to traverse which with guns, other army matériel and supplies, is an affair of extraordinary labour and fatigue. The late Sir Henry Havelock, an authority not likely to be impeached, rises to eloquence in his description of the obstacles overcome by the column he accompanied under the late Sir Willoughby Cotton, of the difficulties presented by climate in certain districts, of the meagreness of supplies; in short, of all the conditions of an army passing over desert tracts in one part of its toilsome route, over elevated passes in others, and finding places of rest and supply from the country in a few centres situate in the valleys or plains referred to by the gazetteer.

If we turn now to the character of the people inhabiting

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\* Gazetteer of the World—Article 'Afghanistan,' vol. xii. p. 65. See also a most able and exhaustive article on 'Afghanistan,' in the first volume of the ninth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' recently published by Messrs. Black of Edinburgh. We cannot be mistaken in attributing this very remarkable paper to Colonel Yule, whose initials are appended to it. It is a contribution of the highest value to the history and geography of Central Asia.

these regions, we find that Lord Lawrence has deliberately given his opinion, as being generally admitted by the inhabitants of India, that the Afghans are superior in courage, hardihood, and force of character to all other races of Central Asia. Bearing in mind the remarkable strength of their country, they could, according to the experience of the late Governor-General of India, hold their own against any enemy which might come against them, provided they were united; a condition admitted by Lord Lawrence to be very unlikely, it being certain that no people in the world are more liable to intrigue, more open to corruption, more apt to be influenced by the sense of immediate gain and the prospect of pillage and plunder, and more under tribal influences. But nevertheless, the probability is, and this we believe to be very generally allowed by the men of practical experience, that given the invasion of Afghanistan whether from the north and east under the impulse of Russia, or from the west and south by ourselves, the invaders would be resisted by the mass of the nation. On the other hand, as shown by our own experience, whether united or not, the Afghans are powerless to offer a real and availing resistance to the march of disciplined troops of which a portion is European, and the whole trained and directed by European officers. What the Russians have found to be so easy in the wide plains of Turkistan, we did not find difficult in the mountainous and rugged ground of Afghanistan. A small force of tired and overtaxed troops seized the strong fortress of Ghuznee by a *coup de main*. Candahar, Jellalabad, Istalif, the marches of Nott, Pollock and Sale, all proclaimed the same truth. So long as the command of the British forces in the Afghan War was exercised with ordinary intelligence, no real military risk in the sense of danger from the overpowering force of the enemy could be said to have existed. But in a country, and with a population such as we have described, the real difficulty begins after invasion has been completed, and when occupation has begun; when, in short, dominion is to be established. In the plains of India on the one side, including our most recent acquisitions of Sind and the Punjab, and in those of Turkistan on the other, the establishment of dominion is a simple and easy affair, following on the configuration of the territory occupied. In very mountainous countries, as we have seen by the example of parts of the Continent of Europe, and illustrated as it were in miniature by the history of the Highlands of Scotland in the old days, the tribal and clannish instincts, the frequent absence of settled industry, the delight in war, render such establishment of dominion insecure, and the enforcement of

peace and order difficult in proportion. In the plains of the Punjab and of Sind we have never had to fire a shot since the annexation of those provinces. On the north-west and west frontiers we are fronted by successive ranges of mountains which tack on to the hills bounding Beloochistan. Our boundaries are fixed by the limit of the plains.

These mountains form as it were a belt of independent tribes. The latter acknowledge no practical allegiance except to their own chiefs. They are alike free of the Ameer of Afghanistan and of ourselves. It is not an exaggeration to say that twenty years of frontier war passed away before we were able to assure the safety of British subjects at the foot of these mountain ranges. And even now from time to time our officers are obliged to lead expeditions into the hills for the punishment of marauders. The watch and ward are never intermitted. When Sir Henry Rawlinson's memorandum was discussed in India in 1868, some curious evidence on this point was understood to have been afforded. It was then said that the general officer responsible for the peace of the frontier was interrogated by Government on the amount of force required for the quelling of the great Afreedee Tribe, of which a section had lately killed a British officer. General Wilde's estimate in reply contemplated an army of 20,000 men. This view was confirmed by the best political authority. The experience of the expedition of Sir Charles Napier in the Kohat Pass in 1850; the campaigns of Sir Neville Chamberlain and Sir John Garvock in 1863; the movement of General Wilde against the Black Mountain in 1868; all serve to show the character of the defence these mountaineers are able to offer when attacked in their fastnesses and on the formidable ground in which their villages are situated.

The mountains, thus inhabited and occupied in a military sense, have from time immemorial enabled the holders of them to exact black mail from travellers, merchants, and military bodies not strong enough to coerce them. Convoys, unless strenuously defended, are their prey. They retire fighting before a strong force. They invariably fall on the rear of a retreating one. This is an element in the consideration of Afghanistan which is generally overlooked, the mistake being made of jumbling up all the country and tribes to the west of our border, as if they formed one kingdom amenable to a central control. It is clear on the contrary, that supposing the Ameer of Afghanistan were willing to admit a foreign occupation of part of his dominions, the intruder would have to deal with these independent tribes in a very serious manner, taxing

his energies and resources to the utmost, before he could enforce such a peace as we insist on in Hindostan, and Russia has lately determined to compel throughout the wide plains of Turkistan—that peace to which she asks our aid in the form of pressure and influence on the ruler of Cabul and the south-western section of Central Asia. Sir Henry Rawlinson does this ruler a great injustice when he makes him personally responsible for the closing of the Bolan and Khybur passes, under the blackmail system, these being the chief ways for trade to and from India. He must be aware of the Ameer's powerlessness to cope with the state of things above described, and of the ages for which it has existed. But if truth be told, it seems but too clear that the writer of 'England and Russia in the East' wishes to create a grievance against the Ameer—to excite the anger of the British public—to find a cause for the occupation of his country against his will, if he is not prepared to invite us to enter it, and hold some most important positions, which would virtually amount to the cession to us of half his territory. This seems strangely like the conduct attributed to Russian generals, of which the denunciation is fresh in our ears as regards the Turcomans, and the action pursued towards the Khanates by Romanovski, Kauffman, and others. We are told that all we want is rest from foreign wars; but that we are obliged to embark on the waters of political strife. If Russia would be content with her present frontier, we might fold our hands in peace. As unfortunately however, for the reasons which have been set out, Russia takes advantage of her position for the continuous and persistent policy of reducing the barbarism interfering with her own commercial development, we are invited to meet her with the 'counter-check quarrelsome;' and further, on a possible event taking place, to reverse our policy in the East; to trample treaties under foot; to commit ourselves to a permanent occupation of an unwilling, indeed, so far as this goes, a deeply hostile country; to a lavish expenditure of the resources in men and material; to an annual heavy deficit in the Indian Treasury.

The contingency which is to give rise to all these consequences is the advance of the Russian posts to Merv, a point declared by Sir H. Rawlinson to have much strategical importance, where formerly flourished a great city, but now marked only by a village. As the crow flies, Merv is about two hundred miles north of Herat, the road lying along the course of the Murghab river, and crossing the mountain chains which shut in the north of the wide valley where lies the city.

The attempt is made to cause us to believe that the reduction



of the Yomut and Tekkeh Turcomans, involving the possible establishment of a Russian post at Merv, is a direct Russian menace to Afghanistan; serious complications being sure to follow on the pressure put on the Turcomans, who might in such case be driven into the mountains of Afghan-Turkistan. It is intelligible that the Ameer may feel uneasy at such possibilities. Action might and probably would be incumbent on him to resist the Turcomans retreating from the Russian arms. But why this matter of the possible establishment of a Russian post at Merv should produce more important consequences, or lead to a Russian violation of the Afghan frontier, or indicate design on British India, and therefore war with Great Britain in every quarter of the globe, it is hard to understand.

Yet such is the fixed idea exercising the mind of our author. On account of this we are to be roused to the strenuous action he recommends. This action comprises, on the Russians advancing to Merv, a counter-advance from our side to Herat, with Shir Ali's goodwill if it can be obtained, but against it if his so-called 'perversity' continues, and he declines our offer to annex a large section of his territory on receiving a certain rental from us. The reader will not have forgotten the account of the treaties of 1855 and 1857, by which we bound ourselves to respect these territories, and the further confirmation through the *entente cordiale* of Lord Mayo and the Ameer in 1869. It may be—we accept Sir H. Rawlinson's word for it, who has doubtless access to official sources of information—that owing to the fickle nature of the Afghan, that *entente* is not in 1875 what it was in 1869. But the treaties and the guarantee remain notwithstanding; the latter having been further strengthened by the interest we have shown, and the success we have obtained in fixing the Oxus boundary of Afghan-Turkistan as before described. The Russians have thus been invited to be parties to the quasi neutralisation of Afghanistan in the interests of peace and of the policy desired by the British Government. Under these circumstances, if the unlikely contingency arose of Shir Ali Khan inviting us to hold Herat, the possibility of which is suggested, the Foreign Office must consider a grave matter. With regard to our European as well as Asiatic relations with Russia, would it be politic, wise, and in the sense of our most recent negotiations with her in the affairs of Shir Ali Khan, to occupy half the territory of the latter with British forces? This question may be safely left to the prudence of Lord Derby, whose speech of the 8th of May, 1874, in answer to a question from Lord Napier and Ettrick, was eminently satisfactory as regards the true character of our responsibility;

the wisdom of bearing in mind 'that the people of a country 'will have something to say on their own destiny;' the impolicy of interference without their consent; the assertion of the territorial integrity and independence of Afghanistan; and 'that any interference with them might be regarded as a very 'grave matter, &c.' Lord Derby then proceeded to guard his position against absolute demands from the ruler of Afghanistan under circumstances which cannot be foreseen. Lord Granville entirely concurred.

The political part of the subject is thus disposed of by our treaty obligations, and the view taken of it by her Majesty's Government. But it may be added, that so far as argument is concerned there is little more to be said against a Russian use of Merv for enforcement of a peace policy on the Turcomans, than was urged against the extension of the suzeraineté of the Czar over the Khanates. The fact of that suzeraineté has made him the virtual neighbour of Shir Ali Khan through the medium of Bokhara, and along the boundary of the Oxus recently recognised by Russia.

If we turn to the military aspect of the questions raised by Sir Henry Rawlinson, we are ready to admit the justice of his view that the first operation of an advance would be attended with no particular risk. The marches effected by Lord Keane in 1838, and by Generals Pollock and Nott in 1842, are sufficient evidence of the truth of such remarks. We may take it as an axiom in Asiatic war that so long as an advance continues, that success attends the standards, that the fighting power of the civilised and disciplined force is in collision with the impulsive but wasteful energy of barbarian levies, however brave the individuals comprising the latter, however strong their country, those levies must succumb if the disciplined army is directed with common skill and prudence. The problem to be solved now would not be so difficult as that which lay before Lord Keane. The Afghan knows our power, and has duly estimated the influence of our wealth. The story of the old war, of the terrible retribution following on the insurrection which was fatal only in one place, Cabul itself, through the ill health and incompetency of the commanding general, cannot have been forgotten. Lord Keane's operation was conducted in the first place through countries which were semi-hostile, and he was removed at a great distance from a base of supply for the matériel of war before he entered Afghanistan. The like difficulty attended the march of General Pollock. Now, on the contrary, the advance of our frontier to the foot of the mountains beyond the Indus gives us the

proper military base of operation for a movement in force on Afghanistan, whether from the west or the south-west. This fact, while facilitating the march of the troops and supplies of all kinds, including matériel of war, would of course diminish the expense of the first advance *pro tanto*. If the probability be admitted, as suggested by Sir H. Rawlinson, that this movement may ultimately be made in consequence of the solicitation of Shir Ali Khan, we might fairly expect that the troops would encounter only such difficulties as are presented by the ground. But in the alternative of the advance being effected against the '*perverse*' wish of the ruler whose territory we have defined by treaty, the force would have to make up its mind to beat down opposition in the field of no great consequence, to guard every convoy of supplies and hospital with unceasing vigilance, and finally, to undertake the siege of Herat after a toilsome march over a desert in the first instance, and then up hill and down dale extending to 700 miles. The siege of Herat at the end of such a march must be looked on as a serious undertaking. The difficulties attending it would in the end be doubtless overcome, but we must not count on the success of such a *coup de main* in the absence of heavy guns as that to which Ghuznee owed its fall in the old war. As a matter of common prudence, with or without the goodwill of Shir Ali Khan, the force advancing to Herat could not so hazard itself there, without dragging its siege guns and ammunition along with it. The fortifications of Herat, as described by Sir Henry Rawlinson, are really of very serious character, including immense earthworks, a wet ditch 45 feet in width, and a citadel of considerable strength. This being so, he declares his opinion—

'That under no circumstances must the expeditionary force exceed a strength of 10,000 men, the greater part of course being Europeans; 5,000 being allotted to the garrison of Herat, and 3,000 to Candahar, while 1,000 men might occupy Quetta and Pishin, keeping up the communication in the lower section of the line, and the remaining 1,000 would be distributed between Girishk and Farreh, so-as to connect Candahar with Herat.' (P. 36.)

He is also pleased to say that the Afghans are less formidable opponents than the Kirghiz or Turcomans, an assertion contrary to the belief of other observers; while he also declares the country to be well supplied with carriage and supplies, which again would have to be severely tested by the advancing force.

But the odd part of this plan of campaign is, that assuming '*perversity*' on the part of Shir Ali Khan, Sir H. Rawlinson

has forgotten that the siege of Herat would be forced on us at the end of the long march of his body of five thousand men, which he designates as sufficient for its garrison. But is the force which may suffice for a garrison competent to take a fortress such as that described by himself, except through some extraordinary stroke of luck? This no officer in command would permit himself to assert when estimating the chances and results of such an operation committed to his charge. But further, while the siege was proceeding and probably long before, while the besieging force was piercing its way towards Herat, the garrison designed for Candahar would have to show a front to the northward to prevent the attack in flank or rear of the former. For this purpose the disposable force would be inadequate after leaving half the strength of the ordinary garrison to hold Candahar and protect the arsenal and sick. The latter, by the time the troops had passed that point, would have begun to accumulate in considerable numbers. Similar arguments apply to the occupation of Quetta, and the utterly insufficient numbers ascribed for the protection of what is called the lower section of the line, by which is meant the Bolan Pass, with the tribal system of blackmailing every trading caravan, and of pillaging every convoy not strong enough to protect itself. For the difficulties of that long pass, the impossibility of rapid communication between one point and another, the extraordinary exertions demanded from the troops in surmounting it, we must refer the reader to the 'Narrative of the War in Afghanistan,' by the late Sir Henry Havelock, with an expression of regret that our space does not admit of quotation from his pages. It is sufficient to say, that Quetta is separated from the nearest British station by upwards of 200 miles of the most difficult ground. And for this Sir Henry Rawlinson proposes a guard of 1,000 men, the suggested garrison of Quetta being so slender as to preclude detachment from it. The pass itself is estimated at 66 miles. It may be added, that after April the march of troops from Sinde across the desert is absolutely prohibited by a pestilential simoom and the intense heat of Cutchee. Under all these circumstances we may be excused for differing from Sir Henry Rawlinson on the strength of the army required for penetration to Herat, its probable siege, and the guard of the long line of communication. The latter includes the garrisons of Quetta and Candahar, and the power not only for quelling tribal annoyance on the convoys and small detachments, but also for meeting such a force as might be arrayed in the field by the Ameer of Afghanistan to fall on the flank or rear of the columns invading his country, and bent

on annexing half its territory against his will under the pretext of protecting him from another Power.

Well, it appears to us, that instead of 10,000 men, 31,000 men would not be an excessive estimate for the proposed task, to consist of 11,000 Europeans, 20,000 Native troops. These figures in the gross would be composed as follows:—

British Cavalry . . . . .	1,400	
Horse and Field Artillery, 10 Batteries	1,800	
Garrison Batteries, say 4 . . .	400	3,600
British Infantry, 8 Battalions .	7,000	
Sappers and Miners, 4 Companies .	400	7,400
Native Cavalry . . . . .	4,000	
Native Infantry . . . . .	16,000	20,000
		<hr/> 31,000

To this figure of fighting men would have to be added the officers and artisans for the matériel of the park of artillery including siege train, for the engineer's park, and the ordnance and commissariat stores, in which are comprised camp equipage, hospital comforts—in short, the appurtenances of an army in the field.

An army constituted as thus stated would carry through the aggressive policy under contemplation with certainty. The estimate of Sir Henry Rawlinson is so inadequate as to expose us to the greatest risk. It would ensure that collision with the forces of the Ameer and the defence of Herat, which an imposing demonstration in the first instance might possibly, indeed very probably stave off, thus allowing the occupation and the establishment of dominion quickly to take place.

Having arrived at that point, we may candidly say that with reference to our former experience of Afghanistan and the argument already set forth, the numbers of the occupying force could not be much diminished after the invasion had been successfully executed. Our occupation would be a permanent one. Every position held by us would be a centre from which over a considerable radius we should be bound to enforce order and to ensure the peace. Having garrisoned Herat, we should have become responsible indeed for the good behaviour, not only of Shir Ali Khan the Ameer, but of all the tribes in Afghan Turkistan touching the Bokhara frontier on the Oxus. Practically the vision of the late Russian Ambassador would be realised: the Sepoy and the Cossack would have met. It seems to us under these circumstances that the force to be permanently cantoned at Herat should not be less than 15,000

men of the different arms, &c. &c., the communication with India being held by detachments amounting to about the like strength.

We would now remind the reader of the allusion in a former page to the composition of the Indian armies. If the aggressive policy be assumed to be a fact, there can be no doubt much joy would at first be apparent in the Bengal army. The British officer would simply be delighted; so also would be his men of British breed. The Sikh and the Pathan, the Goorkha, and the Mahomedan of the Punjab, would alike hail the marching order with supreme satisfaction. The Hindostanee Sepoys, the natives of Oudh and Behar, would march not perhaps so willingly, but in these days without demur such as we saw in 1838. But after the first year of occupation the feelings of all the native troops would change. They would cast longing looks towards their wives and families removed from them by vast distances of space and time. The Government of India would find it prudent, if not indispensable, to deal with such facts which under similar conditions invariably reproduce themselves. It would then be politic and expedient gradually to raise contingent forces in the newly occupied country; in short, to create a new Sepoy army of men recruited from the tribes in Afghanistan, in order to allow of the retreat to their own country of the soldiery levied in India. This operation would present few practical difficulties. The new force so raised, paid regularly as it would be, and organised by English officers of the proper stamp, would be reliable and loyal. They would look to the British batteries and regiments as their guides in battle on the one hand, and as being placed there to ensure their firmness and loyalty on the other. The north-west frontier force now in existence beyond the Indus, which is thus recruited, shows what can be done in this manner, and how trustworthy such a force can become.

Of course, if through incompetency of command, or any other cause, such as the withdrawal of the British regiments, and leaving the native troops so raised to themselves, the conditions of their loyalty were weakened, we should have to look out for mutiny and danger. But with good command, prudent administration and government, no risk ought to follow on such arrangements.

Having thus stated the military conditions of the aggression, the subsequent occupation, and the assertion of dominion, let us glance at the financial view of the operation with regard to India and at Sir H. Rawlinson's invitation to England also. We may take it for granted that a movement on such a scale

as has been illustrated could not be effected under an annual charge of from three to four millions of our money. There are, we believe, official data for this estimate. The armies of India have been for some years placed on the lowest footing of a peace establishment. Lord Lawrence's government of India was an economical one, and his commander-in-chief, Sir William Mansfield, now Lord Sandhurst, incurred not a little unpopularity through his resolute support of the Government in the reduction of the numbers of the armies and of military expenditure generally. Yet when the small force led by Lord Napier of Magdala to Abyssinia was organised, these two authorities agreed on the necessity of replacing the native infantry thus abstracted from its legitimate purpose of the guard of India.

It follows then, and this fact must ever be borne in our remembrance, that whatever force might be marched across the border into Afghanistan must be an augmentation of the armies of India, both in its European and native constituents. We are absolutely forbidden to diminish the already slender military strength with which we hold the vast expanse of territory called British India, control its widely extended frontiers, and enforce the diplomatic action of the Government. It was to forgetfulness of such considerations that in the first instance the disaster of Cabul was mainly due, and in the second, the mutiny of the Sepoy army and the subsequent war. Both the army and the provinces of India had come to believe in the disappearance of the main body of the European forces, because of their absorption in the new territory of the Punjab. This point thus affects England as well as India. In the latter, the raising of an additional force of 20,000 men is a small matter. It is simply a question of money. But to add to the British army in India such a strength as is represented by 11,000 men, is an operation which may well be viewed with some dismay by the Secretary of War and those who have lately tried to convince him of the difficulties incidental to our weak and obsolete system of recruitment. The permanent detachment of 11,000 men to India in addition to the British force proper already stationed in that country, must entail the maintenance of proportionate reserves at home, according to the plan sketched out during the ministry of Lord Cardwell, and now in course of execution. In this manner would the addition to the army involve numbers amounting probably to 20,000, of which the expense of about the half would have to be borne by England, this being in excess of the estimate falling to the lot of India, if these matters be dealt with according to

former precedents of administration. We have only to say as regards India, that owing to the rapid development of railways, canals, and other public works, some civil and some military; to the progress of education under the auspices of Government; to the general rise of prices and wages, and occasional severe famine, the finances of India have for many years past been in a state of chronic deficit. The debt grows from year to year. The reasons given for the deficits and the means taken to meet them may be, and we believe generally are, excellent. But the fact of the deficits remains notwithstanding. The proposal before us is to annex the southern half of the kingdom of Cabul, to occupy it in military fashion, extending our frontier from the Indus to the confines of Persia. We are to draw no revenue from the country so occupied, but to pay a rental to the dispossessed Ameer. Consequently the entire charge of the occupation would fall on the over-burdened revenues of India. It is needless to say this would entail an absolute, an alarming change of our financial system, involving new and serious taxation, the imposition of which is deprecated by everyone who has been engaged in Indian administration, on the grounds of the stoppage it would place on the material advance of the country, and the universal discontent to which it would give rise. True it is that Sir Henry Rawlinson is of opinion that the expense of the occupation, should be shared between the treasury of Great Britain and the Indian Exchequer. We have a difficulty in believing in the seriousness of this view. But being soberly recorded, the notice of it becomes a duty. The reason alleged for the suggestion is, 'that the defence of India against Russia is a question of imperial rather than of local policy.\*' The defence of India is, indeed, an imperial question in the sense of the honour of Great Britain and the capital advanced by this country for the development of the province. 'Our destiny' has covered us with the responsibility of governing India, that responsibility, as is well known, having been incurred somewhat unwillingly by British ministries and the old East India Company. But in return for this burden India pays us nothing as a ruling Power. We draw no tribute or pecuniary advantage as by conquerors from the conquered. The entire resources of India are spent for the benefit and service of that country, individual taxation having been immensely diminished since the several provinces successively passed away from native rule. The necessity thrust upon

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\* *England and Russia in the East*, pp. x. and xi. of the Preface.



us of maintaining dominion carries with it a heavy expenditure of our own countrymen, adds much to the difficulties of our military system, and gives not a little occasion for the complexity of those European problems which weaken our diplomatic position. Thus our action in dealing with Continental Powers is constantly hampered by Indian considerations. In return for this, a large trade is opened between the two countries, of which Great Britain finds the most part of the capital, commerce with the rest of the world has been rendered free, immense administrative and industrial undertakings and constructions have been effected in India by the savings and enterprise of the mother country, the West and the East profiting alike accordingly. It has always been held that while we refrain from exacting a tribute India should pay for her defence and expansion of empire whatever the motives prompting to the latter. To ask us to depart from this principle could alone occur to one politically educated in Eastern parts, who is imbued with the fallacious notion that the imperial Power is not justified in requiring duty from the subject province, because that duty is directly mixed up with the responsibility of the superior government, and who forgets accordingly that the responsibility with all the difficulties is enormously increased by the liabilities, domestic and foreign, of the province.

There is one more point of the argument we have sought to controvert demanding notice before the conclusion can be stated. We are urged to believe the old fallacy that the possession of Herat by any Power other than that of Afghanistan is not only a menace to the British and Indian Empire, but that Herat is what is called the key to India; that is to say, that the possession of Herat opens the door of India to any set of robbers who may choose to present themselves, victory being then assured to them. The British power which has grown up during the last 150 years, and like the Banian-tree is constantly sending forth its pendent branches to strike new roots and so add fresh security to the widely spread growth, is assumed to disappear with the rapidity of scene-shifting on the stage. The utter falsehood of the assumption, the gross fallacy of the reasoning adduced in its support, the consideration of British power in the East material and moral, and of the still greater power for the influence of other nations and governments wielded by the diplomacy and action of Great Britain, have only to be stated to carry conviction to every educated and unbiassed mind. But we may add what generally escapes the Anglo-Indian politician, that whatever the Power threatening

our possessions in the East at any future time, the defence will begin and continue mainly on other than Asiatic ground. The execution of such designs as those attributed to Russia, the notion of which appears so far-fetched when subject to close investigation, could not take place without a conflict with England in which the passions of the latter would rise to a pitch little seen in modern times. Those designs are independent of such an affair as the occupation of Herat on the distant Persian Afghan border, either by Persia or Russia, although such occupation would be, as shown by Lord Derby, objected to because of our treaties with Afghanistan. The insignificance of Herat in the anti-Russian military sense, was long since pointed out by Mr. Michell,\* when he drew attention to the modern proximity of England to India through the agency of steam, and the rapid means for the concentration of troops on the north-west frontier afforded by the railway system.

This then is the answer to the sneers at the optimists and strategists who would restrict the local defence of India to its own mountain-clad frontier. The general defence involves political and diplomatic considerations of the most comprehensive description. It would be naval as well as military, European rather than Asiatic. The quarrel would be fought out in the Western Hemisphere and on the high seas, at least as much as on the soil of Asia.

The policy of adventure therefore to which the Governments of England and of British India are invited to commit themselves, stands condemned—on the grounds of international comity—of respect of treaties—of economy at home and in India—of the strange misappreciation of the vast imperial power, and of the will of Great Britain for self-assertion, if her possessions should be threatened by any nation however great, however ambitious, or by an alliance of many nations, of which we have not been without example in the course of our eventful history.

In conclusion then, the remark may be hazarded, that we decline to prefer a barbarous Islamism to the efforts made by Russia in Central Asia in the cause of civilisation. She is entitled to such credit on this account as Anglo-Indian politicians and some of the best Continental writers are glad to award to Great Britain for the pacification of the Indian peninsula. Her doings may be viewed without jealousy or suspicion on our part. The transparent honesty of our most recent proceedings with regard to Afghanistan and Persia

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\* Russians in Central Asia, pp. 4 and 5.

alike, our mild but at the same time resolute and persevering assertion of a diplomatic supremacy for the affirmation of peace without a hint of self-seeking, cannot fail to produce a real and lasting effect on the Governments of those countries. It must also convince not only the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, but the political thinkers and writers of Russia, that while satisfied with our limits and frontiers, which are to us as the confines of the British Isles, while deeply interested in the welfare of our neighbours, we abhor the very notion of aggressiveness, and rest in the sense of a well established and thoroughly guarded security.

To one final consideration we must briefly allude, though it is impossible for us to do more than indicate its extreme importance. The Governments of England and Russia are at this moment on better and more confidential terms than has been seen for the last five and thirty years. It is recognised throughout Europe that a good understanding between the rulers of these two great Empires is of the utmost importance to the peace of the world and to the security and independence of more than one of the minor States of the Continent. England and Russia alike are neutrals in the great political and religious conflicts which threaten to convulse society; but they are neutrals of sufficient power to avert war, as long as they act together. The wisdom of such action has attracted attention in Russia, in France, and in Germany, and has received confirmation from recent events. We may believe, therefore, that the two Courts, now allied by closer ties, will continue to combine and to act in support of this beneficent policy. It would be worse than madness, it would be a crime, to risk the existence of a friendship which is of supreme political importance to mankind, because of mistaken views of some imaginary danger in the heart of Central Asia.

# THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OCTOBER, 1875.

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ART. I.—1. *Report of the Special Committee of the Municipal Council of Dublin on the State of the Public Accounts between Ireland and Great Britain.* Dublin: 1863.

2. *Report on the State of Public Accounts between Great Britain and Ireland.* By W. NEILSON HANCOCK, LL.D. Dublin: 1864.

3. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Taxation of Ireland, together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* 1864 and 1865.

4. *Address at the opening of the Twenty-eighth Session of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland.* By the Right Hon. Lord EMLY. Dublin: 1874.

THE leaders of the more recent popular movements in Ireland have not been obliged to tax their ingenuity in originating grievances, or in seeking for arguments to support them. Their predecessors in the field of Irish agitation had already accomplished this work: everything that bore semblance to a national grievance has long since been brought to view; every argument that could be urged to support it has been familiarised by constant repetition, and every weapon ever forged in the armoury of Irish patriotic eloquence has over and over again done duty in the popular cause. Amongst the many arguments which have on former occasions been brought together, with the view of constructing an overwhelming case for the re-establishment of an Irish Parliament, the so-called 'financial grievance' figures not inconspicuously. For some time past the subject had been left in the background; but it has now once again been brought

into notice by the Home Rule party; and as, since last it was discussed, the circumstances of the two countries have undergone considerable changes, it appears eminently desirable that the present financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland should be clearly understood. To comprehend the subject thoroughly we must go back to the period of the Union, for not only have the measures then adopted guided and modified England's financial policy towards Ireland down to the present day, but they have been used by the Irish party as the basis of a grievance, and as a pretext for claims which, however absurd, are still asserted.

The condition of the finances of Ireland in the years preceding the Union may be summarised as one of rapidly increasing indebtedness; war with France, and violent contentions at home having raised the debt from 2,440,000*l.* in 1793 to 28,500,000*l.* in 1800. The condition of England during the same period was also one of increasing indebtedness, though not in the same rapid proportion, but in 1800 her debt had reached 450,000,000*l.* At these figures the debts of the two countries stood when the Union was determined on—debts so disproportionate as to cause considerable perplexity as to how the financial part of that Union was to be effected, without imposing on Ireland a burden which she had not incurred. But perplexity on this point was not to impede the carrying into effect of a measure imperatively demanded by the exigencies of the case and times. It is not necessary here to enter on any justification or defence of that measure. To use Sir Robert Peel's words:—

‘There are truths which lie too deep for argument, truths to the establishment of which the evidence of the senses or the feelings of the heart have contributed more than the slow process of reasoning; which are graven in deeper characters than any that reasoning can either impress or efface.’

And to this class of truths belongs the policy of union with Ireland.

‘The conviction in favour of that Union springs from every source from which conviction in the human mind can arise. Consult your senses, consult your feelings, consult reason, history and experience; they all concur in enforcing the same truth.’\*

Financial union not being immediately practicable, some arrangement had to be contrived, by which each country should bear its proportionate share of the burdens of a common

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\* Speech of Sir Robert Peel in debate on Repeal of the Union, 1834. *Hansard*, vol. xxiii. p. 69–71.

government. The solution proposed was, that 'in respect to 'past experiences Ireland was to have no concern whatever 'with the debt of Great Britain,'—was, in fact, to be only responsible for her own debt;—and that as regarded the future, 'the two countries were to unite as to future expenses on a 'strict measure of relative ability.' The chief difficulty in carrying into effect this plan, entailing as it did the continuance of separate taxation and separate exchequers, lay in obtaining a criterion of the relative ability of the two countries. The two most reliable criteria did not exist in Ireland, namely an income-tax or a land-tax.

'The next best test of ability,' said Lord Castlereagh, when expounding his plan to the Irish House of Commons, 'would 'be found in examining the relative commercial wealth of both 'countries, and the relative expenses of both in articles of 'luxury; '\* and upon this basis calculations were made, the result of which led to the decision that, 'the contribution of 'Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the United Kingdom in each year shall be defrayed 'in the proportion of *fifteen* parts for Great Britain and *two* for 'Ireland.' The 'relative ability' might be found by experience to have been placed too high or too low, or it might change, probably would, therefore after twenty years it should be revised, and within every twenty years after that further revised, unless—and it was a very important proviso—unless at any time the two *debts*, Ireland's and England's, should come to bear to each other the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain to two parts for Ireland. When that occurred, complete financial union was to take place, the exchequers were to be consolidated, and the expenditure of the United Kingdom (including the interest on the National Debt), was to be defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxation imposed on the same articles in each country, *subject to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand.*

This was the settlement of this important problem. Before twenty years had elapsed, when the proportions of contribution might be revised, it became necessary to act on the *proviso*. The calls upon the exchequer were not found to have been diminished by the Union: the party who had been foiled in 1798 had not abandoned their subversive schemes; and the peace of Amiens proved to be but a breathing pause in the struggle.

\* Speech of Lord Castlereagh proposing the Union. Irish House of Commons, February 5, 1800.

The first year after the Union, Ireland had been called upon to pay 7,628,000*l.*, to meet which she had only 3,186,900*l.*, leaving a deficit of 4,441,100*l.* The only extrication from the difficulty, therefore, was a loan. The following year the position is similar, and a similar process is had recourse to. The debt rises to 37,000,000*l.*; by 1804 it is over 40,000,000*l.*

It is unnecessary to trace minutely the proceedings of the following years. Great Britain, by using the most strenuous exertions, and making unexampled sacrifices, raised annually a large portion of the requisite amount by means of augmented taxes, principally by means of that 'colossal engine of finance,' the income-tax—and thus kept her debt from accumulating too rapidly. Ireland, however, unwilling to subject herself to the income-tax, without any direct taxation (except assessed taxes producing about half a million), and prevented from increasing her indirect taxation by a clause in the Union which forbade any alteration for twenty years on the rates on importation of British manufacture, was obliged to have recourse to loans, increasing thereby her separate debt, necessitating an increased provision for the ensuing year, and aggravating the very evil it was desirable to alleviate.

With continuing velocity the pile of debt went on accumulating, until at last the attention of Parliament was forced to the subject, and in 1815, a Select Committee reported to the House of Commons that the debt of Ireland had not alone arrived at, but had passed, the proportion when the exchequers might be consolidated; and they further expressed their opinion that the respective circumstances of the two countries would henceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately for the future expenditure of the United Kingdom. In the ensuing year the subject was brought before the House of Commons, and the following resolution was passed, its substance being shortly afterwards embodied in an Act of Parliament (56 Geo. III. cap. 8):

'That it is the opinion of this Committee that it is expedient that all future expenses henceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all debts hitherto contracted, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately by equal taxes, to be imposed on the same articles in each country; and that from time to time as circumstances may require such taxes should be imposed and applied accordingly, *subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand.*'

Thus, then, was accomplished the financial union of Great Britain and Ireland. Bitterly as it has been and is still in-

veighed against, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that it was the best thing which could have happened to Ireland. That country was not capable of yielding any large amount of revenue. The restrictions which, through what now is acknowledged to have been a mistaken policy, had been placed upon her commerce and upon her productive energies, combined with other circumstances, had checked the accumulation of capital; and though the great rise in the prices of agricultural produce during the war had considerably benefited the farmers, there was not a class that could contribute largely, or for any length of time, to the national expenses. Even if Ireland had remained separate, those expenses would have been little, if indeed at all, less than they were when she was united with Great Britain; she would still have aided England in the war, her domestic expenditure would, consequent on the disturbed state of the country, have been still large; whilst above all, there was not the faintest prospect of such an increase of prosperity as would have enabled her to surmount the financial difficulties in which she had become entangled. She must, therefore, have progressed in that path of indebtedness which she was already travelling along, incurring fresh debts at ever-increasing charge. The end must have been national bankruptcy; and between that and financial union with Great Britain, there seems to have been no possible alternative.

The Irish popular party have taken a very different view of the matter, and in treating of it, their leaders have at all times indulged in language which, however congenial to their followers, was certainly not calculated to commend their cause to those whom they wished to convince.\* According to them, this financial union was one of the vilest frauds ever perpetrated upon a nation; from the outset, it is maintained, it had been England's object to throw the burden of her own debt upon Ireland; and as British Ministers were unable to do this at the time of the Union, they *deliberately* charged Ireland with a proportion of the taxes which she could not possibly pay; and so, by compelling her to go into debt, raised the Irish debt to that proportion when the exchequers were to be united. The assertion is utterly unsupported by proof. Not a single para-

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\* See Speech of O'Connell in the House of Commons on Repeal, in which, in describing this transaction, he says, 'You put your hands 'into the pockets of her people, and like felons and pickpockets, you did 'not withdraw your hand until you left your victim, stript of all her 'wealth, a bankrupt and a beggar.'



graph is ever, nor indeed can ever be, quoted from any speech, not a single extract from any credible document is ever, nor ever can be, produced which will show or even tend to show that there was on the part of British Ministers even the remotest intention of deliberately overcharging Ireland. Whether in effect Ireland was overcharged or not is quite another matter; and in support of the view that she was, a number of authorities are quoted, principally the opinions of certain Irish Members of Parliament. It is however impossible to re-open the discussion as to the correctness of the calculations upon which the conclusion as to the relative ability was arrived at; and were one to attempt to do so one would soon be involved in masses of questionable details, which on neither side could lead to any convincing result. Nor, indeed, is it necessary, for there is an argument which decides the general question quite irrespective of the justness or unjustness of the proportions of contribution fixed by the Act of Union. That argument is, that from the time of the Union in 1801 to this hour, Ireland has never been taxed at the same rate as Great Britain; and that this separate taxation of Great Britain has been more than sufficient to redeem whatever portion of the National Debt can with any degree of reason be regarded as Great Britain's separate share of it.

In 1834, O'Connell, who, once Catholic Emancipation was accomplished, had devoted himself to Repeal, brought forward in the House of Commons a motion for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire and report on the means by which the Union was effected, its effects, and its probable consequences. In that speech the 'financial grievance' formed one of the subjects of indictment against the British Government. He was answered by Mr. Spring Rice, afterwards Lord Monteagle, who, in a speech of six hours' duration, bristling with facts and figures, dealt, one after another, with the arguments advanced by O'Connell. What were the facts? The facts were that the income-tax had never been extended to Ireland, nor had the land-tax, nor the beer-tax, nor had the duties upon certain articles of Excise and Customs. The duties in Ireland upon legacies were less by 100 per cent. than those levied in England, the stamp-duty on deeds 80 per cent. less, on probates 50 per cent., on administration 120 per cent. less. Pointing out these facts, Mr. Spring Rice went on to say:—

'The taxes levied in Great Britain exclusively (since the Union), that is to say the taxes paid in this country, for it is true that Ireland contributes to them in as far as she consumes some part of the articles

on which these taxes are imposed, amount to 478,000,000*l.* This sum added to the amount produced by the different rates of taxation makes a total exceeding the whole amount of the National Debt.\*

This method of treating the question placed the Chancellor of the Exchequer in an unassailable position. Granting that the proportion was fixed at too high a rate, it was nevertheless clear that England, by subjecting herself to such enormous special taxation, had more than made up for any hardship which might have been inflicted on Ireland. Granting that the Union was not a free contract, it was, nevertheless, demonstrable that England had acted as equitably as if it had been. It is impossible, in an article like the present, to enter into details requiring long arrays of figures; but the results can be briefly stated. Doctor Hancock has summarised them from the Parliamentary Returns.

There is one return showing the articles subject to Excise duty in Great Britain, and not subject to it in Ireland, the total amount received under these heads from 1801 to 1843, and paid exclusively by Great Britain, being 264,000,000*l.* Another return, showing that in the same period 420,000,000*l.* was raised in Great Britain by taxes which did not exist in Ireland. Another return showing that, owing to certain Excise duties, which were heavier in Great Britain than in Ireland, Great Britain paid in the same period 103,000,000*l.* These sums give a total of 787,000,000*l.* separate taxation of Great Britain from 1801–1843. It appears further, from calculations made by Doctor Hancock, based on these returns, that the excess of taxation in Great Britain during the years 1801–1817 was more than sufficient to redeem what was her separate debt at the time of the Act of Union, and, consequently, the equality of taxation would have been justifiable from the date of the union of the exchequers. So far, however, from that course being adopted, the separate taxation of Great Britain was continued—and, as will be shown hereafter, was continued long after 1843—and, allowing even the very widest reasonable margin for error in the returns of the separate taxation of Great Britain, it is beyond all question that the excess of taxation borne by Great Britain has long since redressed any unfairness that there may have been in the terms of the Union, and has removed every vestige of justification for the claim that ‘Ireland is entitled to a lower rate of taxation than Great Britain on account of the disparity between the British and Irish National Debts at the time of the Union.’

The financial policy followed in dealing with Ireland after the consolidation of the exchequers, was in accordance with the directions of the Act of 1817, and the extract from Mr. Spring Rice's speech is sufficiently indicative of the manner in which that policy had been adhered to up to 1834. But in this same speech a note was struck which was soon to become a keynote. Referring to the difference in the rates of legacy duty, Mr. Rice said:—‘I do not know upon what principle it can be argued that the estate of a man who dies worth 1,000*l.* in one portion of the empire is not as fair a subject of taxation as if he resided in the other.’ For some years, however, no move was made in the direction here hinted at; and it was not until 1842, when a crisis occurred in the financial condition of the Empire, and its affairs began to create considerable alarm, that Ireland was called on to take a larger and more proportionate share of the Imperial burdens than she had hitherto borne. In this crisis Sir Robert Peel announced his intention of having recourse to that tax which, on previous occasions of emergency, had been found to be so productive, namely, the Income Tax; and in this demand for increased contribution, Ireland was naturally involved.

‘As Ireland,’ said he, ‘is united with this country, I think Ireland ought to bear a fair proportion of the public charges, and of that increased revenue which I am about to raise.’ And though he did not impose this tax on Ireland, partly because it was only to be temporary in England, partly because the machinery did not exist for levying it in Ireland, he claimed for Parliament the entire right to apply this tax to Ireland, if such necessities as we have seen should require it.’

He proposed, however, to raise an equivalent sum by an additional duty on spirits, and by equalising the Irish with the English stamp-duty, and his propositions were approved. Thus, then, the first advance was made towards the equalisation of the taxation of the two countries. It was not, however, so great as might be supposed, for the additional duty upon spirits was abandoned almost as soon as it was enacted, and the augmentation of the stamp-duties was only levied for some years; as, in 1850, a reduction was made in the stamp-duties of the United Kingdom, and in that reduction disappeared the increase which was enacted in Ireland as an equivalent for the income-tax.\* That the taxation was still far from equal is shown by the fact that in the year 1845 no less a sum than

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\* See Speech of Mr. Gladstone in 1853. Hansard, vol. 125.

14,450,000*l.* was raised in Great Britain by taxes which did not exist in Ireland.\*

The change in the financial system thus inaugurated in 1842 was a virtual abandonment of the protective system, and, as such, was destined to affect in a very material way the circumstances of the two countries. A few years proved the wisdom of the measures adopted; the revenue of the United Kingdom at once and considerably improved, the state of the country became highly satisfactory, and the future was bright with promise. Suddenly, however, a fearful calamity occurred, which checked for a while the growing prosperity of the Empire, and entailed consequences of the gravest importance, and of a lasting character. This was the failure of the potato crop in Ireland. That calamity forced upon the Government the necessity of adopting some precautionary measures against famine, and in those measures was involved the condemnation of the Corn Laws, and the consequent abolition of the protection which they conferred on the agricultural interests of the country. That the repeal of these laws has on the whole been beneficial to Ireland cannot now be doubted; and the vast improvement which has taken place within the last quarter of a century in the condition and wealth of the farmers, and of the agricultural classes of Ireland generally, is in no small degree due to the fact that Ireland has increased her productiveness by the transition from a system of agriculture little adapted to the country to one for which she is so eminently suited. But all transitions entail hardships, and contemporaneously with the withdrawal of protection, measures were proposed with the view of benefiting those whose interests had suffered. Sir Robert Peel, feeling that Ireland was the heaviest sufferer, removed from her the half of the expense of the Police Force which was borne by the counties, and took upon the Imperial exchequer the whole expense of that force.†

The other financial transactions consequent on the famine arose out of the aid given to Ireland. Landed property had been found to be quite unequal to meet the demands made upon it. Poor-rate, labour-rate, and relief works came each with such imperative and quickly following calls, that in order to prevent results affecting thousands upon thousands of human lives, advances were made from the Imperial treasury. When the famine was over, the amount of these advances were found to

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\* See p. 144 in Appendix to the Report of Committee of 1865.

† The relief at that time amounted to 184,000*l.*, from which time it has steadily increased, as will be seen hereafter.

be altogether beyond the power of repayment at the times and under the conditions required by law, and a scheme was proposed in 1852 for converting these liabilities—amounting to almost 4,500,000*l.*—into equivalent annuities. The pressure of their repayment fell mainly on the agricultural classes whom an income-tax would but little affect, and there had been of late years a growing opinion that Ireland should no longer be exempted from the income-tax, but that, as Mr. Roebuck expressed it in 1847, the simple and honest plan should be followed of making property whether in England or Ireland subject to the same burdens, and of making every man, whether he were an Irishman or an Englishman, contribute alike to the Imperial necessities. The Ministry of 1848 deemed it however unadvisable to impose the income-tax on Ireland, partly because it was still only regarded as a tax of a temporary nature, but mainly because its imposition might prove to be a burden which she would be unable to bear, and thus by checking her return to prosperity, check also the prosperity of the United Kingdom. Ireland therefore was permitted for a few years longer to enjoy immunity from a tax to which Great Britain was exclusively subjected. But in 1852, certain grave inconveniences and unfairnesses made themselves felt through this difference in the taxation of the countries, and Mr. Disraeli, in his statement of the financial policy of the Government, proposed a partial application of the tax to Ireland.

His government however was defeated on their financial policy, and in the following year the proposals of their successors assumed a wider scope. The whole debate on the Financial Statement of 1853 is worthy the most attentive study. It is remarkable mainly for one of the profoundest, yet, at the same time, most lucid speeches ever delivered by Mr. Gladstone; and as the following extract from that speech sets forth the views of that eminent man on the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland, it is here given:—

‘The case of Ireland demands very special consideration in connexion with the burdens that have been imposed on her; but we see no reason why the income-tax should not be levied on Ireland, as she through the income-tax which Great Britain has borne has received a great portion of the benefit attending the remission of taxes up to the present time.

‘The Government now recommend a measure which, if you adopt it, will advance us one great step towards establishing an equalisation of taxation between the three countries. It is true that the income-tax is of temporary duration, but you will show by levying it that there is a *bonâ fide* intention, and a rational prospect, of equalising the taxation.

The plan of the Government is to propose to Parliament that from Sept. 29, 1852, the Consolidated Annuities shall be wholly wiped away. They propose that the whole sum due from Ireland to England shall be remitted.

‘In remitting these charges and in proposing an income-tax upon Ireland, you will grant away an immense sum of money, but you will make a great stride towards that, the advantage of which I hardly know how to appreciate—namely, bringing the two countries towards the establishment of the principle of equalised taxation.’ (*Hunsard*, 1853, vol. cxxv.)

Another great authority on finance, Mr. Cobden, also gave expression to his views on the subject:—

‘There must be perfect equality between the two countries, and every tax paid by this country must be paid by Ireland. I do not want to lay heavy burdens on either the English or Irish people. If I had my will they should both pay less taxes; but you can have no safety for the proper working of the Legislature, if you have amongst you members for one part of the kingdom which pays less taxes than the other parts of the kingdom.’ (*Hunsard*, 1853, vol. cxxvi. p. 693.)

To the extension of the income-tax to Ireland considerable opposition was made, but the arguments for its imposition were too weighty to be easily set aside. There was first the undeniable proposition that Ireland, being part of the empire, must bear her share of the burdens; there was next the fact, that Ireland had profited considerably by the remissions of indirect taxation which the imposition of the income-tax in England had rendered possible; there was also the fact, that it was unjust that one portion of the empire should be relieved at the expense of another portion. In a word, if a man has an income of 500*l.* a year, whether in land or in the funds, or by the earnings of trade, is it reasonable or endurable that he should be exempted from a national charge on that income solely because he is an Irishman? The opposition was unavailing; and the tax was imposed, but the remission of the Consolidated Annuities was no inconsiderable boon, amounting to four millions and a half, and even after the imposition of the income-tax, Ireland, as compared with England, was still advantageously situated as regards taxation.

One more stride, and the last of any importance, towards equality of taxation, was made in 1858, in which year Mr. Disraeli carried his proposition for the equalisation of the duties on Irish and British spirits; and thus the last of the differential duties between Ireland and Great Britain was removed, and one more step to union accomplished.

Such, then, is a brief account of the gradual augmentations which have been made to the Imperial taxation of Ireland, of

the gradual approach to that identity of financial treatment which is implied in the term *union*, and which should exist in every part of a united kingdom. The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed in 1864 to inquire specially into the financial relations of the two countries, refer in their Report only generally to those changes which it has been thought necessary to deal with here more in detail, but they (p. 8) show the relative proportionate effects of these changes. Having pointed out that, not only had considerable additions been made to Irish taxation, but that the whole taxation of the entire kingdom had been increased from 57,000,000*l.* in 1852-3, to 68,000,000*l.* in 1861-2, —or an increase of 20 per cent.—they say, ‘this addition has been made in such a manner as to lay upon Ireland a greater proportionate burden than has been laid on Great Britain. The increase of taxation in Great Britain in the ten years which have been referred to, was 17 per cent., the increase in Ireland was 52 per cent.’

Later returns and calculations bring us down to more recent times, and from a Return presented last session (No. 407), it would appear that whilst the taxation per head in Great Britain has decreased from 2*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* in 1841 to 2*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* in 1871, the taxation per head in Ireland has increased from 9*s.* 6*d.* in 1841 to 1*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* in 1871. It is to be observed that in consequence of the decrease in the population of Ireland having been in the non-taxpaying portion of it, the increase of taxation per head appears greater than it really has been. It is nevertheless clear that, although the exact proportions may be a matter of uncertainty, a substantial increase has taken place. But this is far from proving that Ireland has been unfairly treated. What, in effect, all these figures do show, is the great length of time during which the Imperial Government has been content to exonerate Ireland from liabilities to which she might without unfairness have been sooner subjected, and the considerable amount of such exonerations.

The financial policy of Great Britain to Ireland, so far as the past is concerned, must be pronounced to have been a generous one; and so far from there being any justification for the sweeping assertions of the Irish party on this subject, it would appear that the policy—itself a liberal one—which was prescribed by the Act consolidating the exchequers has always been given an interpretation favourable and considerate to Ireland.

Once the fact is established that Great Britain has fully compensated Ireland for the disproportion in the national in-

debtedness at the time of the Union, and that so far as the past is concerned, Ireland has no claim whatever for exceptional treatment, the reality of the present 'financial grievance' can be determined upon present considerations alone. An examination of Ireland's present Imperial taxation, and of the expenditure on her by the Imperial exchequer, aided by a comparison in these respects, first with Great Britain generally, and then with the somewhat analogous case of Scotland—as of a once separate country, now incorporated in the empire—is sufficient to enable us to arrive at a conclusion in the matter.

Scotland's contributions to the Imperial exchequer may be at once dismissed, the conditions under which the Scotch union was effected having almost entirely obviated the necessity of treating that country differently from England. For a very long time back the only differences in favour of Scotland were a lighter tax on malt, and a lighter tax on spirits; the former was equalised with the English tax in 1822, and the latter in 1855, since which time the Imperial taxation of Scotland has virtually been identical with that of England.\*

The opinion of the Irish popular party as regards the amount which Ireland should contribute to the Imperial exchequer has undergone little material change with the lapse of years. Previous to the Union, when Ireland had no diplomatic relations with other kingdoms or empires, and when she was unable to declare war or conclude peace, the fulfilment of her obligations to the Crown took the form of votes by the Irish Parliament of so many men to the army or to the navy. Beyond this, all the Imperial expenditure was borne by Great Britain. And when the Union took place, and indeed long after, the Irish party seem to have considered that a somewhat similar state of things should have been continued, and that Ireland should be exempted from any further Imperial expenses, except those where the expenditure could be made in Ireland. John O'Connell, M.P., in his 'Argument for Ireland,' says—

'English revenue is not spent here, why then should *Irish* revenue be spent in England? We are not denying that there *might* be *imperial* purposes *out of Ireland* to which the latter ought to contribute—such as expenses in foreign wars, and upon the colonies and dependencies in time of peace. . . . With regard to these latter, we should not be liable to them unless ensured *compensating advantages* of the most unequivocal kind. In short, we advocate having the Irish revenue spent in Ireland.' (P. 325–26.)



Twenty years later brought about only some modification in these views. The committee of the Dublin Corporation admitted that there were certain classes of expenditure, chiefly made up of colonial and diplomatic expenses, and the wages of seamen (contributions to other naval expenses are entirely omitted), which must of necessity be made outside the limits of the United Kingdom ; but, 'with this qualification' (the amount being estimated at 1,000,000*l.*), 'her right,' they said, 'to have all her taxes spent at home cannot fairly be questioned.' The Home Rule or Federalist idea is necessarily retrogressive, and goes back to the original one : that Ireland's contribution to Imperial expenses should be proportionate to her relative ability.

These opinions convey sufficiently clearly the sense of obligation to Imperial necessities that has prevailed among the popular party. The matter, however, though one upon which there may be a difference of opinion, is not one which admits of the recognition of any such difference. The principle of common citizenship is the only principle which can be recognised. Great Britain and Ireland have, by virtue of the union of the crowns in Henry VIII.'s person, been united kingdoms for three and a half centuries—to say nothing of the previous connexion. By the union of the Parliaments in 1801, the ties between the two countries were drawn still closer. Since then, in the conduct of national affairs, the theory of actual union has been steadily maintained, and constant efforts have been made to render that union more and more a reality. Politically, therefore, the two countries must be regarded as one. Other circumstances, such as the adoption of a common language and the constant inter-marriage of the two races, have further contributed to render them actually one. And so, from many causes, social, material, and political, an identity of interest has come to exist between them which links their destinies lastingly together, and renders the people of Ireland, in as full a manner as the people of England or Scotland, citizens of this kingdom. It is no doubt true that a certain proportion of the population of Ireland hold opinions at variance with the interests of the empire ; but the case must be determined by higher considerations. Indeed, the higher interests of Ireland herself are involved in her union with this country ; for with this kingdom she stands, with it she falls ; she is partaker of its triumphs and of its liberties ; she would be equally a participator in its disasters. It follows, therefore, that Ireland must be regarded as having as much interest in the support of what Burke called the 'external dignity' of national indepen-

dence as other portions of the kingdom—that Irishmen, in fact, though Irishmen yet being British citizens, are bound to take their full share of the national burdens.

Bearing then in mind this principle of common citizenship, we may proceed to consider Ireland's contributions to the Imperial exchequer. The form in which the complaint is stated by the Irish party is, that Ireland's present contribution is greater than her relative proportion should be, having regard to the resources of the two countries.

There is, amongst the amendments proposed to the Draft Report of the Chairman of the Select Committee of 1864, one by Mr. Lowe—the substance of which he reiterated in the debate in March last on the incidence of Imperial taxation upon Ireland—which exposes the fallacy that underlies not merely this way of stating the complaint, but the complaint itself. The proposed amendment was as follows:—

‘As, however, the taxes imposed on England and Ireland are paid, not by those countries, but by the individuals who live in them—as these taxes are imposed either on expenditure or in proportion to income . . . your Committee attach little value to such proportions (viz. the proportions of relative ability) as bearing on the question of Irish taxation.’

This amendment, though negatived (partly, we suppose, because there were other propositions in it not acceptable to the Committee), contained, nevertheless, the whole gist of the question. There are and there were only two alternative systems to be adopted in dealing with the taxation of Great Britain and Ireland, with the view to those countries contributing proportionally to the common or Imperial requirements—one, what Mr. Gladstone has since called taxation on ‘geographical principles’—the other what may be termed ‘individual taxation.’ The former of these principles was in action, in a somewhat modified form, from 1801–17; and if it had been perpetuated, any question as to inequality in the incidence of taxation would have been between Ireland and Great Britain as separate countries. But the latter system superseded it, and a moment's consideration shows the superiority of the one over the other. The first requisite for the system of taxation on geographical principles is a knowledge of the wealth of Great Britain and Ireland, and of their financial ability to contribute to the Imperial expenditure. The difficulties which at the time of the Union beset such an inquiry have been already pointed out; and in the present day, and indeed for the last half century, the means do not exist for arriving even at an approximate knowledge upon those points. Independent, however, of this

want of information, it is easy to see how objectionable such a system of taxation would be. It would lead, as it did when tried, to constant recriminations as regards the equity of the proportions fixed, and would be a constant source of irritation, if not indeed of graver complications. Nor would this system be practicable without cross-channel duties, and separate Customs departments in each country, and all the accompanying obstructions to trade. It could, in fact, only be carried into operation by what would virtually be a repeal of the Union: a view of the matter which probably explains the preference evinced by the Irish party for the 'geographical,' as opposed to the 'individual,' principle of taxation.

The alternative system, whereby individuals were to be taxed in proportion to their income and expenditure, regardless as to whether their residence was in one country or the other, early commended itself to British financiers as presenting the readiest, simplest, and most equitable means of reaching that relative fairness of contribution which they were anxious to secure. Its first and great advantage was, that under it the people of Great Britain and Ireland were treated as really one people. Besides this, it afforded greater facilities for readjusting the incidence of taxation, and for carrying out a uniform system of fiscal and commercial reform; and it obviated entirely the necessity for maintaining a costly and cumbersome machinery for ascertaining periodically the relative wealth of the different countries. This was the system introduced in the Act of Union as a contingency to be resorted to in the event of the other one failing. It was adopted in 1817 when that other one had failed, and it has since then been adhered to. As therefore it is now the individual who is taxed, and not the country, the reality of a grievance in this matter can only be proved by establishing that Irishmen are more heavily taxed than Englishmen or Scotchmen. So far from this being the case, it is precisely the reverse. Indirect taxation in the two countries is identical, and need not therefore be referred to; but in the direct taxes there are certain differences in favour of persons residing in Ireland, certain taxes being imposed in England and Scotland which do not exist in Ireland. There is first the 'Inhabited House Duty,' which produced in Great Britain in the financial year ended March 31, 1874, 1,252,464*l*.\* There is next the land-tax, which produced in the same year 1,071,991*l*. There is further

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\* See 'Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's 'Inland Revenue.'

the Railway Passenger Duty, which produced 514,715*l.* Until recently we had the assessed taxes; instead of which we now have to pay licenses for male servants, carriages, armorial bearings, and dogs, which licenses amounted in 1873 to 1,106,946*l.*, but from these licenses residents in Ireland are exempt.\*

It thus appears that a sum amounting to nearly 4,000,000*l.* is raised in Great Britain by taxes from which Ireland is exempt. Furthermore, owing to the difference in the systems of valuation in the two countries, the income-tax falls somewhat lighter on Irish than it does on English landed property, for the valuation of Ireland is in many parts of the country far lower than it ought to be: the present valuation of the whole of Ireland being 13,769,800*l.*, whilst, according to a Government estimate in 1873, it was calculated that under a new valuation that amount would be increased to 16,730,500*l.*†

The difference in favour of persons residing in Ireland is therefore an appreciable one; and it is perfectly clear that the grievance of undue taxation of Ireland urged by the Irish party is not a real one. In truth the financial grievance of Ireland against Great Britain may be more justly termed the financial grievance of Great Britain against Ireland, and we can conceive no sound reason that one penny of revenue should be granted in this island from which our sister kingdom is exempt.

It would indeed seem as if some of the Irish party themselves saw that this point could not be maintained, for, from the Draft Reports published in the 'Proceedings' of the Select Committee, it appears that endeavours were made to show that uniform taxation affected the two countries differently; that the abstracting an equal proportion of taxation from a country where capital is decreasing or stationary, as from one that is rich and progressive, affects the former more injuriously by injuring its productive powers. The dissimilarity in the burden of similar taxation, it was further argued, was still more apparent when the great mass of that taxation is levied in the indirect form, the individual having smaller means, but similar wants, paying, in taxes on the commodities which he consumes, a larger proportion of his income than the men with greater means and no greater wants, and consequently the country in which the poor class predominates suffers more

\* There is a dog-tax in Ireland, but the product of it goes to local taxation.

† See Speech of Mr. Baxter, 1873. Hansard, vol. ccxiv. p. 579.

through the greater pressure on a larger number of its inhabitants by this nominally equal burden.

This latter argument is very properly met by the Committee, who point out in their Report that

‘There are parts of England and Scotland which might set up a case more or less similar to that of Ireland. Now, if Ireland were to be relieved of two or three millions of taxation on the ground of her poverty, and those two or three millions had to be made up by an addition to the taxation of Great Britain, the burdens of the poor districts of Great Britain would be increased for the purpose of diminishing the burdens, not only of the poorest, but also of the richest districts of Ireland.’ (P. 13.)

The considerable remissions of indirect taxation which have taken place in recent years have still further weakened whatever little semblance of force there may have been in this argument, the benefits of the reductions on articles which have become almost necessities of life having been most realised by the poorest part of the community.

The other argument—that in abstracting an equal proportion of taxation from a country where capital is decreasing or stationary, as from one that is rich and progressive, affects the former more injuriously—derived a certain apparent amount of force from the circumstances of the time when it was used. A series of bad harvests had unfortunately occurred in Ireland, and the extremely unfavourable character of the seasons had caused peculiar suffering to a country whose industry is almost wholly agricultural, and had produced a very serious diminution of the national wealth. But in 1864, affairs began again to mend; and in the ten years that have elapsed since the Committee sat, the condition of Ireland has materially improved. The returns of the income-tax, the amount of money passing annually under probate or administration, the aggregate of savings invested in Ireland, the increase of railway stock and foreign bonds held by the Irish people, all testify to the fact that capital is rapidly increasing. The argument, therefore, is no longer applicable; and the two objections which were urged against the uniform system of taxation must be held to be of little weight.

A fair criterion of the degree of ability of a country to bear taxation is, whether such taxation checks the development of her resources or affects the pursuit of any industry; and upon this point, as regards Ireland, the opinion of the Committee may be accepted as decisive, no evidence having been adduced to the contrary of the conclusion come to by them. They state distinctly, that it had not been shown that there was any tax

which materially interfered with the development of her industry, 'unless it be the Excise duty on spirits;' and even this exception was qualified by the words, 'which, to a certain extent, checks distillation, and prevents the profitable use of 'inferior grain.' The tax here referred to had been only 2s. 8d. per gallon in 1842; in 1853 it was raised to 3s. 4d.; in 1855 to 6s. 2d.; in 1858 to 8s., when it was equalised with the English duty; and finally, in 1860, was raised to its present amount of 10s. per gallon. The increase was certainly both rapid and considerable, and the quantity of spirits made in Ireland—as appears from the revenue returns—at once underwent a reduction, but since then the fluctuations have been slight; of late years there has been an increase, and from the present prosperity of the trade it is apparent that the tax has not inflicted any real injury on this branch of industry. The complaint recently urged against it was upon quite a different ground, namely, that the revenue from this source—owing to the peculiar affection of the Irish people for whisky as a beverage—was so great as in effect to cause the excessive taxation of Ireland.\* That is the fact, however, and if there be any excess in the taxation of Ireland it arises from their own inordinate love of spirits, in which they surpass even our own countrymen north of the Tweed. The regulation of this tax is governed by special circumstances, the question of its amount being complicated by moral as well as financial considerations, and it would not be easy, even if it were desirable, to make any alteration in its amount. Indeed, the mere fact of its being impossible to reduce the duty in Ireland without partially dissolving the fiscal union of the countries, is in itself sufficient to preclude a compliance with such a demand. Over and above this, however, it is to be observed that the tax upon spirits, being an indirect one, is purely a voluntary one: 'Nature not rendering them necessary for the support of life, and custom nowhere rendering 'it indecent to 'live without them.' It would be indeed a novelty in our fiscal system to regulate the amount of taxes in different parts of the country by the peculiar tastes of the people residing therein.

Reviewing generally the contributions of Ireland to the Imperial exchequer, it is quite clear that Imperial taxation is lighter in Ireland than it is in Great Britain, and it may be

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\* A Return presented last session (Parliamentary Papers, No. 407) shows that in 1871 the enormous sum of 3,469,000*l.* was derived from this tax in Ireland alone as against 8,805,000*l.* in Great Britain.

affirmed with truth that it is not of so burdensome a nature as either to check the development of her resources, or to affect the pursuit of any industry. No national argument in fact can be made out of the matter at all.

The principle of common citizenship, which was adopted in treating of contributions to the Imperial exchequer, applies with equal force to expenditure. The charge for the Public Debt is a national one, and is one from which—as has been already shown—Ireland has not any claim for even partial exemption. The expenditure on the army, navy, colonies, and diplomacy is as much for the security and advantage of Ireland as of Great Britain ; \* and the question whether Ireland has or has not a grievance in this matter resolves itself into whether the Imperial treasury aids Ireland as largely as England and Scotland, in providing for objects that fall partly within the province of Imperial, partly of local government ? Of these the principal are, primary education, police, and poor relief.

The system of National Education in Ireland was inaugurated in 1831. For many years previous to that, Government grants had been given to the Kildare Place Society ; but that course was found to be objectionable, and the Government determined to adopt a system which successive Commissions and Committees had recommended, as one which both Catholics and Protestants could avail themselves of, and which consequently might become really national and comprehensive. The funds for it were to be placed by Parliament at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the conduct of the schools entrusted to commissioners, in part Protestant, in part Roman Catholic. It was at first hoped that the grants from the Imperial exchequer would be aided by local contributions ; but this hope proved, in the main, to be delusive, and almost the whole expense consequently fell on the Imperial exchequer. Recognising, however, the importance of the enterprise that had been undertaken, Parliament continued to meet the annually larger demands made upon it. In 1837 the grants were 50,000*l.* ; in 1847, 100,000*l.* ; in 1863, 300,000*l.* ; and for the year 1875-6, the estimate was 541,800*l.*†

In England and Scotland the grants, for many years, were

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\* One exception will probably be made to this statement, namely, the grant for the Volunteer force, which is spent entirely in Great Britain.

† This sum excludes the grant of 60,000*l.* which is contingent on a similar sum being levied by the Poor Law Guardians.

far from being so large. The proportionate expenditure has, however, been materially altered since the passing of the English and Scotch Education Acts; and to see clearly the favourable manner in which Ireland has for a lengthened period been treated in this respect, a comparison should be instituted in some previous year. Taking, therefore, the year ended March 31, 1869, we find that the expenditure from education grants was 773,839*l.* for Great Britain; whilst in Ireland the total expenditure was 370,000*l.*, or very nearly half of that of Great Britain.\*

Since then, however, the Parliamentary grants for education in England and Scotland have undergone a rapid increase, and with such fluctuating figures the comparison now most nearly accurate is to be made by taking the estimates for the present year. The estimate for England and Wales is 1,548,560*l.*, and for Scotland 356,410*l.*; and making the comparison between the countries on the basis of population, it appears that while the grants for Scotland and Ireland are in almost exact proportion to each other, they are both in excess of that for England and Wales. In Great Britain the system of National Education has been aided by enormous voluntary contributions; in Ireland voluntary contributions have been rare, except such as have been obtained for Catholic schools by the priests.

In the matter of Imperial expenditure on primary education, therefore, Ireland has, as regards the present, no grounds for complaint, whilst as regards the past she has for forty years been exceptionally favourably treated. The most noticeable feature in a comparison of the cost of education in the three countries, is, not so much the present proportions of the Parliamentary grants, as the difference in local contributions. In England and in Scotland, independently of large voluntary contributions and considerable school fees, there are heavy local rates. In Ireland education is provided almost solely out of Imperial taxes. Indeed, except for the liberality of Parliament the National system must soon have collapsed, for from the first it found scant favour with the Protestant party, as being devoid of the first principle of education, religious instruction, and later it came to be opposed by the Roman Catholic clerical party, as being not sufficiently subject to the control of 'the Church,' and as being calculated to undermine the Catholic faith. It was therefore, in the face of determined hostility, and only by a virtual abandonment of some of its most distinctive features, that the system became

\* See 'Appropriation Accounts,' vol. xlviii., 1870, p. 182.



so widely extended as it is at present. It has, in fact, gradually drifted into almost a denominational system, not certainly of the type which the Catholic hierarchy would wish it to assume, but by no means of that mixed and strictly secular character which its founders intended it to preserve. The results have nevertheless been decidedly satisfactory, though its efficiency is still greatly impaired from want of sufficient funds. But this is a matter for Ireland herself in great measure to remedy; she neither gives, nor has she given, any material aid to education, the local contributions having always been small in proportion to the grants. The principle has, however, this Session been very properly affirmed that Ireland herself ought to complete the Imperial grants for education; and though it is doubtful whether the plan adopted will have the desired effect, it is nevertheless a step in the right direction.

In the matter of police Ireland is also in a favourable position. Until 1846 the charge for the Irish police, or, as they are called, the Constabulary, was borne half by local rates, the remaining half being paid by the Imperial exchequer. This force, it is to be remarked, is in many respects different from the Police Force of this country, the political circumstances of Ireland causing it to assume a specially military character; and, once it had been raised to an efficient strength, the Government were able proportionately to reduce the number of troops in Ireland; the executive Government also exercised control over it, and it came to be in reality more a national than a local force. For these and other reasons, the Devon Commissioners in their Report of 1845 recommended that the entire charge should be borne by the Imperial treasury; and in 1846 Sir Robert Peel carried this recommendation into effect, partly on these grounds, partly—as already stated—as compensation for the loss which the agricultural interests of Ireland suffered by the repeal of the Corn Laws. Since 1846, then, the whole charge has, with some comparatively small exceptions, been borne by the Imperial exchequer. In 1845, before it was thus transferred, the total charge was 460,673*l.*, of which sum 184,346*l.* was borne by localities in Ireland. This sum therefore was what Sir Robert Peel considered as a fair equivalent to the loss by the abolition of the Corn Laws; and when we consider that since then not only has the cost progressively increased, until it has more than doubled—the estimate for the year 1875–6 being 1,028,000*l.*—but also that the abolition of protection can no longer be held to affect Ireland injuriously, the extremely favourable manner in which Ireland has been treated

is at once apparent. In addition to the Constabulary, there is the Dublin Metropolitan Police, the estimate for which in 1875-6 was 135,000*l.*, of which sum, however, 46,000*l.* was to be met by local income, thus reducing the cost to the Imperial treasury to 89,000*l.* In England and Scotland the contribution of the Government to the County Police, until last year, amounted only to one-fourth of the charge, but the Government aid was then augmented from a fourth to a half, and the estimate for 1875-6 on this head is

England	.	.	.	.	£624,000	.
Scotland	.	.	.	.	110,000	.
					<hr/>	
					734,000	

In addition to this there is the London Metropolitan Police, the estimate of the half contribution to which was in 1875-6, 410,395*l.*; so that taking these two together, the annual expenditure upon Police will be about 1,144,395*l.* for Great Britain as against 1,117,000*l.* for Ireland.

It may be argued that as one half of the expense of the Police Force is paid by the Imperial treasury, and the control of the force left with local authorities, it is only fair that the Imperial treasury should pay the whole of the expenses of the Irish Police Force, the control over it being exercised entirely by the executive Government. It appears, however, that in proportion to population, the number of police is nearly twice as great as in England; and even adopting the view that this excess should be regarded as an Imperial force and part of the standing army, it is still sufficiently clear that Ireland has no cause for complaint as regards the Imperial expenditure on this head.

The aid given by the Imperial treasury for Poor Law purposes is small in comparison with the grants already noticed. It is confined to the maintenance of central establishments for the supervision of the local authorities, and to the part payment of the salaries, &c., of the medical and other sanitary officers, the great burden of the charge being borne by the localities; but even in this the proportion is in favour of Ireland. According to the estimates of 1875-6, the sums are as follows:—

England	.	.	.	.	£365,529	.
Scotland	.	.	.	.	18,399	.
Ireland	.	.	.	.	109,755	.

The following table shows concisely the estimates of the sums to be granted by the Imperial treasury for primary edu-

cation, police, and poor relief for the year 1875-76, in the three countries :—

—	England	Scotland	Great Britain	Ireland
	£	£	£	£
Police . . . . .	{ 410,395 624,000	110,000	1,144,395	1,117,000
Primary Education . .	1,548,563	356,410	1,904,973	541,800
Poor Relief . . . .	365,529	18,399	383,928	109,755
Totals . . . . .	2,948,487	484,809	3,433,296	1,768,555
Population . . . .	22,712,266	3,360,018	26,072,284	5,411,416

There are certain other grants in aid of local expenditure—such as the contributions for the maintenance of pauper lunatics and of inmates of reformatory and industrial schools—which, being capitation grants, and the same in all three countries, need not be included in any comparison of the proportionate expenditure by the Imperial treasury on England, Scotland, and Ireland.

It is therefore clear that in the principal branches of expenditure in aid of objects that fall partly within the province of Imperial, partly of local government, Ireland receives in proportion to her population considerably larger subsidies than either Scotland or England. Here then, therefore, the question really ends; and we can now clearly see the present financial position of Ireland in relation to the other parts of the kingdom.

An examination of Ireland's contributions to the Imperial exchequer has shown that she is exempt from certain taxes to which Great Britain is subject; and an examination of the aid to her local taxation has shown that she receives a larger contribution to local requirements than Great Britain: once these facts are established, the whole edifice of an Irish 'financial grievance' falls to the ground. Our grievance against Ireland is, on the contrary, that we pay about four millions of taxes from which she is exempt; and that in the matter of expenditure the Irish, being one-fifth of the population of the United Kingdom, receives half as much aid from the Imperial Exchequer as England, Wales, and Scotland put together!

Here, then, we might stop were it not that there is another branch of the matter which is also converted into a grievance—the alleged insufficient expenditure of public money in Ireland as compared with other parts of the realm. The more

extreme section of those who proclaim themselves aggrieved in this respect, put forward the proposition, that the taxation raised in Ireland is to be computed, and against that taxation a counter claim lodged on behalf of Ireland for the expenditure of the money so levied within her own limits—the more moderate section content themselves with inveighing generally against any reduction of expenditure in Ireland. The principle that ‘the taxation of the country is to be like a local ‘shower drawn for awhile from the surface of the earth by ‘evaporation, and then descending on it again with fertilising ‘effect at the very spot from which it first rose’\* is not one which can be admitted as the basis of a sound policy. Furthermore, the proposals made by the extreme section for carrying their views into effect are based on such radically false principles as at once to show how impossible it would be to entertain them—such proposals, for instance, as that a Government dockyard should be established in Ireland; or that Ireland, instead of contributing money to build ships for the navy, should contribute ships ready built. It is difficult to treat with any gravity these puerile proposals. Money raised for national objects must be spent in such a way as is best for the nation at large. Government is bound in the interests of the nation to resort to the best market, and is not justified in resorting to a particular market merely for the sake of favouring a particular locality. A departure from such a principle would be tantamount to increasing the taxation of the whole kingdom for the special benefit of part of it, a course which could not well be justified, and which would never receive general sanction. Other proposals, such as that more of the taxes that are paid in Ireland should be spent in giving employment to the peasantry, are just as unreasonable, just as ludicrous, and it says but little for the astuteness of Irish politicians that schemes such as these should be seriously proposed, and does but little credit to their spirit of fairness, that the refusal to give effect to them should be construed into an Irish grievance and into a wilful neglect of Ireland’s interests.

The complaint of the more moderate section is directed more to the expenditure on Government establishments. But it is difficult to see either how any real grievance lies here. There are certain matters which the Government looks upon as Imperial, such as the maintenance of convicts and criminal lunatics, and the registration of births, deaths, and marriages.

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\* Speech of Mr. Gladstone, June 12, 1863. Hansard, vol. clxxi. p. 827.

Then, again, there is certain public business of the same character in both countries which has to be performed, and consequently there are several public departments in one country which have their counterpart in the other. It would, we think, be wrong to contend that the expenditure in these matters should be regulated by any consideration other than the absolute requirements of each country; and so long as these are duly met, and the necessary public duties satisfactorily discharged, we do not think that either country has any ground for complaint as regards the expenditure in the other. As a matter of fact, however, the expenditure in certain of these matters in Ireland is, proportionally, considerably in excess of the expenditure in Great Britain. The part of the question which is most discussed lies in the expenditure on certain matters which require State aid, yet which, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the different countries cannot be made actually Imperial. They are only few in number, and either the expenditure on them is comparatively so small as scarcely to affect the general question, or the subject of expense is of such importance as to be governed by considerations higher than the mere question of money. Under this latter class may be placed the important question of University Education, a question which we cannot here enter upon,\* under the former, Scientific Education, and the encouragement of the Fisheries.

The exact proportions of the grants to Museums, and to the encouragement of Scientific and Art Education, cannot be clearly stated, as some of the grants include services in all three countries. England necessarily receives the largest portion; but the advantages thereby offered are available to all, and consequently the grant is in a great degree Imperial. A comparison between Scotland and Ireland, in this respect, shows that Ireland is of the two somewhat the more favourably circumstanced; and though the establishment of a Science and Art Museum in Ireland is an object which has latterly received more or less countenance, and is in itself desirable, yet its realisation will probably best be attained by a concentration of the different institutions at present receiving State aid. The aid to the Fisheries is so small as scarcely to be worth noticing—the grants to Scotland having been only 12,500*l.* in

\* The sums as appearing in the Estimates are confined to the London University 10,068*l.*, the Scotch Universities 18,450*l.*, and the Queen's University and Colleges in Ireland 8,449*l.*, the latter receiving in addition a vote of 21,000*l.* from the Consolidated Fund.

1872, and to Ireland 3,547*l*. The subject, however, has been hotly discussed by both Irish and Scotch, and comparisons instituted, and the proportionate unfairness of the grants to Ireland insisted on by the Irish party. Scotland, it is further pointed out, enjoys the benefit of a Government 'brand' for herrings, an advantage which is denied to Ireland. It should, however, be borne in mind that a large portion of the Scotch grant is repaid by fees upon branding. Thus in the year 1872 the sum of 5,783*l*. was repaid by such fees. The advantage, therefore, enjoyed by Scotland in this respect is a very trifling one.

There is one other matter in which Ireland has been more highly favoured, namely, in Loans of public money for assisting local enterprise. In this respect Parliament has exercised greater liberality towards Ireland than towards England or Scotland: loans for arterial drainage, for railways, for navigation, for harbours, for land improvement, all have been more freely granted, and on easier terms, and a large amount of enterprise has been put in motion, developing natural resources, and increasing the national wealth. In all three countries many of such loans have been entirely remitted; but the remissions in Ireland have been far larger than in Great Britain.\*

The financial treatment of Ireland by the English Government will, we are confident, bear the most searching investigation; and whatever charges may be made against the Imperial Government on other scores, that of niggardliness of expenditure in Ireland's interests is one of the least true. It has been the constant effort of the successive British statesmen of the present century to raise the material condition of Ireland to the highest possible level—their constant effort to make good all former neglect. This course has entailed considerable expense; but when once it was apparent that the interests of Ireland were really concerned, and that the country would be materially benefited, no hesitation has been displayed in making the outlay. The same motive prompted to the continued exemption of Ireland from certain Imperial taxes; and it needs only a review of the financial results of the Union, such as we have here undertaken, to bring into prominence the exceptionally favourable manner in which Ireland, as contrasted with the other component parts of the United Kingdom, has been treated; and to show how unfounded are the complaints of the Irish party, whether as regards Imperial

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\* See a very interesting Return of Loans, Parliamentary Paper, No. 145, Session 1875, presented April 14, 1875.

taxation, or as regards the expenditure on Ireland from the Imperial exchequer.

The examination of the financial aspects of the Union with Ireland which we have now concluded enables some very definite opinions to be formed as to the probable financial position of Ireland under Home Rule. It is not very long since, that one of the leading members of the Home Rule party avowed his opinion, that if Home Rule were realised, it would entail an increased burden of taxation upon Ireland.\* The duties of the Irish Parliament would, he affirmed, be confined exclusively to the local affairs of Ireland, to her education, for which the Irish people would pay, to the preservation of public order at the expense of Ireland, to the internal development of her neglected resources, and to the amelioration of the wretched condition of her people. The willingness of the people to obey laws made by themselves would, it was further asserted, permit of an immense reduction in the wasteful expenditure of an armed police, while the stimulus given to Irish industry by the extinction of disaffection, and the turning of her energies into healthful channels, would increase tenfold the ability of the people to bear their own charges.

The figures which have been given above show sufficiently clearly that the conclusion as to Home Rule entailing an increased burden of taxation on Ireland is a correct one. Her Imperial taxation would remain the same as it is, and her local taxation would be increased by the fact of her having to pay certain things which, at present, are paid for her. That the anticipated diminution in local requirements would be realised, no one having a knowledge of Ireland can for one moment suppose. It is indeed difficult to see how Ireland could be more favourably circumstanced than she is at present. Her taxation is lighter than it would be under the form of government that the Irish party are striving for, her commerce and her industries are unfettered, her people are free to follow in any part of the kingdom any calling that interest or fancy may dictate; and her union with Great Britain affords her solid advantages which she at times fails to appreciate, or even to acknowledge.

One other of the financial illusions of Home Rule must be briefly glanced at. It is asserted by the Irish party that the Union has caused the impoverishment of Ireland by the withdrawal of capital from the country, and that this so-called

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\* See Letter of Mr. Mitchell Henry, M.P., in the 'Times' of March 5, 1874.

‘exhaustive process’ cannot be checked by any other means than domestic legislation. The evidence of the improved material condition of Ireland, and of the increase of wealth, however is so palpable as at once and entirely to refute the assertion of the impoverishment of the country by the Union, and if any actual withdrawal of capital is caused by Imperial taxation, it is manifest that such an effect must continue so long as the slightest bond of union exists between the countries. If certain parts of Ireland have not advanced with steps as rapid as other parts, the fact is wholly to be attributed to causes other than taxation or the measures of the Imperial Legislature. The Imperial Government has done almost everything that can be done to promote the national welfare. Its constant desire has been to give to Ireland the first requisite of national prosperity—security of life and property; the commercial and manufacturing interests have been made as free as possible; the agricultural interests have been established on a firm basis by the Land Act; and we cannot but think that the progress of Ireland rests now with the people themselves, and that the material prosperity of their country must spring more from their own energy, perseverance and self-reliance, than from any modification of the existing form of government.

There remains only one matter which should be noticed in connexion with the review of the financial dealings between Great Britain and Ireland which we have here undertaken; but it is an important one, referring to the future instead of the past. The past has been, as we have seen, a constant effort on the part of the Imperial Legislature to remove the distinctions in fiscal government, and to strengthen the cords which bind the two countries together. The process, if it is true, has not been a rapid one. It took sixteen years to unite the exchequers; it took twenty-five years to unite the countries commercially; twenty-six years to assimilate the currency; fifty-eight years to equalise the Excise duties; but gradually strand upon strand has been added to the cords. It is not a little remarkable that the process should have been so slow; but Ireland was so different a country from Great Britain in so many respects, that that absolute and complete union which was contemplated by the statesmen of 1800 was necessarily a matter of time. As Ireland advanced in wealth and prosperity, the progress towards it was more rapid, and the assimilation of fiscal government having been steadily kept in view, has now been almost absolutely accomplished. Its advantages are not merely theoretical. It simplifies greatly the difficulties



of government, it places all upon an equality as regards their duties to the State, it gives each a similar interest in the policy of the State and the national welfare, and tends gradually to consolidate the power of the empire.

If there is comparatively little scope for further action in this direction in fiscal affairs, there is nevertheless ample scope for it in other departments of government. It needs only a glance at the Statute Book to see how far still we are from that complete union which should exist between countries circumstanced as are Great Britain and Ireland. Each year that volume is crowded with Acts which 'shall not extend to Ireland,' or shall apply 'to Ireland only'; whilst the country itself is—after seventy-five years of so-called union—governed by a form of government, unique in itself, and totally and entirely inconsistent with the idea of Ireland being an integral portion of the United Kingdom. It is of course undeniable that there are certain peculiarities in the condition of the two countries which have rendered separate institutions and at times separate legislation matters of necessity. It is however equally undeniable that a large number of differences in laws and institutions are maintained which are quite unnecessary. Nor is this latter condition of things without many and manifest evil effects. The incompleteness of the Union fosters ideas that British opinion has unanimously declared to be inadmissible, it affords a show of argument for the numerous Irish agitations of the present century, it retards the action of those natural causes, such as facilities of intercourse, identity of language, literature, and habits of life, which are slowly but surely drawing the two countries together, and it checks the accomplishment of what have been and must still be regarded as the great objects of all Irish policy—the assimilation of Ireland to Great Britain, the fusion of the two peoples into one nationality, and the creation in Ireland of an Imperial instead of a local patriotism.

- ART. II.—1. *Recherches sur Molière, et sur sa Famille.* Par EUD. SOULIÉ, Conservateur adjoint des Musées Impériaux. Paris: 1863.
2. *Les Grands Écrivains de la France.* Nouvelles Éditions, publiées sous la direction de M. AD. REGNIER, Membre de l'Institut. *Œuvres de Molière.* Par M. EUGÈNE DESPOIS. Tomes I. II. Paris: 1873–75.
3. *Histoire de la Littérature Française. Depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup>. Siècle jusqu'à nos jours.* Par FRÉDÉRIC GODEFROY. *Poètes.* Tome I. Paris: 1867.
4. *Histoire de la Vie et des Ouvrages de Molière.* 3<sup>e</sup> Édition, revue et augmentée. Par JULES-ANTOINE TASCHEREAU. Paris: 1844.
5. *Notes historiques sur la Vie de Molière.* 2<sup>e</sup> Édition, revue par L'AUTEUR et considérablement augmentée. Par A. BAZIN. Paris: 1851.
6. *Œuvres de Molière.* Précédées d'une Notice sur sa Vie et ses Ouvrages. Par M. SAINTE-BEUVE. Paris: 1854.
7. *Dissertation sur J. B. Poquelin-Molière.* Par L. F. BEFFARA, ex-Commissaire de Police du Quartier de la Chaussée d'Antin. Paris: 1821.
8. *Œuvres de Molière.* Nouvelle Édition, augmentée de notes explicatives. (Avec Vie de Molière, par GRIMAREST.) Paris: 1838.
9. *The Dramatic Works of Molière.* Rendered into English by HENRI VAN LAUN. Vols. I. and II. Edinburgh: 1875.

THE edition of Molière which is now in course of issue under the direction of M. Regnier, Member of the Institute, promises to supply what has hitherto been a great desideratum both in England and France. It forms part of that remarkable series of works 'Les Grands Écrivains de la France'—a series which, by its fulness and importance, betokens a degree of literary earnestness and enterprise to which we in this country can furnish no parallel. The new edition of Molière is edited by M. Despois, who brings to the task a devotion which we trust may be well rewarded by the appreciation of all lovers of the great comic poet. M. Despois does not underrate the difficulties of the task which he has undertaken, for he observes, in the preliminary note to his first volume, that 'more than any other perhaps of our great writers, Molière imposes

‘ upon his editors obligations which are very difficult to fulfil ;’ and the remark is both happy and true that the great author too frequently disappears behind his works. Two centuries have elapsed since the brilliant genius of Molière illumined the Court of Louis XIV., and Molière the man remains yet, to a large extent, a figure in a mist. The name of his biographers and commentators is legion ; the number of his readers also—thanks to the taste for the finest comedy which is not yet dead amongst us—is constantly increasing ; and the researches of M. Soulié, custos of the Musée de Versailles, M. Despois, M. Bazin, and others, cannot but tend to increase the number of students of the dramatist as distinguished from those whose admiration is extended to him as a matter of simple formality. Genius forces worship from many minds which cannot comprehend it, but its highest tribute is found in the quick and intelligent sympathy and apprehension of those who diligently and lovingly trace its manifestation.

A unique interest attaches to Molière—such an interest as can cling but to few men, the Homers, Shakspeares, and Cervantes of mankind. The grand carelessness which distinguished the French dramatist as to the reception and preservation of his works by posterity is in striking contrast to the feverishness of those authors of the nineteenth century who endeavour to anticipate the verdict of the twentieth by exalting themselves on the pinnacle of the world’s regard. The reflection that perhaps the greatest comic writer of all time was very reluctant to print or publish his inimitable comedies, because they were the ‘ stock in trade ’ of his strolling company, is singular but not unparalleled. Shakspeare appears to have felt the same indifference or repugnance to the publication of his plays, which, as is well known, were not collected till several years after his death. Probably in both cases the professional interest of the actor and theatrical manager in these pieces far surpassed any consciousness of their immortal literary value and grandeur.

Kemble the actor gave utterance to a thought which even the consensus of opinion would scarcely deem to be exaggerated, when he said, ‘ Molière belongs to no nation : one day ‘ the god of comedy, wishing to write, became a man, and happened to fall into France.’ Yet we can scarcely admit that Molière’s universality is the universality of Shakspeare ; the impression of the age in which he lived is too much upon him while he writes. His universality is that of all Frenchmen, but not of the world ; he is the epitome of his own nation. His memorable saying, ‘ To amuse respectable people, what a strange

'task!' was an injustice to his genius; for while he assuredly depicted his own age with inimitable precision, there was in him that force or vitality which can project itself into all succeeding generations. Hence it is that he becomes a perennial attraction to the bibliophile and the man of letters.

Since the appearance of a previous article in these pages,\* much has been done towards recovering for the world traces of Molière. His ashes have long ago been scattered to the winds; but, fortunately, diligent research during the past thirty years has had the result of putting us in possession of many facts and details in connexion with his works and his history. M. Soulié, with an assiduity and devotion to the memory of Molière which cannot be sufficiently commended, has laboured for many years in the collection and verification of documents whose importance and interest will be admitted by every reader. To him also we owe the correction of many errors which have hitherto found currency with regard to the details of Molière's life. His researches into the history of the relatives of the great writer, though, as he says, not exhaustive, are at the same time most useful and interesting, and will serve as valuable material towards that true biography of the poet which still remains to be compiled; for by him and his predecessors all the notarial records of the parishes inhabited by Molière have been sifted and examined. These form, as is well known, in France a complete history of domestic life, for what can be done *sans son notaire*? Boffara found amongst the registers of the parish of St. Eustache, under the dates respectively of April 25th and 27th, 1621, the acts of betrothal and marriage of Jean Poquelin, father of Molière, with Marie Cressé; their contract of marriage being some two months anterior to the religious ceremony. M. Soulié observes that this agreement between two families belonging to the *bourgeoisie* of Paris, and both exercising the profession of upholsterer, serves to establish what was the original position of the future parents of Molière. The house inhabited by Poquelin at this time was known under the name of 'Maison de Cinges,' because of a very ancient piece of sculpture by which it was decorated, and it lay at the angle of the streets Saint-Honoré and Vieilles Étuves. In this house was born the first child of Jean Poquelin and Marie Cressé, who was baptised at St. Eustache on the 15th of January, 1622, under the name of Jean. This point has sometimes been contested, but the inventory taken in 1633, after the death of

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\* Edinburgh Review, July 1845.

Marie Cressé, leaves not the shadow of a doubt upon the fact. She had given birth to six children, four of whom survived her. She had not been long deceased when Poquelin married again; and so uncongenial did the young Jean find his abode under the altered conditions, that his maternal grandfather lost no opportunity of drawing him away from his home. Under his auspices Molière went to see the King's tragedians perform, and thereby, it is presumed, acquired the passion he afterwards so strongly evinced for the histrionic art. How Molière distinguished himself at the College of Clermont is already well known, as also the fact that amongst his schoolfellows (and one who never suffered him to fall out of recollection) was the great Prince de Condé. Although Corneille had written excellent plays in the time of Louis XIII., it was not until the reign of Louis le Grand, and under the auspices of Molière, that comedy reached its highest point of merit in France. It is said, but the statement requires more proof than is yet discovered, that Molière in early life for a time fulfilled the duties of *tapissier* to the great monarch. However, whether that be the fact or no, his tastes soon led him to forsake the employment, and at the age of twenty-two we find him joining a dramatic company which had been formed in Paris, under the name of 'L'illustre Théâtre.' M. Soulié's researches clear up many dubious points in reference to this company, and conclusively prove that it was established either in the very last days of 1643 or the very earliest of 1644, and not in 1645 as very generally accepted. The leader or manageress of this company was one Madeleine Béjart, who had been the mistress of the Marquis of Modène, gentilhomme ordinaire de Monsieur (Gaston, Duke of Orleans), brother of Louis XIII. She had with her a brother named Joseph, a sister, twenty years old, named Geneviève, and nine other persons, of whom two, Denis Beys and Desfontaines, were writers of comedies; and last but not least, came Jean Baptiste Poquelin. On assuming his new rôle, he took the surname of Molière, partly, it is conjectured, to soothe the feelings of his family. The name of Molière was not unknown, and a novel-writer of the period, as well as a popular dancer and musician, enjoyed it in common with Poquelin. The ultimate ascendancy of Molière over the company with which he was connected, in consequence of his intimate friendship with its founder, together with the records of its tour in the provinces, are matters of history. The vicissitudes of genius were early exemplified in Molière's career; his company ran into debt, and for the nonpayment of one account he was arrested and imprisoned; whilst documents

exist proving that at the successive suits of several tradesmen he was also arrested for the furnishing of theatres taken by the company. Yet so scrupulously honest was Molière, that, nearly fifteen years later, he was found discharging one of the debts which had lain so heavily upon him, together with all the interest, expenses, and 'loyaux coûts,' which had in the meantime accumulated. How true are the words of Sainte-Beuve, when speaking of exceptional men of genius, as for instance Shakspeare, Cervantes, Rabelais, and Molière:—

'Ces hommes ont des destinées diverses, traversées; ils souffrent, ils combattent, ils aiment. Soldats, médecins, comédiens, captifs, ils ont peine à vivre; ils subissent la misère, les passions, les tracas, la gêne des entreprises. Mais leur génie surmonte les liens, et, sans se ressentir des étroitesse de la lutte, il garde le collier franc, les coudées franches.'

The precise duration of Molière's detention in prison is not known, but he was in the Châtelet on the 2nd and 4th of August, 1645, though on the 13th of the same month he was free. Unfortunately, the registers of this celebrated prison do not extend further back than the year 1651. What does appear to be a fact, however, is that the chief of all French comedians was seized and thrown into prison by the individual who supplied the candles for 'L'Illustre Théâtre'—a detail partly pitiable and partly grotesque. The record of Molière's life during the greater part of this month of August consists of imprisonment and release. Objecting to the jurisdiction of the court which committed him to prison for the candles, he was released, but re-arrested on other charges; he was bailed out, nevertheless, by Léonard Aubry, the king's paviour.

The career of Molière's company was a series of alternate successes and disappointments. But rewards come to the man whose persistency is not to be subdued. On the 18th November, 1659, Molière produced in Paris *Les Précieuses Ridicules*—a satire upon the Rambouillet coterie. In this coterie were included Madame de Rambouillet, Chapelain, Ménage, and Scudéry, who all went to see themselves travestied. On leaving the theatre, Ménage is reported to have said to a companion, 'Now, like Clovis, we must burn what we have adored, and 'adore what we have burnt.' That same night, and in the middle of the performance, another spectator is alleged to have called out, 'Courage, Molière; voilà de la bonne comédie!' The immediate result of the comedian's success, nevertheless, was discouraging; for the King being away, those who were 'dressed in a little brief authority' forbade the further production of the piece—a prohibition which was removed in four-

teen days. Although the prices of the theatre of the Petit Bourbon (where the comedy was played) were raised one-half, public curiosity was so great that the theatre was inconveniently crowded. Louis XIV. returned to Paris with his young Spanish wife in 1660, and Molière's company were now transferred to the Palais Royal, probably not far from the spot which has been consecrated for so many generations to the noblest traditions of the French theatre. On the 26th of October (pending the completion of the Palais Royal), Molière performed the *Étourdi* and the *Précieuses* at the Louvre, before the King and Cardinal Mazarin—the latter being carried into the theatre from his sick bed. To conform to custom, Molière wrote a piece in honour of the King's bride, to wit, *Don Garcie de Navarre*; but it seems to have fallen very flat, and only witnessed five representations.

In 1660 the dramatist assumed the office of 'tapissier valet de chambre,' vacant by the death of his brother, a post which, though derogatory to the poet, enabled him to be near the King, and also to use his singular powers of observation to some purpose. Under Louis XIV. every employment in the King's service, however humble, was dignified by the lustre of the Court, and conferred upon the holder of it something of the dignity of the crown.

Molière's marriage took place on the 20th of February, 1662, not to Madeleine Béjart, with whom he had first fallen desperately, but hopelessly, in love, but to Armande, Madeleine's youngest sister. The assiduity of M. Beffara has recovered for us the actual register of the marriage, which runs as follows :—

'Jean-Baptiste Poquelin (Molière), fils de Jean Poquelin et feu Marie Cressé, d'une part, et Armande-Grésinde Béjart, fille de feu Joseph Béjart et de Marie Hervé, d'autre part, tous deux de cette paroisse, vis-à-vis le Palais-Royal, fiancés et mariés tout ensemble, par permission de M. de Comtes, doyen de Notre-Dame et grand vicaire de Monseigneur le Cardinal de Retz, archevêque de Paris, en présence dudit Jean Poquelin, frère du marié, et de André Boudet, beau-frère du marié; de ladite Marie Hervé, mère de la mariée, Louis Béjart et Madeleine Béjart, frère et sœur de ladite mariée.'

At the time of his marriage, Molière was forty-one years of age, but Armande had scarcely attained the age of twenty. It would have been better for Molière had he never beheld this beautiful but capricious creature, who was destined to cause him more anguish and trouble than he experienced from all other sources during his strange and chequered life. Even after their conjugal quarrels and separation, caused by her

infidelities, they remained members of the same company, and it frequently fell to the lot of Molière to play the part of an impassioned or fortunate lover to his own wife, after she had given him unequivocal proofs that she cared nothing for him. A melancholy trait in the life of a comedian! The register of his marriage disposes of the assertion (accepted as a fact before M. Beffara's fortunate discovery) that Madeleine Béjart was opposed to her sister's union, and that in consequence the marriage was kept secret for a time. It also disposes effectually of another calumny circulated against Molière to the effect that he had married his own daughter, a scandalous assertion, which, to do the King and many friends of Molière justice, they always firmly and decisively repudiated. Louis, indeed, on this occasion behaved with all that magnanimity which traditionally belongs to a great monarch.

M. Soulié points out the significant fact that Geneviève Béjart, the other elder sister of Armande, is not mentioned in the contract of marriage, nor was she present a month afterwards at the religious ceremony at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, and yet she was not married till two years after her youngest sister. These circumstances would tend to point to the conclusion that the opposition to the marriage might have come from Geneviève and not from Madeleine. He even goes so far as to speculate that the previous feeling of love which Molière had experienced was towards this Geneviève, whom biographers have confounded with the elder sister, but he admits that it is a hypothesis which it would be very difficult to support by proofs. Those who had coupled Molière's name injuriously with Madeleine and Geneviève Béjart did him the grossest injustice, and after his marriage it would be impossible for any husband to show greater admiration, affection, and devotion towards his wife than did the great dramatist. His nature was eminently plastic and warm, and all accounts agree that he indulged a profound passion for Armande. Well would it have been on both sides had this ardent passion been returned, for a chapter might thus have been saved from the 'calamities of authors.'

The eldest son of Molière, Louis, was born on January 19, 1664, and baptised at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois on February 28 following, Charles, Duc de Créquy, first gentleman of the chamber to the King, appearing as sponsor on behalf of his Majesty, and Colombe le Charron, Maréchale du Plessis-Praslin, lady of honour, appearing on behalf of Madame Henrietta of England, Duchesse d'Orléans. This son did not



survive long, however. A register, which had escaped the researches of Beffara, and was discovered by M. Parent de Rosan, the ardent and learned investigator of the archives of Paris and of the department of the Seine-et-Oise, shows that in the November of the year in which he was born the son of Molière was buried at Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois.

The natural generosity of the dramatist's disposition was demonstrated in his pecuniary relations with his father, towards whom, indeed, he appears to have behaved with singular disinterestedness. Although a large sum of money was due to Molière after the death of his mother, he not only abandoned to his father his part of the succession, but also placed himself at great inconvenience in order to aid the elder Poquelin with funds for the construction of his warehouses. The fact of sums being advanced by Molière for this purpose gives colour to the supposition of Voltaire, that the elder Poquelin was a dealer in old clothes, &c. (*'marchand fripier'*) in addition to his other occupations. Or, it may have been that in later years he came down in the world, and was obliged to take up a somewhat humbler calling than he pursued in early life. Other benefactions Molière made to his father under an assumed name; but, according to M. Soulié, Poquelin senior could not have been the destitute object which he pretended to be—we ought rather to consider him in the latter years of life as a morose old man; somewhat of a miser, unable to pardon his son for having quitted his name and his profession to become a comedian, and finally compelling that son to conceal his proper designation while lending him substantial aid.

The circumstances of Molière's own death have appeared with variations in all biographies, but M. Soulié's aid has been useful in relation to this subject in clearing up many points hitherto doubtful. On the 17th of February, 1673, he had played the part of Argan in the fourth representation of *Malade Imaginaire*, though he was very ill at the time. After reaching home (he was living in the Rue Richelieu, near the spot where a modern fountain has been erected to his memory), he burst a blood-vessel, and died shortly afterwards. A document, bearing the signature of the notary Levasseur, gives the most authentic details of his last moments. The request presented to the Archbishop of Paris, in the name of the widow of Molière, by his brother-in-law Aubry, and the family notary, states that at nine o'clock in the evening, Molière, finding himself ill of the malady of which he afterwards died, desired to testify his repentance of all the faults which he had committed, and to die in the Christian faith. He called for a priest in order to receive

from him the last sacraments, and sent his valet and another servant several times to Saint-Eustache, his parish, for the two priests MM. Lenfant and Lechat, who repeatedly refused to come. Another priest was then sent for, who also refused to come; but in an hour and a half afterwards did so, only to find that Molière had expired. Having died without being reconciled to the Church, the vicar of Saint-Eustache refused him sepulture, and in consequence the appeal was made to the Archbishop to command the necessary rites to be performed. The request added that Molière died in the Christian belief, to which he had borne testimony in the presence of two nuns living in the same house; also of a gentleman named Couthon (in whose arms he died), and of several other persons. The document also sets forth, that M. Bernard, the parish priest of Saint-Germain, had administered the Sacrament on the previous Easter to Molière. The Abbé Bernard was the confessor of the family. If Molière had died in the parish where he received the Sacrament in the Easter of the preceding year, there would have been no difficulty in regard to his obsequies. But the priests of the church of Saint-Eustache, situate near the Hôtel de Bourgogne, had long complained of their neighbours the comedians; and as they could not remedy the grievance while alive, they seem to have taken the opportunity of showing their anger towards the dramatist when dead. Permission was at length obtained for the funeral of Molière, but his body was not allowed to enter the church where he had received baptism; it was only permitted to the vicar of Saint-Eustache to give ecclesiastical burial to the defunct Molière in the cemetery of the parish, on condition that there should be no pomp, that there should be only two priests present, that the funeral should take place late in the day, and also that there should be no solemn service whatever for the deceased, neither in the said parish of Saint-Eustache nor elsewhere. Accordingly, four days after death, that is on the 21st of February, 1673, Molière was buried at nine o'clock in the evening. The following narrative of the period in connexion with this event is worth reproducing:—

‘L’on fit sur les neuf heures du soir, le convoi de Jean-Baptiste Poquelin Molière, tapissier valet de chambre, illustre comédien, sans autre pompe, sinon de trois ecclésiastiques; quatre prêtres ont porté le corps dans une bière de bois, couverte du poêle des tapissiers, six enfants bleus portant six cierges dans six chandeliers d’argent, plusieurs laquais portant des flambeaux de cire blanche allumés. Le corps pris rue de Richelieu, devant l’hôtel de Crussol, a été porté au cimetière de Saint-Joseph, et enterré au pied de la croix. Il y avoit

grande foule de peuple et l'on a fait distribution de mille à douze cents livres aux pauvres qui s'y sont trouvés, à chacun cinq sols.'

Of what character would the funeral of Molière be could it take place in France to-morrow? Between him and the Church feelings of cordiality were morally impossible; but the grave should be the limit of every animosity. The priest might naturally imagine Molière was his greatest enemy, but that could only be a selfish view of the dramatist's character. But in truth, at that time, and for a century later, the Catholic Church was always most reluctant to concede to players Christian burial, and they were excluded from it by the Canon Law.

La Fontaine wrote the well-known epitaph upon Molière, in which he clothed in graceful form a very felicitous idea:—

' Sous ce tombeau gisent Plaute et Térence,  
Et cependant le seul Molière y git.  
Leurs trois talents ne formaient qu'un esprit,  
Dont le bel art réjouissait la France.  
Il sont partis, et j'ai peu d'espérance  
De les revoir. Malgré tous nos efforts,  
Pour un long temps, selon toute apparence,  
Térence et Plaute et Molière sont morts.'

It will be of interest now to add a description of the personal appearance of the great comic poet left by Madame Poisson, daughter of the actor du Croisy. Madame Poisson had herself seen Molière when she was very young, and wrote the following description of him in the '*Mercur de France*' for May, 1740:—'He was neither too stout nor too thin; his stature was rather tall than short; his carriage was noble; and he had a remarkable good leg. He walked measuredly; had a very serious air; a large nose, an ample mouth, with full lips; brown complexion, and eyebrows black and thick; while the varied motion he gave to these latter rendered his physiognomy extremely comic.' There is some doubt whether Madame Poisson saw the poet after she was six years of age, but even supposing she did not leave this description as the record of her own observation, she in all probability received it direct from personal friends of Molière, and the recollections of that early period of life are frequently correct and indelible.

The efforts to rescue the early career of the dramatist from obscurity have been partially successful; though there is still much that can only partake of the nature of speculation. The general impression after reading his comedies must be that

they are almost equally adapted for reading as for playing ; but unfortunately their illustrious author held to a contrary opinion. In consequence, he neglected to ensure in some cases a form sufficiently perfect in which they might, with the fullest justice to himself, descend to posterity, whilst as regards others of his pieces, he took no trouble whatever to preserve them, and they are now no more to us than a name. The errors and faults which bristle in almost all editions of his comedies published during his lifetime, and their variations from the original editions, which also exhibited errors, though frequently only typographical ones, prove equally, says M. Despois, the indifference of the great poet to the faithful transmission of his writings—that is to say, concerning that portion of his art and of his glory, which was at the same time the most generally accessible to his contemporaries, and the only durable one for posterity. But his object was to retain a species of copyright in the plays of his own troop, and to prevent them from being performed by other companies.

Molière left no complete collection of his works. There appeared in the year of his death, however, and subsequent to his decease, two volumes which contained many of his earliest comedies ; and it was supposed that this instalment of a much-desired work was the beginning of a complete edition, which he had undertaken when death surprised him, and paralysed his hand for ever. The sudden termination of his life was one of those calamities whose full effects are only felt by later ages. It appears that Molière had obtained letters of permission from the King in 1671 to print his theatrical pieces, having been urged thereto by his friends, who represented the matter to him as an imperative duty on his part, before he could be prevailed upon to undertake the task of collection and supervision for the press. A bookseller in Amsterdam published a collected edition of the dramatist's works as early as the year 1675, in five volumes. Afterwards, in 1682, Vinot, a friend of Molière, and La Grange, issued his entire works in eight volumes, augmented by the following seven pieces, which had not hitherto seen the light :—*Don Garcie de Navarre*, *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, *Le Festin de Pierre*, *Mélicerte*, *Les Amants Magiques*, *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, and *Le Malade Imaginaire*. Some of these pieces, however, Molière had himself been very unwilling to publish, being conscious of their defects on the one hand, and somewhat soured by the chilling reception they had met with on the other. The play of *Don Garcie*, for example, was one for which, as an acting piece, Molière had a strong affection ; and yet whenever it was produced, its

reception was unfavourable. Undaunted by its first failure, the author played it on two subsequent occasions, but only to find the previous verdict sustained. At length, wearied of his efforts, he must have cast the play from him in anger, for it was some time after his death before the manuscript could be discovered, and then it was found by the merest accident, and was in imminent danger of being destroyed. This piece contains many nobly-sustained speeches, but on the whole it lacks the brilliancy of other works from the same hand. *Mélicerte*, a heroic pastoral, whose subject was taken from the history of Timarête and Sesostris, in the romance of Cyrus, was written for the celebrated actor Baron, who created the part of Myrtil. Baron, however, having retired from Molière's troop after the ballet of the King, where the two first acts were represented, the dramatist abandoned his project, and did not write the following acts. *Don Juan ; ou Le Festin de Pierre*, was founded on a Spanish piece, *El Burlados de Sevilla*, and had five representations only during its author's lifetime. Thomas Corneille translated it into verse after Molière's death, and it was played many times in that form. It was originally published as the writer left it, but the censor struck out a great number of passages, and it was only in 1819 that M. Auger reproduced it, exactly and verbally, after a non-expurgated edition found in the King's library, with Molière's own text.

M. Despois has a very valuable note on the first farces attributed to Molière. During his long tour through the provinces the dramatist had composed or rather sketched a certain number of short comedies or farces, in one act, which, after his return to Paris in 1658, continued for some time to figure in the *répertoire* of his troop. The greatest uncertainty reigns, and is still likely to reign, as to the number and dates of representation, the titles and the subjects of these efforts. Amongst them there are only two—*La Jalousie du Barbouillé*, and *Le Médecin Volant*—whose existing text is believed to be sufficiently near to that of Molière to warrant their full acceptance amongst his authorised works. With regard to the doubtful ones MM. La Grange and Vinot give some details touching the reasons for their disappearance. An interesting story is told in connexion with *Le Docteur Amoureux*. On October 24, 1658, Molière's troop appeared for the first time before the King in the Salle des Gardes of the old Louvre. Corneille's *Nicomède* was the piece chosen for their début, but it went off indifferently. Molière advanced to his Majesty and begged him to witness a little piece which he had produced in the country, and which had been received with great marks of favour.

The King consented, and *Le Docteur Amoureux* was so well received as to ensure the future well-being of the troop. This comedy of one act was not printed; its author formed the design of correcting it, but alas! this intention, together with many other equally happy ones, was never carried into effect. *Les Trois Docteurs Rivaux* was another of these lost farces, and according to Grimarest this was the short piece which Molière introduced to the King under the circumstances above narrated, but in this matter he appears to have been mistaken. His assertion is formally contradicted by the double witness of the excellent edition of Molière's works of 1682, and of the faithful register of La Grange. This latter farce is not to be confounded with the preceding one, as Voltaire and others have pointed out. *Le Maître d'Ecole* is the title of a third piece, all of which were in reality adapted from the Italian, and kept for playing purposes only by the writer. Other pieces remain to be enumerated which do not appear in Molière's works as originally produced. *Gorgibus dans le Sac* is the title of a one-act comedy which was afterwards incorporated in the *Fourberies de Scapin*, the latter, however, not being performed for a period of seven years after its predecessor. *Le Fagoteux* is, according to the brothers Parfait, the title which Molière himself gave to his *Médecin Malgré Lui*. It appears to have been played under its own name, however, after the first représentation of the latter piece, according to La Grange, but it is regarded as probable that at that time the two titles were used for the same play. *La Casaque* is a farce only mentioned once in the register of La Grange, when it was played with *L'Ecole des Maris*. It is, nevertheless, also referred to by another authority, La Thorillière.

We have thus, by the valuable assistance of M. Despois, gone through the list of farces attributed to Molière of which there remain to us only the titles. We now come to the two short comedies, whose complete text has only been before the public for twenty-seven years, viz. *La Jalousie du Barbouillé*, and *Le Médecin Volant*. The manuscript of these two farces was, in 1731, in the possession of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, who then lived at Brussels. At this time Chauvelin de Beauséjour, Inspector-general of the Library, wrote to Rousseau, asking him for a Dissertation to place at the head of a new edition of Molière which he was preparing, and begging him at the same time to send him two or three pieces which he (Rousseau) had alleged that he possessed of the author, and which Molière had produced at the time he went through the provinces with his troop. Rousseau replied, excusing himself from working upon

the Dissertation, and contenting himself with tracing its plan. He also said to Chauvelin that as regarded the little pieces which Molière represented in the provinces, it was quite true that two had fallen into his hands, but it was easy to see that Molière had not written them. They were such rough drafts as he gave to his actors, which served them well enough during their campaign, and were in the manner of the Italians, each man being suited according to his talent. But it was certain that he had never thoroughly set in order either of them upon paper, that they were written in a style suitable only to the ordinary country comedian, and were not worthy either of Molière or of the public. And then he adds this acute observation:—

‘Les plus grands hommes n’ont pas toujours été grands en tout : ils n’ont pas même toujours voulu l’être ; et loin qu’on doive regarder comme précieux tout ce qui est sorti de leur plume, on devroit au contraire, si on le pouvoit, supprimer avec discrétion tout ce qui n’auroit pas dû en sortir.’

M. Chauvelin was not convinced by Rousseau’s reasoning, and again pressed the latter to forward to him the two pieces which he had hitherto withheld. In order to convince his correspondent of the justice of his observations Rousseau sent the pieces. Brossette—who exhibited great assiduity in collecting historical notes upon Molière, and to whom Rousseau narrated the history of these pieces—upon applying to his friend for further information was assured that *La Jalousie du Barbouillé* was the first idea of *George Dandin*, and that the original of the principal adventure in the piece is to be found in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*. On the whole piece he expressed a judgment strong enough to shock even those by no means enamoured of it, asserting that it was contemptible in style, and more ignoble than any he could imagine who had not read it. He again affirmed that these trivial efforts, even when of the most perfect character, ought not to be counted amongst the works of a celebrated author. Voltaire and La Serre, in their subsequent editions of Molière, adopted the views of Rousseau upon these two farces. Viollet le Duc, who subsequently published them, however, affirmed on the contrary that they would not be judged unworthy of Molière by any of those admirers who wished well to consider in what epoch, at what age, and for what purpose they were composed. In 1845 M. Aimé-Martin first emphatically incorporated these farces in his third edition of the works of Molière, and since that time they have habitually found a place in every collection.

The completion of M. Despois’ edition will be looked forward

to with much interest. The portion of it already accomplished extends only to two volumes. In the first are printed *La Jalousie du Barbouillé*, *Le Médecin Volant* (both of which we have just had under notice), *L'Étourdi*, and *Le Dépit Amoureux*. The second contains *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, *Sganarelle, ou le Cocu Imaginaire*, *Don Garcie de Navarre*, and *L'École des Maris*. Many interesting facts have transpired respecting all these plays. *L'Étourdi* is chiefly moulded on an Italian comedy by Barbieri, from which the character of Mascarille is taken, but the author has gathered in many other places also material for his comedy. It was this piece which really instituted a new era for comedy in France; before its appearance the stage was appropriated by plays devoted to intrigue, but exhibiting very little method or character. The servant Mascarille was really the first assertion of the great creative genius of Molière. Doubtless the observant actor had met with his original during his peregrinations, though, as we have already remarked, the character had its earliest rough outlines in Barbieri. The most varied opinions have been entertained upon this comedy; Voltaire depreciating it greatly, and Victor Hugo lauding it as possessing a brilliancy and a freshness which too soon faded from its author's intellect in consequence of his departure from the original founts of his inspiration. As early as 1732 this play was translated into English and dedicated to Lord Chesterfield. It is pointed out that Dryden imitated *L'Étourdi* in his *Sir Martin Mar-all*. Murphy also drew upon it in the second act of his *School for Guardians*. M. Soulié shows that Molière habitually performed the part of Mascarille in a dress consisting of doublet, knee-breeches, and cloak of satin.

*Le Dépit Amoureux* is a comedy of intrigue, a portion of which is thoroughly original, and, as may be imagined, that is also the part which is most brilliant. The characters of Gros-René and Marinette in this comedy are amongst the most popular with French actors and actresses, and in 1844 the celebrated Rachel appeared in the part of Marinette. There is so much of ease and lightness in the piece as easily to account for the preference shown by the interpreters of the stage. Vanbrugh and another English writer, Edward Ravenscroft, have both borrowed from this play, the former, in his *Mistake*, having been a very close imitator. In *Les Précieuses Ridicules* Molière exhibited himself as the great satirist, and demonstrated his power of penetrating the outer shell and discovering the inner weaknesses of humanity. It was a direct attack upon the affected literary society of Paris, and those ladies who held assemblies in which only 'purified' French was



allowed to be spoken. The successors of the Hôtel de Rambouillet found themselves travestied in a most merciless manner, and yet with sufficient truth to nature to make the offence all the more galling. The works of Mdlle. de Scudéry were the direct text of the dramatist's happy inspiration. There is little wonder that in consequence of Molière's exploit the whole town was in a ferment. It matters less as regards this play than for many others, whether Molière conceived the idea, or whether its lines had been broadly worked upon before, seeing that its great power lay in its trenchant satire upon an existing clique. The piece was not printed until the year after it had been played, viz. in 1660, and Molière, in a preface which he gave to it, advanced an apology for printing it, in the course of which he says :—‘ I have been unable to avoid it, and am fallen under the misfortune of seeing a surreptitious copy of my play in the hands of the booksellers, together with a privilege, knavishly obtained, of printing it. I cried out in vain, “ O “ times ! O manners ! ” They showed me there was a necessity for me to be in print, or have a lawsuit ; and the last evil is worse than the first. Fate, therefore, must be submitted to, and I must consent to a thing which they would not fail to do without me. Lord ! the strange perplexity of sending a book abroad ! and what an awkward figure an author makes the first time he is in print ! ’ This play has furnished scenes for many English authors, including Shadwell and Mrs. Aphra Behn. Molière played the Marquis de Mascarille in this comedy (a name which we have seen in a previous play), and his dress is curiously described as having been an enormous wig, a very small hat, a ruffle like a morning gown, rolls in which children could play hide-and-seek, tassels like cornucopias, ribbons that covered his shoes, with heels half a foot in height. A curious incident is recorded of *Sganarelle, ou le Cocu Imaginaire*. A certain M. Neufvillennaine was so smitten by it that he went to see it played several times in succession. His memory was so retentive that he quickly got it by heart, wrote it out, and published it on his own authority, praising it very highly in a letter to a friend, which he prefixed to the work. This was naturally a little too much for any man, and Molière claimed the King's privilege whereby his own name was inserted instead of that of his admirer Neufvillennaine. It is universally confessed that *Sganarelle* is as thoroughly distinct and original a character as is to be found in the range of English and French dramatists. Such a combination of mean and foolish qualities had never before been seized upon. The play was imitated by (amongst others) Sir

William Davenant in *The Playhouse to Let*, the second act of which is a very close translation from Molière's comedy. No fewer than eight English imitations have been pointed out. Some observations have already been made respecting *Don Garcie de Navarre*; and we now only mention the curious fact that from an English imitation of this heroic comedy Thackeray drew the name of the hero of the Yellow Plush Papers, the Hon. Algernon Percy Deuceace. *L'École des Maris* is a comedy which was entirely successful, and appears to be indebted to the *Adelphi* of Terence, and the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. We again find a Sganarelle, and the character brings out the dramatist to his full strength as an original genius; the follies which the dramatist wishes to strike at are well concentrated upon his shoulders. We do not see here the fool simply, but a being who is to be a lesson for others after him. Molière preaches in this comedy with a force and directness which cannot be mistaken; they go directly to the apprehension of the meanest and the most exalted, seeing that the lesson itself is capable of an application wide as are the varying classes of humanity. Molière was goaded to excel himself in the production of this piece from the fact that since the failure of his *Don Garcie de Navarre* it was necessary for him to inaugurate a new triumph,—first, to efface the impression made upon the King and his court, and, secondly, in order to sustain his own theatre and procure a livelihood for his troop. The play not only served its author's purpose then, but it is one of those which have been most frequently reproduced in every succeeding generation. In certain copies of the original edition of this comedy M. Moland says there will be found an engraving representing the amusing scene in the second act when Isabelle appears to be embracing Sganarelle yet is at the same time giving her hand to her lover Valère to kiss. M. Despois indulges the speculation that this incident may also have been the subject of that picture from *L'École des Maris*, which Molière preserved till the day of his death, of which M. Soulié has discovered traces so long afterwards as 1738, and which he does not despair of being yet able to recover to the world.

The name of Beffara is favourably known in connexion with Molière researches. It is somewhat strange that the task of recovering many valuable facts from the lumber-room of history in relation to our illustrious author should have devolved not on the most brilliant men of letters in France, nor even upon the quiet and industrious students of literature, but upon one who for a long time fulfilled the post of Commissioner of

Police in Paris. Beffara has discovered for us the actual marriage register of Molière and many other equally important documents. For a long period the admirers of the dramatist were unwilling to accept these discoveries as genuine, and sifted them with the minutest care. But they have now passed into absolute and unimpeachable additions to the biography of Molière. M. J. Taschereau, the director and general administrator of the 'Bibliothèque' adopted from the first and without any restriction the discoveries of Beffara, and sustained their authenticity against the repeated attacks of the Marquis of Fortia. In the three editions of his work upon the life and plays of Molière he has added successively the new documents discovered by Beffara subsequently to his first researches; and several years after the death of that impassioned investigator into the history of Molière, he rendered him a just and lasting tribute of remembrance. In the preface to the third edition of his work, issued in 1844, M. Taschereau says, that the notes which Beffara left 'have served us well in the determination of many an indecisive point, in the completing of much imperfect information, and have also taught us to avoid, or to explode, many errors. Death has struck that indefatigable and conscientious labourer, but has not prevented him from being, after that event, useful to literary history.' The notes of M. Bazin, also, which first appeared in the 'Revue des deux Mondes,' have not been without their influence. A portion of these appeared originally in July 1847, and the latter part, dealing exclusively with the last years of Molière, appeared in January 1848. M. Bazin has unearthed many interesting facts, is enthusiastic to a degree over his subject, but appears occasionally too incautious in accepting older researches as genuine and working upon them accordingly. He adopted in too wholesale a manner the life of the dramatist, which appeared in 1682, and was attributed to La Grange and Vinot, and which he considered in some sort as forming testamentary memorials. He began, as he himself says, with that which is obscure, but ended with what was true and veritable light shed upon the brilliant genius and history of the dramatist. The most valuable part of his researches have been adopted by M. Soulié. One incident M. Bazin relates which we have not met with elsewhere. He states that the Comte de Bussy-Rabutin, a man whose judgment was to be relied upon beyond that of his contemporaries, on hearing of Molière's death, wrote on the 24th of February, 1673, as follows to the Jesuit Father Rapin: 'Behold, Molière dead in a moment! I am sorely distressed. In our day we shall see no one to take his place,

‘and perhaps the succeeding age will not witness a man after his mould.’ Bazin well adds: ‘Deux siècles bientôt sont passés, et nous attendons encore.’

Molière has no existing descendants. According to the researches of Beffara, he had left one only daughter, born in 1665, and consequently a minor in the year 1673, the period at which her father died; deeds were drawn up to secure the rights of his child. The daughter of Molière, after having married Claude de Rachel, M. de Montalant, retired with her husband to Argenteuil. Their certificates of decease, published by M. Taschereau, state that Madame de Montalant died on the 23rd of May, 1723, in her house at Argenteuil, and that her husband was buried in 1738 in the Church of Augustin in the same place, interments which he had demanded in the presence of M. Pierre Chapuis. Distant relatives of the husband were in existence many years afterwards, but no persons of the blood of Molière. A manuscript note by Beffara says that the Poquelin family was extinguished towards the year 1780; and it is probable also that the family of Pierre Chapuis, which succeeded to the remainder of the fortune and the effects of Molière, is also extinct. M. Soulié, however, thinks it just possible that some descendant of Chapuis may still exist who possesses, without knowing the source from whence it was derived, some old family portrait or memorial, which has been continuously transmitted from inheritor to inheritor, down to our own day. But to all intents and purposes the family of Molière is extinct, and it is not a little noteworthy that the same must be said of the greatest men of genius which England also has produced during the past three centuries.

The dramatist appears to have drawn his lively fancy and imagination from his mother. Beffara gives some interesting details respecting her, from which she appears to have been a person worthy of having given to the world this inimitable genius. In the very few books which she possessed, were included the ‘Lives of Illustrious Men,’ and the Bible. Amongst the effects of Molière himself, and regarded by him as almost his greatest treasures, were two copies of Plutarch and the Bible; and speculation supposes the latter to have been the gift of his mother. One thing is clearly established, that as a child he was constantly under her eye, and probably derived from her his extraordinary affection for Plutarch and the Scriptures. It was from Marie Cressé that Molière drew his elevated spirit, his simple and yet elegant habits, his delicate health, his attraction for the country outside Paris; and though as a very distinct individuality she has remained almost unknown

up to the present day, she had a decided and powerful bias on the opening life of her eldest-born son. M. Aimé-Martin has very justly observed, that a knowledge of the library of a man of letters can never be an indifferent point. It is in contemplating his favourite authors that we can alone trace to their source the first inspirations of genius, discover the page, the line, perhaps the word, which originally evoked them, and perceive, by a sudden accession of light, how a thought which at first, perhaps, appeared to us to be unworthy of our attention has been made to give birth to a sublime idea. In the library of Molière were to be found the works of Plutarch, Herodotus, Terence, Horace, Seneca, Montaigne, Corneille, Virgil, and Titus Livius; and of many of these authors he was a devout student.

In an article in the 'Foreign Quarterly Review,' Sir Walter Scott styled Molière the prince of all comic poets, and this verdict no one would now venture to dispute, notwithstanding that we on this side the Channel have so many authors who are justly distinguished for their comic dramatic talent. But where Molière's supremacy over them can be perceived is in the fact that no one has better known, seized, and developed the genius and force of the language in which he wrote. Neither can a writer be named who has written with more justice, precision, and propriety of expression. No one has better held the just mean between persons and their education, character, sex, and blood than Molière. Goethe indignantly repelled the criticisms of Schlegel upon the French dramatist. Schlegel had not the *esprit* which is necessary to a thorough understanding and appreciation of Molière. But the author of *Faust*, whose judgment may be accepted on this matter in an unquestioning spirit, says:—

'I have known and loved Molière from my youth, and have learned from him during my whole life. I never fail to read some of his plays every year, that I may keep up a constant intercourse with what is excellent. It is not merely the perfectly artistic treatment which delights me; but particularly the amiable nature, the highly-formed mind, of the poet. There is in him a grace and feeling for the decorous, and a tone of good society, which his innate beautiful nature could only attain by daily intercourse with the most eminent men of his age. Of Menander I only know the few fragments; but these give me so high an idea of him, that I look upon this great Greek as the only man who could be compared to Molière.'

**The creator of types must sooner or later, notwithstanding the neglect which may threaten him, obtain his full recognition and reward.**

Although it is indubitable that in his earlier plays Molière was largely indebted to Italian authors, yet, when his genius took its boldest flights—as in his later works more especially—he was eminently original, perhaps more so indeed than most other writers of equal, or nearly equal, rank. He could isolate a passion and show it in all its nakedness, with a force unparalleled; and his plays may be said to run the entire gamut of human feeling. It is now admitted, however, that his parodies of exalted personages living at the time he wrote are not so close as has been assumed. They are too lifelike, nevertheless, for their leading traits to be due to anything save the personal observation of the dramatist, which was of the keenest description. Almost every one of his plays has furnished his countrymen with ‘wise saws and modern instances,’ and in many cases his phrases are quoted in total ignorance of the source from whence they were originally derived. So wide was his observation, that precisely as in the case of Shakspeare, attempts have been made to prove him almost everything in the way of occupation or profession. Mons. Castel-Blaze wrote a book, we are told, to prove that Molière was a perfect musician. ‘MM. Truinet and Paringault, barristers, printed one to convince the world he was a most able and learned lawyer; Mons. M. Raymond, that he must have studied medicine most thoroughly in order to be able to imitate so accurately the medical jargon of his time.’ And so on; the list of occupations being by no means exhausted.

Various attempts have been made to acclimatise Molière to English soil, but, as might be expected, with indifferent success. M. Van Laun gives us some readable details on this subject in the preface to his own edition. It appears that the oldest of these English translations was published only forty years after Molière’s death. It was executed by Mr. John Ozell, and printed for Bernard Lintoff in 1714. The work was dedicated to the Earl of Dorset. The author was a man who did not mince matters in his translation, but, on the contrary, translated at times somewhat too freely. The second translation, executed in 1732, and printed for John Watts, was preceded by a memoir of Molière, both in French and English; and with the following apt motto from Horace:—

‘Hic meret æra liber Sosiis; hic et mare transit,  
Et longum noto scriptori prorogat ævum.’

Some of the pictures in this edition, which was far more literal than the former, were drawn by Hogarth. The translators dedicated their work to the Queen. A third translation, also

printed by Watts, was issued in 1739, containing fourteen more plays than appeared in the previous edition, and before each of the new comedies was a picture by the well-known Boucher. The work was dedicated to the Prince and Princess of Wales. Various other translations followed, though sometimes only of special plays, down to the year 1771. Samuel Foote executed translations of two or three plays.

For ourselves, we regard the attempt to translate Molière into English as absolutely vain and hopeless. The exquisite purity and terseness of his language have never been approached by any French writer of modern times, and to transport these qualities into a foreign tongue is not possible. M. Van Laun is therefore rather to be pitied for having embarked in so hopeless an undertaking than blamed for failing in it: but it would require a much more perfect command of the English language at its best periods, than he possesses, to enable him to present a single scene respectably.

Of the genius of the great dramatist himself nothing requires to be said. He commands, like a great classic, the admiration of all cultivated men in all nations and in all time. To many a man of letters he is a bosom friend, and there is no writer of his country who has received so profound a recognition in Germany and England. The pinnacle to which he has attained belongs only to the very few master-minds of the universe. We heartily welcome all the researches and revelations concerning him with which his devoted admirers in France have presented us; and it is to be hoped that the enthusiasm which has recently been rekindled for the name of Molière will result in further valuable and notable discoveries.

- ART. III.—1. *New Zealand Forests*. Speech of the Hon. J. VOGEL, delivered in the House of Representatives on the 14th July, 1874. Printed by Authority. Wellington: 1874
2. *Papers relating to State Forests, their Conservation, Planting, Management, &c.* Presented to both Houses of the General Assembly, by command of His Excellency. Wellington: 1874.
3. *Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867; viz. Report on Seeds and Saplings of Forest Trees.* By Dr. HOOKER. *Report on the Products of Forest Cultivation.* By P. L. SIMMONDS, Esq. *Report on Timber and Forest Produce.* By T. W. WEBBER, Esq. *Report on Products of Useful Insects.* By M. A. MURRAY.
4. *Reports on the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873; viz. Report on the Collection of Imports of Raw Material.* By Professor ARCHER, F.R.S.E., &c.
5. *Tables of the Results of a Series of Experiments on the Strength of British, Colonial, and other Woods.* By Captain FOWKE, R.E. London: 1867.
6. *Rapport fait au nom de la Commission de Révision des Services administratifs sur la réunion du service des forêts au Ministère de l'Agriculture et du Commerce.* Par M. le Vicomte de BONALD, Membre de l'Assemblée Nationale. (Séance du 25 Novembre, 1872.)

THERE is no department of literature to which the residents in a great city can turn with more certainty of mental refreshment than that which deals with the numerous subjects that are comprehended under the name of Forestry. The change of scene and of emotion thus to be attained is perhaps more complete than that furnished by any other study. History, politics, religion, bring back the mind to the very subjects of daily discussion or anxiety from which it is wished to escape. Dramatic and epic poetry, however the perusal of the immortal lines of the 'lofty, grave tragedians' may carry back the fancy to the simple habits of the heroic ages, yet hinge on the very emotions of the mind which are the motives of the life which surrounds us. It is not everyone who finds refreshment in abstract science, nor is it always the case that even the scientific man can find rest in mere change of the details of his toil. Voyage and travel, when graphic and pictorial, may give dioramic glances at distant and interesting scenes; but it is very rare that the traveller adds to his special qualifications that descrip-



tive power which carries the reader along with the wanderings of the author. At the best such a diversion of thought can only be compared to that short holiday, on moor or trout stream, to return from which the dated ticket is already in the pocket of the sportsman. Works of fiction, even if written by the pen of a master, are so brief in the interest they excite, and so apt to be read with the substitution of real for imaginary personages and incidents, as often to fatigue, almost as much as to refresh, the mind. And then, whether in poetry, description, or imaginative fiction, how often does it occur that one can light upon a book that is at once fresh and good?

The subject of Forestry, on the other hand, is so comprehensive, and so closely allied to what most charms the imagination, the æsthetic faculties, and the cultivated intelligence, that even the humblest contributions to our knowledge of the subject possess a special charm. To the poetic fancy the very word Forest recalls the scene of some legendary drama. Pan is not yet dead. A dreamy languor, such as that which the cool shade of lofty trees causes to the senses, steals over the mind with the thoughts of the green canopy spread by the young leaves of the beech, the solemn shadow of the pine woods, the dark and scented obscurity of the orange grove. The limitation of the visible horizon which is caused by forest scenery, whether in dense unbroken masses, as in the pine woods that skirt the Bay of Biscay, or in broken glades, as in some of the forests and forest-like parks of England, gives a sensation of repose. The fairy folk keep their last hold on our fancy, and the ruder gnomes of our German kinsmen yet hold their own against the schoolmaster and the needle-gun, under the shade of ancient trees.

Again, for the artist an unbounded field of delight is afforded by the forest. Not only are shadowy vistas the special haunt of the landscape painter, but every form of floral beauty finds its home in the green wood. In our own woods, the delicacy and varied form of the foliage is the chief charm, a charm which is absent in the more gorgeous and massive beauty of the tropical woods, as it is in the gloomy awe of the northern pine growth. The flowers of our forest trees are chiefly catkins, or flowers without coloured petals. They are very graceful in their brief life, but they do not light up the green gloom with the star-like brightness of the flowers of the tropical forests. In the South of France the Catalpa hangs out a delicate white drapery on its lofty boughs, to which our Flora can offer no parallel, although we may point to the snowy sheets of blossom which cover the stunted forms of the May-thorn. But in the damp

warmth which is so pestilent to the white man, not only does the vigorous vegetation of the tropical forests shoot up in spires of giant growth, but the crimson, and white, and many-coloured flowers that are borne by the trees themselves, are paled and dwarfed by the extraordinary beauty, and weird and unimaginable forms, assumed by the flowers of the lianas, climbing plants, and especially of the epiphitic orchids. Nature may be almost described as attempting, in these plants, to pass from the vegetable to the animal kingdom at a bound. Scorning the earth, living like birds on the branches of the trees from which they hang down their long, scented petals, mocking the forms of the insects, without aid from whose industry some genera of orchideous plants are unable to perpetuate their species, these glories of the tropical woods seem to claim a higher rank in creation than that of terrestrial flowers.

It is not, however, in a pictorial sense alone, or even chiefly, that we speak of the charm of the study of forest life. Nor is it, on the other hand, because of those economical considerations which we shall have occasion to show to be so important. It is rather because, in his influence on forest vegetation, either as a destroyer or as a restorer, man can produce a more marked, visible, widespread, and permanent change on the planet he inhabits than he can effect in any other manner. In his influence on forests, man becomes a fellow-worker with Nature herself. He can thus wield, and often has unconsciously wielded, the wand of her irresistible power. There is nothing with regard to which we are accustomed to think that we are so utterly helpless, so entirely unable to apply any remedy but that of patient endurance, as the weather. But we learn from the study of Forestry, that however impotent may be the wish to draw a cloud over the face of the sun, or to dispel a thick veil of mist that envelopes the traveller like a sheet, if we look to the moment alone, it is altogether within our power, with the aid of a little time, to change the climate of a country. Patient toil, directed by that skill which is part of the heritage of the forester, can produce shaded springs in a dry land, and water brooks in the desert. Angry impetuosity, ignorantly aiming at undue gain or hot revenge, may convert, and in many places has converted, land famous for abundant fertility into arid waste. The ruthless exterminator of forests modifies not only the productive character, but the climatic condition, of wide ranges of country. Had we the power of depicting the aspect of the earth, as it must have been apparent, age after age, to any observer on the nearest planet, we should recognise at one time the presence of a greenish lustre, such as that

which is supposed to denote the presence of large forests in Mars, and at another time the prevalence of a paler shimmer, like that which is reflected from the waterless cinders left by the volcanoes of the moon.

As this power of the secular modification of climate is that attribute of the craft of the forester which most readily fires the imagination, so must the means of exerting that power be regarded as an ultimate outcome of his toil. It is that which finally represents the value of his work. The details which it is necessary to master, before we come even within sight of that goal, are numerous and important. If we watch the requirements of the forester as they occur one by one, we shall find that we omit but few of the elements of a polite education. It will be, we hope, both interesting and instructive to glance at those requirements, and to see what steps are being taken, in our own colonies and dependencies, as well as in other parts of the world, to train a body of men who shall be, both theoretically and practically, adepts in forest lore.

The area over which the experience of the skilled forester extends is very wide, whether regarded according to its geographical range, or according to its physiological extent. From the high-water line of our tidal seas—from the lower level at which the scrub of the Ghor is washed by the rapid torrent of the Jordan, 1,200 feet below the surface level of the Mediterranean—to the lower line of perpetual snow on lofty mountain ranges, each orographic province, or zone of vertical ascent, has its appropriate Flora. The forester must be acquainted, not with timber trees alone, but with at least as much of the organic world as is connected, whether in a friendly or in a hostile mode, with their growth and welfare. As to actual trees, the range in size extends from the minute form of the Alpine Willow, which we have picked on the summit of Skiddaw, of less than three inches in height, to the lofty column of the majestic *Wellingtonia*, which towers, in the Giant Yosemite Valley, to an altitude of 350 feet. A height of 200 feet is attained by the Umbrella Pines of Italy. In Slavonia the Sapin (*Abies pectinata*) attains an ordinary height of 275 feet. The *Eucalyptus Amygdalina* is described by Dr. Mueller as attaining on the banks of the Yarra River, in Victoria, the height of 420 feet in many instances. The Californian Big Tree is said to measure 96 feet in girth. In length of life and rapidity of growth the diversity is no less marked. A *Pinus sylvestris*, from Finland, 70 feet in height and 72 inches in girth, has been found to register the passage of 518 seasons by its concentric rings. The venerable Yews that

form a majestic avenue at Studley Royal, or the yet more magnificent patriarchs of the same species that form a kind of Druidic circle in the sequestered and beautiful glade, near Guildford, known by the name of 'Fairy Land,' must have been in existence when the wood of the yew decided the fate of battle, in Norman or even in Saxon times. The *Eucalyptus globulus*, on the contrary, rapidly attains gigantic dimensions. It has the property of absorbing ten times its weight of water from the soil, and of emitting antiseptic camphorous effluvia. When sown in marshy ground it will dry it up in a very short time, according to the evidence collected by M. Gimbert, mentioned in the 'Medical Times and Gazette.' In the spring of 1867 about 13,000 of the *Eucalyptus* were planted at Pardock, twenty miles from Algiers, in a plain situated on the banks of the Hamyze, and noted for its extremely pestilential air. In July of the same year, being the time when the fever season sets in, not a single case occurred; the trees were by that time nine feet high. Notwithstanding this rapidity of growth the wood is of great strength and tenacity; and is to be obtained in any lengths. The *Eucalyptus rostrata*, or red gum, again, is a hard dense wood, almost indestructible in water, or in damp ground. The wood of some amentaceous trees, and even of the *Coniferae*, is converted into pulp for the manufacture of paper; and a Japanese tree furnishes a pulp for this purpose which more resembles gelatine than ligneous matter in the ease with which it can be manipulated.

The general problem of the distribution of trees and other plants over the surface of the earth was not only unsolved, but unstated, before the time of Linnæus. Even now we are apt to forget, in mentioning that illustrious man, the mode in which, in his *Philosophia Botanica*, he indicated the course which has since his time been followed by the most eminent continental botanists, more especially by the Decandolles, both father and son. The first principle of distributive, or geographical, botany is, as in the animal kingdom, that of the development of species in proportion to the dose of heat. In vegetables this dose is derived from the sun alone. It is thus a question of *habitat*. The more directly the rays of the sun strike the surface of the earth, and the more dense the atmosphere which they penetrate, the greater is the amount of sensible heat and light. In moving from the equator to the pole we experience a diminution in the sensible influence of the sun's rays which very closely resembles that which is felt in ascending a lofty mountain. Thus while the Equatorial Flora is limited to a

narrow belt of earth, the Arctic or the Alpine Floras, the plants of low latitudes and those of great altitudes, are akin, or even identical. Eight successive zones have been pointed out, each of which may be roughly described as determined by an isothermal line dependent on the combined influence of latitude and of altitude. In regarding both the northern and the southern hemispheres, the number of zones will be increased to fifteen; although, from the unequal distribution of land and water, the area for vegetation is far less, and the isothermal lines are nearer to the equatorial level, in the southern than in the northern part of the globe. These fifteen zones have been divided by Professor Schouw into twenty-five botanical regions, each of which is defined, not by geodesic or photometric considerations, but by the observed prevalence of certain known families of plants.

In the Polar zone vegetation is confined to the Alpine plants, which rise but little above the level of the soil. Mosses and lichens reach to the snow-line. The Arctic, or Sub-Polar, zone is the zone of rhododendrons; which Dr. Hooker has found in the Himalayas at from 7,000 to 10,000 feet. The Befarias, which in the New World represent the Rhododendrons of the Old, rise to the height of 13,420 feet on the Andes of Quito, or 120 feet above the mean limit of shrubs. 11,400 feet will be the mean limit of the region of pines, which succeeds that of rhododendrons. This elevation is attained by the oak (*Quercus semicarpifolia*), on the south side of the Himalaya Mountains; while on the north the birch (*Betula alba*) grows as high as 14,600 feet. On the Pyrenees the *Pinus uncinata* is found at 10,870 feet. On the Andes of Quito the Escalonia occurs at 11,500 feet above the sea. The Sub-Arctic zone of the pines is succeeded by the cold temperate zone of the European trees. The warm temperate zone, that of the ever-green trees, follows; then the sub-tropical zone, of myrtles and laurels; the tropical zone, marked by tree ferns and figs; and finally the Equatorial zone, which is the region of palms and bananas.

The distribution in longitude of the various local Floras must be regarded as an observed fact alone, as to the original cause of which science has as yet been unable to afford any indication. Why the Asters and Solidagos in North America should occupy the region filled, in a zone of equal temperature in the Old World, by the Labiatae and Caryophyllaceae, while the same temperature of from 52° to 72° in Australia and Tasmania, calls to life the Epacrides and Eucalypti, we have yet to learn. The law of the localisation of distinct families of plants is one of

the most important objects to be ascertained, not only by the student of forestry, but by the physiological botanist.

The economic value of the products of Forestry is of the very first importance. Even considered as a matter of import and export, under which aspects it is possible to arrive at a comparative estimate of the actual commercial movements caused by this great industry, this importance will be manifest. But the absolute necessity of forest products, as the material for, and very mainspring of, other industries, is far more vital to our civilisation than it is possible in any way to indicate by the tonnage or money value of the imports. No adequate substitute can be found for wood. For one purpose, indeed, that is for fuel, the mineral relics of primeval forests have for a time almost superseded the product of contemporaneous vegetation. Nor is it probable that in the lifetime of the existing generation there will be much change in this respect. But it must be borne in mind that however great be the supply of coal in any country, or in the whole coal measures of the earth, it is a limited and definite quantity. It is a provision which, if constantly sought, must come to an end sooner or later. It has no reproductive power. To an ordinary appreciation it may matter little, so that we are unlikely to witness either the exhaustion, or the panic of exhaustion, of our own coal-fields in our own time, by how many centuries of consumption we may gauge the coal supply of the world. Such will not be the case with the statesman or with the philosopher. To the man who loves his country, who seeks to serve her, and who desires to leave to history the name of statesman or of patriot, it must be already evident that the optimist and the pessimist views of the durability of our home coal supply are alike extravagant. Whether we accept the highly imaginative estimate (if it can be called by that business-like title) of the Commission of 1871, of a possible supply of (90,000,000,000) ninety thousand millions of tons, reaching down below the surface of our island to a depth where the temperature exceeds 122° Fahrenheit; or whether we take that practical correction which, by excluding coal that, if it exists, would be impracticable to win, reduces that quantity to little more than a third, little matters to our present argument. In the latter case our coal-fields would be exhausted, allowing consumption to increase as it has hitherto done, by the year 1945. In the former case the term has not been suggested. But a century sooner or later in the history of a great nation is a matter of comparatively little importance, when it is a

question of the displacement of the very centre of gravity of its industrial condition. Again, it is true that the coal-fields of the United Kingdom amount to only some four per cent. of the coal-fields of the world. But this disproportion is not greater than that which exists between the population of the United Kingdom and the population of the world. And even if we strike off the enormous number of the non-industrial, non-coal-burning part of the human race, we still are forced to the conclusion that a result which may be due in one or two centuries in England, and which may be possible in three or four times that length of time in the whole world, is not one which the statesman can afford to ignore. At a period of time not greater than that for which Westminster Abbey has stood (dating, not from the Confessor, but from its rebuilding under Henry III.), it is probable that the coal supply of the world will have been rifled of its cream. If by that time the forests of the world are also destroyed, the future will have a gloomy outlook. Those forests, wisely managed, are adequate to keep the human race in fuel; but if destroyed, at the rate at which destruction is going on in some localities, it will be as impossible to restore them as to win back the coal that has been consumed.

At the present time our annual imports of timber, cork, bark, and dyewoods reach the value of some fourteen millions sterling. Of olive, palm, and cocoa-nut oil we import to a value exceeding three millions sterling. Of turpentine, tar, resin, pitch, india-rubber, gutta-percha, and other gums, we import again something in excess of three millions sterling. This total of twenty millions sterling represents a certain regular demand for definite forest produce. If we regard those requisites of daily life which form the subjects of special industries, closely allied to that of the forester, regulated by the same principles, and requiring for their most successful pursuit the same advanced kind of education, we pass from tens to hundreds of millions. In wine and similar products we import to an amount of nearly twenty millions sterling per annum. Our imported corn, grain, flour, rice, and pulse, amount to forty-four millions. Sugar, fruit, spices, and condiments; tea, coffee, and cocoa; tobacco and hops; indigo, madder, and other dyes; cotton, jute, hemp and flax; esparto grass for paper-making; vegetable oils, not from the olive or the palm; opium and other drugs, flowers, culinary vegetables, and garden seeds, make up a gross annual total exceeding 125,000,000*l.*; and a grand total of vegetable imports (exclusive of materials partly of vegetable origin, such as wax) of 210,000,000*l.* This is

close upon two-thirds of the total value of the imports into the United Kingdom, which may be roughly taken at the rate of a million sterling per diem, counting working days alone. The year from which we have taken our figures is the year 1871, in which the total value of imports is set down, in the House of Commons Returns, at 326,834,647*l*. It has the further convenience of being a Census year. The total imports of 1871 were in excess of those of 1870 by 23,577,154*l*., and the latter exceeded those of 1869 by 7,797,279*l*.

The amount of vegetable produce annually imported into England is more than double of that which the agriculture of the country is as yet able to rear. The land under grain, grass, and green crops in England and Wales, is about twenty-five millions of acres. The number of persons occupied in agricultural pursuits is one-fourteenth part of the population. The return has been estimated at an average of four pounds an acre. But this includes the value of animal produce, which is not included in the imports quoted. It is true that very much more might be produced in England and Wales, by the direction of labour, now wasted, to the reclamation of uncultivated soil, and especially by the scientific drainage and irrigation of our river valleys. But it is not a question of area alone with which we have to deal, it is also one of climate. It will be apparent from the summary above given, that a large proportion of our vegetable imports consists of products which Nature has denied to our soil. The tea and the coffee, the spices and condiments, much of the fruit; the quinine and the opium; the cotton, the sugar, and the rice; the indigo and other dyes; the oils, the resins, and the gums, that form so large a portion of our imports, could not be produced in our climate. Tobacco is, perhaps, the only important item of this class, the home-growth of which is prohibited, not by Nature, but by legislation.

But if not from the British Isles, yet from the territory of the British Empire, all these, and far wider, demands can be amply supplied. Of our imported corn and breadstuffs, only about one-tenth part comes from our colonies; fully a third being supplied by the United States, and another third by Russia. From Russia, too, comes more than half of our imported hemp and flax. But hemp is now supplied us from India; flax from Australia; and the special products supplied by almost any foreign country may be obtained, by proper culture, from our own colonial territories. Of some we have, if not the monopoly, yet certainly the most available and productive sources, or, at least, the districts which might be con-



verted into such sources. If we regard the table of our imports as a sort of bill of fare for the civilised world, the British Empire is able to supply that fare from her own resources, not only to her own citizens, but to the markets of the world. In some instances, articles which long were thought to be the special pride of our own country are now very far thrown into the shade by the products of our colonies. Thus the fame of English oak, especially for ship-building purposes (although somewhat eclipsed, for a time, by the use of iron) is traditional and well deserved. But oak, although still ranked in the first class at Lloyds' for ship-building purposes, is inferior to well-known timbers produced by our dependencies; timbers which are only the representatives of hundreds of distinct species. The Teak (*Tectona grandis*), and the Saul (*Shorea robusta*) of the East Indies; the Mora (*Mora excelsa*), and the Green Heart (*Nectandra Rodeii*) of British Guiana; and the Iron Bark, to which may be added many other species of *Eucalyptus*, from Australia, are all stronger timber than oak, in resistance both to breaking and to crushing weight. The Science and Art Department published, in 1867, a set of tables giving the results of a series of experiments on the strength of British, Colonial, and other woods, made by the late Captain Fowke, R.E., on upwards of 3,000 specimens of 600 different kinds of timber. The engineering and commercial value of this result of the patient application of scientific method is of the highest rank. The Iron Bark gives a breaking weight of 11,158 lbs., and a crushing weight of 13,349 lbs., against a breaking weight of 4,256, and a crushing weight of 4,280 lbs. for oak; the pieces of wood experimented on in each instance being two inches square and sixteen inches long. The specific gravity of the Iron Bark is 1.204, in specimens both from Queensland and from New South Wales. That of the Iron Wood of Jamaica is 1.254. At the other extremity of the scale, the Dedoaf Tha, from East India, has a specific gravity of 0.260, being only 0.010 more than of cork. This enormous range in solidity is not more remarkable than the wonderful variety in texture, colour, marking, scent, and other qualities, of the costly and precious woods which fill the virgin forests of our as yet undestroyed colonial territories.

It may be naturally thought that the possession of a vast natural wealth of this nature has been wisely appreciated by our statesmen and legislators. Considering the incalculable amount of national advantage, or loss, that must result from the skilful or unskilful management of our vast forest property, and, indeed, from the whole of our Colonial arboriculture and

agriculture, our readers may expect to hear that the due education of a class of men fitted to be the guardians of such imperial treasures has been carefully provided for by our Government. So long ago as the time of Queen Elizabeth, the student of English literature is aware, the importance of a study of vegetable culture was insisted on by a great writer, who laboured, as few since have done, for the advancement of knowledge. 'God Almighty,' said Bacon, 'first planted a garden.' On the key-note thus struck depends the tone of the entire treatment of the subject by the restorer of modern science. The imaginative beauty of Bacon's views is not more striking than that clear insight of genius which has pointed out the value of a thorough study of natural history as the very back-bone of a liberal education. No parent or preceptor, who has taken Bacon's advice in this respect, has ever, we will venture to assert, found cause to regret having done so. How far has this advice been followed with reference to our public service?

Forestry, which holds on the Continent an honourable and even a distinguished place amongst the branches of a liberal education, is in this country, according to the great authority of Dr. Hooker, 'a subject so utterly neglected that we are forced to send *all* candidates for forest appointments in India to France or Germany for instruction, both in theory and in practice.' 'Wherever the English rule extends, with the single exception of India, the same apathy, or at least inaction, prevails. In South Africa, according to the Colonial botanists' reports, millions of acres have been made desert annually, through the destruction of the indigenous forests; in Demerara the useful timber trees have all been removed from accessible regions, and no care or thought given to planting others; from Trinidad we have the same story; in New Zealand there is not now a good Kandi Pine to be found near the coast; and I believe that the annals of almost every English colony would repeat the tale of wilful wanton waste and improvidence.'

'The average of first-class teak trees found in a normal uncut forest at Beeling,' according to the Report of Dr. Brandis, Inspector-General of Forests in India, 'was fourteen per acre; while over the entire area of Government teak-forest lately taken into management at Maulmain, 552 square miles in extent, the first-class trees which remain standing are only fifteen in ten acres, while stumps and damaged trees everywhere abound. The Sal forests of Upper India might be shown to be even in worse plight, through reckless cutting and utter neglect. There were in 1830 probably 4,000 miles of purely Sal forests along the foot of the Himalayas, besides those in Central India available to

Government. The Sal timber is almost the only one found capable of standing the Indian climate for railway uses; yet now the East Indian Railway has been obliged to import pine sleepers from Norway, Sal being scarcely procurable.\*

In the year 1830, out of a total area of sixty-six millions of acres, contained in New Zealand (being about six-sevenths of the area of the United Kingdom), twenty millions, in round numbers, were under forest. In 1868, the forest area had sunk to fifteen millions of acres; in 1873 to twelve millions. Stated as percentage, the 30 per cent. of forest existing in 1830 had sunk to 28 per cent. in 1868, and to 18 per cent. in 1878. The first thirty-eight years had witnessed the diminution of woodlands to the amount of one-fourth, but the second period, of only five years, had seen a further destruction to the amount of one-fifth of the remainder; or at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum. At this rate the entire woodland of New Zealand would be destroyed by the year 1893.

Dr. Hooker wrote the remarks which we have quoted in 1867. At the very time when we reproduce them, the daily press echoes complaints of the wasteful destruction of timber in our few remaining English forests. It is satisfactory to find that, in any corner of the British Dominion, the subject of forestry is receiving adequate attention. It is from that colony in which more thoroughly than in any other part of the world, the English race has struck vigorous root—that island which, from its congenial climate, promises to become the Great Britain of the Antipodes—that the first vigorous protest (with the exceptions above referred to), against wanton forest-arson has been raised. We have before us a volume of papers relating to State Forests, their conservation, planting, and management, presented to both Houses of the General Assembly, in New Zealand, by command of his Excellency the governor; together with a report of the very able speech of the Hon. J. Vogel, delivered in the House of Representatives on July 14, 1874, on moving the second reading of the New Zealand Forest Bill. We cannot do better than avail ourselves of the careful research by which Mr. Vogel has brought together so much definite and pertinent information on the important questions of the rapid exhaustion of ancient forests, and of the pernicious effects thus produced on climate and on vegetation. But while, as a literary *précis*, the speech in question has a singular value, the imagination is more impressed by the vivid

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\* Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867, vol. v. p. 37. Mr. Webber on Forestry.

picture of the actual state of the newly-settled parts of the globe, than even by the statistic calculations. We seem to hear the axe ringing through the wilds; to watch the progress of the flames as they crackle through hundreds of miles of forest. We become aware that, as we write, irreparable destruction is in full career. We see how slow, feeble, and ineffective is the progress of the planter; how rapid that of the desolater; how clear the duty of preserving that which centuries cannot replace. We witness the operation of causes which, in our part of the world, have been comparatively inoperative since the overthrow of the Roman empire. We see a patriotic statesman pleading for the preservation of the greatest natural blessing of his country, and we draw from his words a lesson that should be deeply taken to heart by us all.

The aim of scientific forestry, in its present most advanced state, is to convert the irregular growth of a woodland district into what is called a *geschlossener Bestand*, or compact forest; divided into distinct blocks of trees of equal age. The usual *Umtrieb*, or rotation, for beech *Hochwald*, or high forest, in Hanover, which may be taken as the model state, is 120 years. The forest is so divided that there shall be as nearly as possible six equal areas allotted to as many periods of twenty years' growth. Thus one block will be full of trees not exceeding twenty years old; a second of trees from twenty to forty years old, and so on. When a block arrives at the last period, felling commences by a *Vorbereitung*, or preliminary clearing, which is little more than the ordinary thinning carried on from time to time in former periods. The beech in these woods only ripens its seed every third or fourth year. After the first seed year in the final period, a *Lichtschlag*, or clearing for light, takes place, in order to afford light for the germination of young seedlings; the finest trees being left standing. When the ground is well covered with seedlings, the old trees are felled and carefully removed, and the block recommences growth. The tendency to a gradual removal of the old trees appears to be on the increase, so as to make the culture approach as nearly as possible to the natural growth of a wild forest.

The staff for the administration of forests in Hanover consists of two branches, which may be described as preparatory and administrative. All preliminary arrangements, on taking a piece of forest land into culture by the State, are conducted by the *Einrichtungs-Bureau*, or Survey Office. This consists of a *Vorstand*, or superintendent; draughtsmen, and clerks,

who are generally practical foresters; and a staff of surveyors and valuers, who are generally candidates for the office of *Oberforster*, the third grade in the system of permanent administration. The surveyor surveys the whole tract of forest, and delineates, with the aid of the valuator, the blocks or subdivisions into which it is to be divided for permanent culture. A detailed plan is drawn up for the future management, pointing out the mode in which the successive periods are to be worked off, the roads which it will become necessary to make for transport, and the usual details of the condition of the forest. This plan, together with a complete code of rules, is handed over for the guidance of the permanent forest officers.

The permanent administration consists of one *Forstdirektor*, and *Oberforstmeister*, who is also a councillor; twenty *Forstmeisters* in charge of circles or divisions, who form also a consultative council; 112 *Oberforsters*, in charge of districts of about 17,000 acres each; 403 foresters; and 343 overseers and under-foresters, who watch the forests, and supervise the work executed by contract or by day labour. A cashier is attached to each Over-forester, who receives and disburses all money in and from the forest cash-chest, on the orders of the Over-forester. A perfect financial check is thus maintained, under the control of the Forest-master. The duties of these officials are confined to superintendence. The *Oberforsters* spend the greater part of their time in the forest, supervising the actual operations. So regular and efficient is the entire system that the state of each block of the forest is generally found to be in accordance with the programme laid down on the original working map.

There is a forest academy at Münden, and another at Neustadt-Eberswalde, near Berlin. A special branch of the Revenue department of Prussia, presided over by an *Oberland-forstmeister* and *Ministerial Direktor*, with suitable branch establishments, exists; and the *Oberland-forstmeister* is curator or governor of the academies. There is also a special office of control for forest accounts at Potsdam.

Captain Campbell Walker, to whom we shall have occasion further to refer, speaks with admiration of the extent and variety of the studies required from forest probationers in Prussia, and the number of years which they spend part in study, and then in waiting for appointments. A candidate must keep certain terms at a government school of the first class; then spend a year with an *Oberforster*, then pass an examination as forest-pupil. A two years' course of study at

a forest academy succeeds, closed by an examination in scientific forestry, land-surveying, &c. ; on passing which the pupil becomes a *Forst-Kandidat*. In this capacity he passes two years more in study ; during nine months of which he must do actual duty as a forester. Then comes the final government examination, directed to ascertain the capacity of the pupil for applying theoretical knowledge, as to the acquisition of which he was previously examined. On passing this, the aspirant for employment is ranked as an *Ober-forster Kandidat*, in which capacity he is employed as an assistant in the academies and control offices, in making surveys and plans, or in charge of a *Revier* or district, receiving daily or weekly allowances. After five or six years of this probation he may expect a permanent appointment. He will then have spent five years in study, and five more in probation, on very meagre allowance ; and is rarely promoted to higher grades than that of *Ober-forster*, unless he has undergone a two years' curriculum at a university. Such is the degree of care which the Prussians consider requisite for the education of their forest officers.

It is no easy matter to form a clear and accurate idea of the forest wealth of the world. Data are wanting in many places, and the information which is accessible has been compiled with so little reference to any but special utility, that the very points which are of most general interest are often omitted, as if of set purpose, from returns. Again, it is often not so much from the want of arithmetical data as from the difficulty with which the mind realises the value of enormous numbers, that our want of general grasp arises. Writers are too apt to pursue inquiries into a degree of detail that is altogether unprofitable, from a philosophic point of view, owing to the doubt that hangs over other portions of a subject of which they only examine particular branches. It must be, therefore, by the widest collection, and most simple grouping, of facts, and by a comparative, rather than by a positive, statement of results, that we can most intelligently seek to present this great field to the imagination.

The forests of Europe are estimated, by Dr. Brown, as covering 500,000,000 of acres, or nearly 20 per cent. of the surface of the continent. In British North America, the average given by the same authority amounts to 900,000,000 of acres ; in the United States to 560,000,000 of acres ; in South America to 700,000,000 of acres. The total thus estimated, for Europe and America alone, is equal to 3,600,000 geographical miles, containing 736 English acres each. If we regard these forests as productive of fuel alone (as, sooner or

later, it is to actual forest growth that mankind will have to look for a permanent supply of fuel), it is instructive to compare the area and products of the woods, with those of the coal-fields, of the world. The total area of known coal measures is estimated by M. Simonin at 25,000 square French leagues, or 1,600 hectares. This is equivalent to 134,000 geographical miles. Four-fifths of this area lie within British and American territory, in North America; one-twenty-fifth is in the United Kingdom. It follows that the estimated area of the European and American forests is nearly twenty-seven times as large as that of the ascertained coal measures of the world.

The English coal measures which are in full work cover somewhat more than 5,000 geographical miles. The coal raised, in 1869, was 108,000,000 of tons, of which about 10 per cent. was exported. Something more than 20,000 of tons of coal is thus annually won from a geographical mile of coal measure in full operation. The yield of our coal-fields, during the periods as to which no exact returns are in existence, rose from ten millions of tons per annum, at the beginning of the century, to ten times that amount in 68 years. If the same ratio of increase be maintained, our known supplies, down to the depth of 2,700 feet (at which level the temperature is that of blood heat, and labour ceases to be available), will be exhausted in the year 1945. This will give us the approximate period of a century and a half for the life of a given coal-field of large dimensions.

The actual yield of those forests which are now in course of systematic culture and working in Europe varies to a great extent. In the most unfavourable districts of Prussia it is as low as half a load of timber per acre, per annum. In Baden it is four times that amount. The latter ratio is calculated on areas actually under crop; the former includes large districts of waste and moor. As we advance towards the equator, the forest products become more important as regards the size of the trees, the rapidity with which they grow, and the density or specific gravity of the timber. A specimen of *Pinus sylvestris*, from Finland, sent to the Vienna Exhibition of 1867, grown in 60° 50' north latitude, measured no more than 70 feet in height, and 72 inches in girth, when 518 years old. In the teak forests of British Burmah it is calculated by Dr. Brandis that the stock may be entirely replenished, under proper management, in 120 years. First-class trees often attain 15 feet in girth. A poisonous *Antiaris* is described as 38 feet in girth, and 250 feet high. The teak is said to attain

a height of 32 feet in two years. The specific gravity of Riga fir is 0·5, that of teak, 0·66 to 0·88, that of the swamp oak of Queensland, 1·240. Thus, if we take the rate of annual production of wood actually attained in Baden (which is less than the weight of hay that can be grown on an equal area, under favourable circumstances, in England) as an average of forest production, we shall be very far within the mark. From three to four loads and upwards per acre per annum, would probably be nearer the truth than two loads. Limiting our estimate, however, to the lesser figure, we have an approximate yield of 2,500 loads of timber per geographical mile of forest, per annum.

We have seen that a yield of 20,000 tons of coal per geographical mile is now attained in our own coal-fields. It is unnecessary to go into the exact arithmetical mean of a yield which has increased 75 per cent. in 14 years; the actual rate is ample for the purpose of comparison. Subject to such correction as may be due to the different quantity of carbon contained in a load of wood and in a ton of coal, which depends on the character of the wood, the product of the coal-field is seven times as much, per mile, as that of the forest. To produce a yield of fuel equal to that obtainable from the known coal measures of the world, if worked with an activity equal to that of our own, seven times the area of cultivated forest is required. But the actual area, as estimated, is not seven, but twenty-seven times that of the coal measures. It is thus four times as important, regarded as a source of fuel. But while the life of the coal-field has been taken at 150 years, that of the forest, if rightly cared for, will endure as long as that of the human family.

A wealth such as this is not to be measured in tons of gold. Immense as it is, if considered only as a source of fuel, its value is far higher if we consider the nature of some of these arboreal products which form nearly one-seventh part of the total value of our imports. The products of tropical forestry and arboriculture are among those objects which give luxury its chief resources, and life some of its most cherished enjoyments. To restrict our consumption to the vegetable products of our own shores, or even of Europe, would be to return to barbarism. It is very possible that the physical vigour and manly bearing of Englishmen would be improved if we were compelled to substitute the beer of our own growth, for the tea, coffee, and cocoa (to say nothing of the wines and the spirits) of warmer climates. But what would become of our intellectual and literary activity, under a return to the diet of the Plan-



tagenet times? How would the rate of living—that acceleration of speed which in the United States is so far in advance even of our English rapidity—be checked by the more sedative diet? It may be urged that such a change would be desirable; but no one could dream that it would be possible, except under the direst necessity.

We have, however, only estimated a portion of the existing forest wealth of the world. The proportion of the woodland to the whole area of Europe is estimated at 20 per cent. In America the ratio is 21 per cent.; in the United States, alone, the estimate of Dr. Brown was 25 per cent.; but by 1870 the proportion had fallen to 15 per cent. In New Zealand we have seen that the 30 per cent. of 1830 had shrunk to 18 per cent. by 1873. If we suppose that the forests of Asia, Africa, and Australasia bear the same common proportion of 20 per cent. to the area of the land, we have a further spread of forest, raising the grand total of the forests of the world to 7,734,000 geographical miles, or nearly fifty-eight times the area of the known coal measures of the world.

While a great range of this extent, if duly cared for, and wrought with an eye to the future, no less than to the present, would thus be ample to supply every need of a far larger industrial population than we can readily contemplate as living in those parts of the world where skilled labour finds its natural home, no assumption can be more erroneous, more foolish, or more mischievous, than that the supply, however vast, is inexhaustible. The very contrary is the case. The rate of exhaustion of forest, where we are able to measure it, has been so rapid, and so constantly increasing, as to cause the gravest anxiety. It must be remembered that we are living at the commencement of the most stupendous revolution that the world has ever witnessed. It is not a political, but an industrial movement of which we speak, and an industrial movement attended by unexampled physical results. By the use of machinery, moved by heat, and, as the most convenient mode of managing heat yet discovered, driven by steam, we have shifted the centre of gravity of human labour. We are multiplying our new servants, the drudging goblins of the steam engine, at an enormous and ever-increasing rate. The discharge of all the heavier kinds of labour, in all civilised countries, will soon be effected, we cannot doubt, by mechanical power. With the freedom thus given to the hand of the skilled mechanic, his inventive power is allowed fuller play. Each new process, each improved manufacture, stimulates the energy of consumption. The rate of our own pro-

duction of coal, which has increased, between 1800 and 1869, from 10,000,000 to 108,000,000 of tons per annum, is the best gauge that we can present for measuring the rate of the increase annually taking place in the industrial activity of the world. Nor do we see any probability that this increase will be checked, unless by great international or national convulsions.

A diminution of 40 per cent. in the forest wealth of America, from the first estimate of the area to the year 1870; a diminution of 40 per cent., not in the estimated, but in the admeasured, proportion of forest land in New Zealand, between 1830 and 1873; a waste of the Great Sal Forests of India to such an extent as to render necessary the importation of railway sleepers from Norway; an increase in the demand for fuel, in Great Britain, at the rate of 1,100 per cent. in sixty-eight years; are so many salient proofs of the rate at which forest destruction is making way. These instances are not exceptional; wherever colonisation or settlement is taking place throughout the world; that is to say wherever the timber supplies of the world are being opened to commerce, the same wanton waste is going on. It is not too much to say that in a period of sixty years (not long before the 2,700 level may be expected to be reached in our coal-fields), the accessible forests of the world will have become things of the past, unless a firm check be put to the ravages of the destroyers.

It is not easy, it is not always possible, to renew extinct forests. Under some circumstances planting can be resorted to with success; but the general outcome of forest experience is to the effect that the systematic care of self-sown seedlings, and the thinning of the young growth, year by year according to definite plans, is the true method of providing for forest reproduction. Thus we find that

‘In 1839, Mr. Williams, dockyard manager, reported to the Bombay Government that in twenty-one months 40,000 teak trees, between twelve inches and six inches in diameter, had been floated down by the contractors (in the Travancore Forests) who had been allowed to act indiscriminately, and that the supply of large timber for ship-building was scanty. The prospects of reproduction of the teak trees had become so bad through this neglect, that Government was advised to purchase 260 square miles of forest land for replanting young teak for the use of the government dockyards. This was actually done in 1842. Several plantations were attempted, but it was found that the expense of planting an acre with teak was greater than the value of the timber likely to be produced, after 100 years, on a square mile!’

‘The British provinces of Malabar, Canara, and Googerat, Bombay, Madras, Rajamundry, Coimbatour, and Cochin, containing teak forests

of vast extent, stocked with first-class trees fit to cut, and a natural growth of young trees reproducing themselves, and capable, with proper management, of yielding an ample supply without any chance of deterioration, had in these thirty years been given over to destruction.'

Again we find that in 1842, when the Government were made aware of the destruction which they had allowed to take place in Burmah, plantations of teak were formed in Attaran to remedy this evil. The teak was found to grow freely from seed; but so little care was taken of the seedlings that in 1845 only one tree was found alive. 'Dr. Brandis calculates that in order to make teak plantations profitable after sixty-two years, the total outlay per acre should not exceed sixty-seven rupees. The actual outlay was, however, over 600 rupees per acre, so that government planting, as a method of restoring the exhausted forests, is a failure.'

We should remember that the great demand which must hereafter come upon the forest reserves of the world for fuel is as yet comparatively unfelt. In the United States, indeed, the 60,000 miles of railway now in use, or soon to be completed, make a steady annual demand for combustion, as well as for construction. To give 2,500 sleepers to the mile these roads require 150,000,000 of trees, each tree making generally but one sleeper. These sleepers require renewal every five years; making a demand for 30,000,000 of trees per annum. The estimated distance run each day by trains on all the roads is 308,000 miles. Each engine, with an ordinary train, consumes about one and three-fourths cord for every twenty-five miles. This gives an annual consumption of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  million cords of wood. The 60,000 miles of railway require, at the rate of forty poles per mile, 2,400,000 trees. These also decay, and will require renewal. The demand for lumber increases at the rate of 25 per cent. per annum. The fences of the United States are now valued at 1,800,000,000 dollars, costing 98,000,000 dollars per annum for repairs and renewals. These are chiefly of wood. In 1871 10,000 acres of forest were stripped of their timber to supply fuel for the single city of Chicago. 63,928 establishments, employing 393,378 persons and using material to the value of 310,000,000 dollars per annum, were engaged, in the year 1869, in manufacturing articles entirely from wood, in addition to the number of 7,439,840 persons partly employed on wood, and using annually wood to the value of 554,000,000 of dollars. The estimate given by Mr. Hough, cited in the speech of Mr. Vogel, of 1,000,000,000 dollars per annum as the value of the products drawn from the forests of the United States, falls nearly

one-third short of these enumerated items, without taking count of the consumption for the railways.

In England, and to some extent on the Continent, the comparative cheapness of coal has arrested the consumption of wood as fuel. But this protection is rapidly disappearing. The question of fuel is one which is preeminently decided on economical principles. The actual cost at which a given quantity of steam can be produced by the consumption of wood, or of coal, will be found to regulate the choice of combustible. As the price of coal rises, whether through increased cost in winning, or from that alarm as to the exhaustion of our coal-fields which has already produced a serious, and probably a permanent, advance in the market rate, the substitution of wood, in part or in whole, becomes more practicable. It may be interesting to glance at the relative calorific value of the different species of fuel, as this will enable us to form a tolerably clear opinion as to the prospects of our supply.

A cubic foot of fir timber weighs from 30 lbs. to 44 lbs., according to the quality of the wood. A cubic foot of good coal weighs from 77 lbs. to 88 lbs. The evaporative power of absolutely dry wood is expressed by the figure 7·5, that of pure carbon being 15. The evaporative power of the best qualities of brown coal is 12, that of bituminous coal, from 14 to 16; that of anthracite, 15; that of inferior coal, as low as two-thirds of that of good coal. The load of rough timber contains 40 cubic feet; that of hewn timber, 50 cubic feet. Thus the evaporative power of a load of rough dry fir will not exceed, and will hardly equal, that of a quarter of a ton of good bituminous coal. When the price of a ton of the latter is equal to that of four loads of the former, the economic value of the two will be equal.

The lowest price that we have seen, in any of the works before us, quoted for timber for fuel in England is sixpence per cubic foot. But this includes a large proportion of the price for rent, or royalty, and profit. In the forests of Baden, where water slides are used for the conveyance of large rafts of timber, 'the *Forstverwalter* is enabled,' reports Captain Campbell Walker, 'to fell, slip, and float the trees to a depôt 'at a cost of 4 kreutzers, say  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  per foot all round.' This cost is divided into felling, 1 kreutzer; slipping,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ ; floating  $1\frac{1}{4}$ . In Hanover, according to the same reporter, the price realised for the thinnings of the beech woods, cut into billets and piled ready for sale as fire wood, is as low as  $1\frac{1}{4}d.$  per cubic foot. The specific gravity of beech is greater than that of average fir, a cubic foot weighing 43 lbs. The calorific value of a load

of hewn billets will be thus fully one-fourth of that of a ton of coal. Forty cubic feet of beech are sold for five shillings. The best coal could formerly be obtained at the pit's mouth in many parts of the English coal-fields at 4*s.* 6*d.* per ton. Those days, no doubt, are over, but the comparison indicates the line where the cost of each of the two descriptions of fuel is at the minimum.

The average price of our exported coal in the year 1869, just before the rise in price commenced, was 9·61 shillings per ton. In 1874, according to the last returns, it was 17·28 shillings per ton, and thus about equal to the calorific value of wood at 1½*d.* per foot. But we find the price of fir in the Earl of Seafield's woods in Strathspey rated at 6*d.* per cubic foot, larch being twice that price. The average value of the hewn timber imported into the United Kingdom in the year 1871 was 56·8 shillings per load, or 13·6*d.* per foot. It is clear, therefore, that the price of coal must continue to rise until it attains something like four times the actual export value, before we are likely to see the introduction, on any large scale, of timber as a competing fuel.

That the wood burned on the American railways may be nearly as cheap as that of the German forests, and that, so long as this cheapness continues, the rapid waste of these forests will continue to supply it, there can be, we conclude, little room to doubt. The comparison enables us to form some idea of the enormous impulse that has been given to industrial development in this country by the opening of her coal-fields. Fuel was long supplied at a rate far more reasonable than the cost of labour required to help oneself to timber, if the woods were common property. This impulse was given at the very moment when it was most effective. In the early state of our knowledge of the steam engine, a costly supply of fuel would have retarded, or altogether strangled, the progress of invention. We are now so familiarised with the use of mechanism for saving labour, and are making such daily progress in its excellence, that we can afford to contemplate the prospective rise of the price of coal till it arrives at eighty shillings per ton without any very serious alarm; if only that rise be unaccompanied by panic or financial convulsions. A rise of an equivalent amount, quadrupling the price of the material, has already taken place within our memory; and a prodigious increase in the activity of every department of industry has been concurrent with that rise.

While the rate at which the forests of the United States, and of parts of our own territory, are being laid waste, is

so rapid, and while the inducement to continue that waste, at least so far as the cutting of fuel and of lumber is concerned, is so great, it is certain that no power but that of legislation will be able to check the progress of destruction. The prospect that, at a time to be measured by tens of years, or even by generations, the woods of any country will be exhausted, will have but little influence on the dealer in fuel. It is desirable to inquire what further evils may result from the destruction of forests, beyond waste in the supply of fuel, and destruction of the sources of future supply.

The evidence is conclusive to the effect that the destruction, or undue removal, of forests has a marked and prejudicial effect on climate. Dr. Hooker writes to the Earl of Kimberley, under date May 27, 1873:—

‘It is principally on climatic considerations that the cutting down of forests seems to require Government supervision. There is good reason to think that in tropical countries the removal of wood operates effectually in reducing the rainfall. There can, at any rate, be no doubt that the presence of forests plays a most important part in storing the rainfall, and yielding up gradually to the streams a continuous supply of water; a thing, I need hardly say, in a hot country of primary importance.

‘Moreover, the rain is retained by forests on the surface of the ground; it gradually permeates to the sub-soil, and so feeds the underground water-bearing strata, upon which springs and wells must eventually depend. If the forest is indiscriminately removed, the rain runs off as fast as it falls, and washes away the superficial and fertile soil with it.

‘I have lately received an account of the deterioration of the climate of some of the Leeward Islands, which affords a melancholy confirmation of what I have urged above.

‘The contrast between neighbouring islands is most striking. The sad change which has befallen the smaller ones is, without any doubt, to be ascribed to human agency alone. It is recorded of these that in former times they were clothed with dense forests, and their oldest inhabitants remembered when the rains were abundant, and the hills and all uncultivated places were sheltered by dense groves. The removal of the trees was certainly the cause of the present evil. The opening of the soil to the vertical sun rapidly dries up the moisture, and prevents the rain from sinking to the roots of plants. The rainy seasons in these climates are not continuous cloudy days, but successions of sudden showers, with the sun shining hot in the intervals. Without shade upon the surface, the water is rapidly exhaled, and springs and streams diminish.’

Mr. Vogel cites a report by Mr. Hough, President of the United States Association for the Advancement of Science in 1871, which refers to the painful accounts which the journals were then giving of the distress of India from famine, and

of the exertions of the British Government to prevent the starvation of thousands of people. 'From a careful study of this subject,' Mr. Hough writes, 'with such data as are accessible in late reports, we cannot doubt that this calamity is largely due to the fact that the forests have, within recent years, been swept off by demands for railroad and other uses much more rapidly than formerly, and that the exposure to winds and sun, thus occasioned, may have largely contributed to these painful results.'

In Eastern Ohio, William C. Bryant gives evidence that 'it is a common observation that the summers are becoming drier, and the streams smaller; several rivers showing a considerable decrease in navigability during the last fifty years. The summers are hotter and the winters are colder.' This is referred to the destruction of the forests along the tributaries of the Mississippi.

Valencia, in South America, according to Mr. C. H. Granger, was formerly 'situated about one mile and a half from a beautiful lake, which was surrounded by a dense forest. The trees were cut away, and in course of time the waters receded to the distance of four miles and a half. The trees were afterwards replaced by others; and in about twenty-two years the lake returned to its original boundaries.'

'From all parts of the State' of Maine, according to the Report of the Commissioners of Agriculture for 1869, 'come up the same complaint of the diminished volume of water in the streams, occasioned by clearing up the forests and denuding the hills of trees. The snows are not so heavy nor so frequent as they were twenty or thirty years ago; and there is less rain in the summer. Many of the old trout streams of twenty years ago are now completely dry, and several parts of the State suffer more than formerly from drought. Snow covers and protects the ground with less regularity. . . . The first settlers in the counties of Kennebec and Oxford raised good peaches in abundance. This fruit retired gradually from Maine, quitted Southern New Hampshire, lingered for a time in Massachusetts, and has finally been driven from all New England, except some favoured spots where shelter has been provided. . . . The same causes materially affect the more hardy apple.'

Some twenty-five years ago the Danish island of Santa Cruz was a garden of freshness, beauty, and fertility. Woods covered the hills, trees were everywhere abundant, and the rains profuse and frequent. A recent visitor, who sought the island, with which he had been familiar in the time of its greatest beauty, for the sake of botanical study, a year or two since, found a third part of it reduced to an utter desert. The short copious showers had ceased, and the process of desicca-

tion was gradually extending over the island. An attempt to restore the former fertility by means of planting was made too late. One planter had set a thousand trees, but every one of them failed.

'The island of Curaçoa was,' again says Mr. Hough, 'within the memory of living persons a garden of fertility, but now whole plantations, with their once beautiful villas and terraced gardens, are nothing but an arid waste; and yet, sixty miles away, along the Spanish Main, the rankest vegetation covers the hills, and the burdened clouds shower down abundant blessings.'

The history of the forests of France would alone be ample to fill all the space at our command. The recent desolation wrought by floods is fresh in the memory of all. 'By the destruction in France of a great extent of forests,' writes Dr. Brown, 'in order to replace them by cultivated fields, the temperature has become very irregular; heavy rains, storms, and dryness have each done their work upon the soil, and made crops every year more and more uncertain.' In the Vosges, the destruction of forests has gone so far that agriculture has suffered, the soil has become arid, and inundations are frequent. In the Department of the Gard, in 1837, 'no rain fell for nine months.' Nîmes, named from the forests which once surrounded it, is now amid an arid waste. At Beziers, the Agricultural Society reported in 1797 that the forest which once sheltered the place having been destroyed, the loss of the olive crop was the consequence. The authorities of the Isère represented, in 1793, that the destruction of the forests had altered the temperature, augmented dryness, and seriously affected the crops. From Provence, from the valley of the Moselle, from that of the Haute Garonne, from the Hérault, and from the Eastern Pyrenees, come complaints of the same nature. The regular rainfall has been diminished, the temperature has changed and become uncertain, and partial and irregular storms have proved curses rather than blessings, wherever the forests have been ruthlessly swept away.

'MM. Surell et Césanne, dans leur belle étude sur les torrents des Hautes Alpes,' to cite the language of a report made to the Assemblée Nationale, on November 25, 1872, by M. le Vicomte de Bonald, 'ont pu démontrer rigoureusement la vérité des aphorismes suivants

'Que la présence d'une forêt sur un sol empêche la formation des torrents.

'Que sa destruction livre le sol à leurs ravages.

'Que le développement des forêts provoque l'extinction des torrents.

'Et que la chute des forêts réveille les torrents éteints.'

So fully are these facts regarded as established in Switzer-



land, that in the Social Science Congress at Berne, in 1865, the question was raised as to the means of establishing a common legislation between countries watered by the same rivers, in order to protect their respective interests, by the maintenance of the mountain forests, and the greatest possible attention is now paid to the subject by all the Cantonal Governments of Switzerland.

It is hardly necessary, after so much evidence as to the consequences of that destruction of forest which is now so actively going on in many parts of the Old World as well as of the New, to follow Professor Laurent, of Nancy, in tracing the desolation which has been brought on the former homes of teeming human life in the East by the same cause. Babylon and Nineveh, Thebes, Memphis, and Carthage, now waste and even pestilential, were formerly the very hives of human life. The remains of conduits, canals, cisterns, and pools throughout Palestine, and especially through the now desert country east of the Jordan, are such as to explain the accounts on record of the former population of these regions. So thorough has been, not only the change of climate, but the denudation of soil, caused by the cutting down the olives, palms, and other trees of Palestine during the Roman war, that it would be impossible to attach any credit to the most venerable accounts of the former fertility, beauty, and population of the Holy Land (its brooks and fountains gushing out of valley and hills, being now replaced by bare and solid rock), without the knowledge that we have acquired of the fatal effect of the destruction of timber. Even as to that country of which it was said, 2,400 years ago, that 'the family of Egypt have no rain,' the United States Commissioner of Agriculture for 1871 reports:—'In Upper Egypt the rains, which eighty years ago were abundant, have ceased since the Arabs cut down the trees along the valley of the Nile towards Lybia and Arabia. A contrary effect has been produced in Lower Egypt, from the extensive planting of the Pacha. In Alexandria and Cairo, where rain was formerly a rarity, it has, since that period, become more frequent.'

The ancient laws of the Monotheistic races prohibit the wanton destruction of fruitful trees. The folk lore of the Aryan people placed groves and forests under the special care of the immortals. Casting aside all veneration for traditional restrictions as superstitions, intent only on a rapid result, like that of the rustic who sought to hasten the acquisition of the golden eggs, the human race at the present moment, from the Wiltshire cornfields to the forests of New Zealand, is emu-

lously engaged in a not altogether abortive effort to render the face of the earth riverless, and to extend the desolation of the Sahara over continent and island.

We venture to suggest that each of the three great pestilences which have now, for more than a quarter of a century, so heavily smitten three important sources of human food, drink, and clothing, may be distinctly traced to the persistent neglect of those natural laws on which the science of forestry depends. The potato blight and famine, the varied and succeeding diseases or disasters of the vine, and the progressive extermination of the silkworm by the ravages of the pebrine, an insect epidemic unknown before 1842, each co-exist with a form of culture that is opposed to a very general law of vegetable physiology. Plants, no less than animals, have their natural terms of life. It is less easy to define the period, in the former case, as it is also more easy artificially to extend it. But it is another matter to pay no regard to the consideration.

The regular descent, or propagation, of vegetables by seed is a part of the order of nature. The greater part of the food of man being derived from annual plants, the ordinary routine of seed-time and harvest is aided by the care of the agriculturist. But in those plants of longer growth, in the culture of which great improvement on the wild stock has been superinduced, the production of seedlings very imperfectly keeps up the advantage gained by the cultivator. Hence the latter is induced to multiply the individual plant by buds, grafts, or slips. In this way a whole orchard, vineyard, or potatoe field is filled with separated portions of the same original plant, each forming its own roots, and discharging its own vegetable functions, apart; but each partaking, not only of a common nature, but of a common age. That age, by this artificial method, is protracted far beyond the natural term of vegetable life. That the weakness, the inability to resist attack from disease or from animal and vegetable parasites, which accompany old age, are thus communicated to the entire stock of a district, seems to us to be undeniable. In the case of the apple, this effect of old age has become evident by the extinction of many varieties, once highly prized. Different varieties of pippins, for example, directly or indirectly grafted from the same stocks, were virtually of the same age, and thus not unnaturally disappeared about the same time. With the potatoe, and even with the vine, the constant replantation of portions of the tubers of the same plant, or of shoots and slips of the same valued stock, may have had, and is most likely to have had, an effect similar to that observed in the

apple, although the display of the infirmity of age may differ in more or less ligneous plants. If we regard our potatoe fields as mainly devoted to the support of a few plants, of extreme age, subdivided to an enormous extent; if we regard the vineyards of the Continent as filled, in the same way, with the subdivisions of a very few aged individuals, we shall cease to wonder at the liability of the vegetables to suffer from either fungoid or insect parasites.

The remedy is probably more difficult and uncertain the longer it is deferred. But, unless the laws of vegetable physiology are extremely obscure, there is only one remedy, and one to which we must come at last. It is more than probable that the reverting to the order of nature, by raising a new set of individuals from seed, may be a tedious and disappointing process. The children of aged or of diseased parents are rarely without marks of hereditary infirmity. But whether from the wild stock, as in the first instance, or from seedlings from cultivated varieties, it can, we think, be only a question of time that both the potatoe and the vine must be renewed.

With reference to the silkworm, the case, although not identical, is similar. It has been remarked that the silkworm epidemic differs in some important respects from all previous epidemics. 'It did not,' says Mr. Alexander Murray, in his report on 'Products of Useful Insects,' 'come from the East. 'It first showed itself in France, in 1842, in the Hérault 'and Poitou, and then only in a local and erratic manner; 'indeed there are reasons for thinking that it may have been 'brooding for twenty years previously in the valley of the Durance and neighbourhood of Cavaillon, whole establishments 'of silkworms (*magnaneries*) having there at different times 'suddenly perished without apparent cause, and other symptoms having shown themselves, which are now known to be 'those of the pebrine.' The progress of the disease was not very great at first, but in 1855 and 1856 it increased so rapidly that M. Quatrefages reported to the Institute that he could not find a single healthy caterpillar. From 1858 to 1866 the consumption of silk in this country declined from 10,021,766 lbs. to 5,273,767, or nearly one half. In 1864 our importations from China fell from 7,000,000 to 3,000,000 lbs.

It is urged in the report we have quoted that the expectation entertained by M. de Quatrefages that the pebrine, like better-known epidemics, would gradually spend its force, has been thwarted by the constant importation of new eggs, *graines* as they are called, from uninfected sources, in China

and Japan. It is tolerably clear what would have been the result had no such importation been effected. It would have been the total destruction of the silkworm, and of the silk industry, in France, and in other infected regions. But the analogy drawn from the plague, the cholera, and similar human affections, is at all events unproved to exist with regard to the silkworm. By the introduction of entirely new *graines* into a *magnanerie*, one main cause of the spread of the epidemics is avoided. No contagion, or personal infection, can exist in that case, nor are we to conclude that the obvious precaution of cleansing and disinfecting the apartments devoted to hatching and feeding has been neglected. We know that such has not been, at least in some cases, the fact. We are thus driven, on the epidemic theory, to believe in the existence of some wide-spread local poison, lurking in the air or the emanations of the soil, and appreciable in no way except by its action on the silkworm.

Is it not more sensible, or at all events more practical, to inquire whether there is anything in the food, or mode of feeding, of the caterpillars which may be noxious even to the most healthy individuals?

It is difficult to look at the bare, contorted, blasted forms of the mulberry-trees which, in many cases within our own knowledge, supply the food for the silkworms, without seeing that they evince no sign of healthy vegetation. Nor is the cause far to seek. Year after year, with unsparing regularity, have they been totally stripped of their leaves. The trees have not died; but they have given evident tokens of distress. It is impossible but that their organisation should have been disastrously affected by the constant check put on the function of the leaves. What that function is we partly, if only partly, know. The sap and juice of the outraged tree must be overcharged with that oxygen which the leaf is constructed to eliminate. The new leaves have an accumulation of work forced upon them. Is there any wonder that their juices should be less suited to the nourishment of insect life?

Unless this view can be shown to be incorrect, it follows that the remedy for the pebrine, or for any of the twelve or fourteen well-marked distinct diseases to which the silkworm is subject, is to be sought in due care to supply to the animal a pure and healthy diet. How far the quality of the silk might be affected by the substitution of the leaves of any annual plants for those of the mulberry, is matter for experiment. But if it be established that it is this way alone which will yield the food on which silk such as we formerly had can be

made, the question reduces itself into that of devoting a greater area to the production of the mulberry. If plants of from one to three or four years old were exclusively used, the existing trees being grubbed up for firewood, and replaced by new seedlings, we venture to predict that we should at once recover the old quality of our silk.

Into the special products of arboriculture, indeed, we must forbear now to enter. The subject is full of interest. Among the 3,000 species of wood of which specimens were shown at the Paris Exhibition in 1867 were to be found samples of the most varied beauty; of ivory smoothness and purity of colour and texture, or streaked, pencilled, mottled, ocellated, and marked with every imaginable caprice. Arboreal products, apart from wood, are numerous. Such are the bark of the cork-oak in Portugal, and that of our own oak coppices and woods, stripped in spring for the use of the tanners. Such are the gums from Zanzibar, from Angola, from Senegal, and from Mogador; the resin from the forests of the Landes, the caoutchouc from the banks of the Amazon. The physiognomy of trees, the mode in which each well-grown tree tends to fill out the sketch given in the venation of the leaf; the effect produced on landscape by the social or solitary growth of trees; the wonderful glow of the flowers of some tropical species, as in that crimson-petalled and glossy-leaved tree that lines the banks of the Parana; the variety of form in the same species, according to locality, as in the olive, which, from the size of a currant-bush on the hills near Marseilles, rises to that of a lofty forest tree by the shores of the Ionian Sea; are subjects on which we have no space to dwell. Nor can we pause to speak of the dangers and foes of the forester; how broad spaces should be left as barriers against fire, while at the same time any rash opening cut in a forest may admit the winds which overthrow the trees, or the sun which strikes with fatal energy on their bark. Insect and other animal foes lie in wait for every symptom of weakness—the bark-beetle, the wood-beetle, the squirrel, the rabbit, the field-mouse, the wild hog, the deer. The insectivorous and carnivorous birds are the great allies of the forester, paying ample rent for the shelter afforded by the forest. Against drought, the great foe to agriculture, the forests can protect not only themselves but the neighbouring country. Their only irresistible foe is man—chiefly seen in the guise of the squatter or of the lumber dealer.

The contrast that is presented between England (notwith-

standing the vast importance of her colonial forests), and France and Germany, in respect to the education provided for the forester, is not the least striking feature of this interesting subject. We have seen how Dr. Hooker points out that forestry is ‘utterly neglected in this country;’ and how to gain elementary knowledge for the management of the Indian forests it has been necessary to send out officers to study in France and Germany. In those countries, Mr. Webber remarks, ‘Forestry is one of the State professions of the highest scientific character, and regularly filled from the better and well-educated class who are trained for the purpose.’ In France there yet exist 2,700,000 acres of State Forest, in the conservation and management of which 500,000*l.* is annually expended; the returns amounting to 1,740,000*l.* Prussia has 6,200,000 acres; Bavaria, 3,294,000 acres; Hanover, 900,000 acres; Saxony, 394,000 acres; Austria, 2,230,000 acres; the Grand Duchy of Baden, 72,500 acres, according to the report of Captain Campbell Walker, who spent four months and a half in a tour through these provinces, at the instance of Dr. Brandis, for the purpose of education as a forest officer in India. Another statement, taken from *Bernhardt's Forststatik*, for Prussia, Würtemberg, and Baden; from the *Tharander Forstliches*, for Saxony; and from the *Forststatistische Mittheilung*, for Bavaria; is tabulated by Captain Walker as follows:—

Name of State.	Area of State Forests in English Acres.		Yield of col. 2. Cubic Feet per Acre.
	Productive.	Non-productive.	
1.	2.	3.	4.
Prussia . . . . .	5,836,100	666,175	34·5
Saxony . . . . .	378,555	15,614	72·5
Bavaria . . . . .	2,079,835	238,738	63·
Würtemberg . . . . .	469,087	—	84·7
Baden . . . . .	212,770	18,817	80·6
Austrian Empire . . . .	1,576,699	653,347	41·

The total acreage of the twelve Royal Forests and Woodlands in England, according to a return to the House of Commons in 1863, was 112,376 acres, of which 51,606 were actually under wood. Of these the New Forest, with a woodland of 22,319 acres, had a revenue, in 1871, of 12,034*l.* and an expenditure of 7,790*l.* Dean Forest, with 14,754 acres under wood, earned 10,838*l.*, at a cost of 7,878*l.* High Meadow Wood, lying in the counties of Gloucester, Monmouth, and Hereford, purchased under the provisions of Act 57 Geo.

III. for the growth of oak and fir, contains 3,359 acres, all under wood. The revenue in 1871 was 5,176*l.*, the expenditure only 1,827*l.* The receipts of the whole 51,600 acres, in 1870-71, are reported by Captain Walker at 37,390*l.*, the outlay at 22,230*l.* In 1849 the timber in the 40,000 acres of plantations made since 1808 was estimated at the value of 1,087,777*l.*, and the value of the same when arrived at maturity was estimated at 10,000,000*l.* Compared with the French forests the revenue is 14·46*s.* per acre in England, against 12·6*s.* in France; but the expenditure is 8·22*s.* per acre here, and only 3·7*s.* per acre in France; the net revenue in the former country being 6·24*s.* per acre, against 8·9*s.* per acre in the latter. Thus the financial outcome of our forestry is better than might have been expected from the absence of regular education for the duties of the forester. It is rather in the general destruction of timber through wide districts of England, and in the wholesale devastation of our Colonial forests, that the evil results of our want of study are displayed, than in the actual results of our home State Forestry. The net revenue of the Bavarian forests is stated at 8·7*s.* per acre, and that of the Saxon forests at 12*s.* 6*d.* per acre, but in Prussia and Austria the profit to the State is far less considerable. The report of the Vicomte de Bonald points out, with great justice, that the financial returns of forests are so far subordinate to the necessity of a culture that will maintain an adequate supply of fuel, and more especially of timber for construction, that the administration of the forest demesnes should not be under the control of the Minister of Finance. It is a remarkable proof of the extent to which the very idea of territorial property has been extinguished in France, that M. de Bonald urges the necessity of the State control of all forests, on the ground that no private individual could be expected to let his wood grow long enough to furnish timber of a size fit for naval construction.

Although British India is now enriched by the most brilliant triumph yet achieved by the skill of the forester, in the naturalisation of the precious Chinchona, it is difficult to exaggerate, or even adequately to characterise, the neglect of this important subject which prevails around us.\* Here

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\* The courage, skill, energy, and perseverance displayed by Mr. Clement R. Markham in his volunteer expedition to Bolivia, in 1860, to procure plants and seeds of the most valuable species of Chinchona, entitle this gentleman to the Victoria cross of Forestry. He was well supported by the Government in all points but one. The miserable parsimony or carelessness that refused to place a steamer at his dis-

and there a scientific man, like Dr. Hooker or Dr. Brandis, raises his voice. Here and there an official is stimulated to activity by the occurrence of disasters which take the dimensions of national disgrace. Here and there we meet with associations, or private efforts, in the direction of scientific arboriculture. But as a rule, the woodland growth of the country and her colonies is regarded only from the standpoint of a penny-wise economy. Education in forestry or arboriculture forms no part of the *curriculum* of our colleges; not even excepting that in which the best education which the country affords is given to the cadets from whom our scientific corps, the physical administrators of India, are recruited. Indeed we may say that a positive mischief is induced by doctrines now urged as those of scientific agriculture. Lofty hedges, rambling coppice, spreading trees that give a park-like character to the landscape, are regarded only as so many unprofitable occupants of sundry patches of ground on which corn might be grown. They are, accordingly, being clean swept from many parts of the country. To ask the 'improver' to think of scenery, of beauty, or of shelter, would of course be idle. But the model farmer should be taught that in destroying the natural home of that winged police which a small percentage of grain far underpays for their effi-

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posal nearly made the whole expedition abortive. The intense heat of the Red Sea killed the greater number of the plants obtained at so much risk and cost. But for Mr. Markham's precaution in leaving a few plants with Sir William Hooker at Kew, and the measures he took for obtaining seed at the proper season from places which he indicated, it is highly probable that the Chinchona, one of the most precious of all plants, would have been absolutely exterminated in our own days. We published in October 1863 (Ed. Rev., vol. cxviii. p. 507), a full account of that most remarkable experiment, and we are now happy to add that, ten years later, in 1873, 2,645,373 Chinchona plants were luxuriantly growing in the Government plantations on the Nilghiri Hills alone; while numerous other plantations were thriving. 91,773 lbs. of bark were supplied to the quinine manufactories on the plantations during 1873. The annual income from the plantations had risen to 16,500*l.*, with prospects of large increase in future years. The beautiful trees, with their glossy rich leaves and fragrant racemes, cover the slopes of the mountains which overhang Wynnad, and line the hill-sides almost to the peak of Dodabetta. 'Chinchona cultivation is now entirely out of the category of experiments; and soon the grand object will be secured, namely, the provision of an abundant supply of this invaluable febrifuge at so cheap a rate as to be within the means of the population at large.' *Vide* 'Statement of the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year 1872-73.'



cient service against the insect enemies of the crops, he is guilty of an economic offence. In destroying the lines of shelter that break the fury of the winds, he is committing an economic offence. And by the ruthless zeal with which these erroneous demolitions are effected, he is deteriorating the character of the climate, and diminishing the rainfall of the country.

Nor are those who grasp the helm of public affairs less negligent in the matter of forestry than either the peasant, the farmer, or the schoolmaster. When, after long neglect, the occasion was afforded for an intelligent and efficient legislation on the subject of public health, the ideas of the framers of the measure did not extend beyond the length of giving a few additional pounds to the parish doctors, and a little more work to the scavenger. The idea of climatic law; of the need of studying its principles; of the absolute dependence of public health on the thorough grasp of these principles; and of the function of the civil engineer as the rectifier of centuries of neglect, seems never to have penetrated the precincts of Whitehall. That a great system of rainfall, watershed, water-supply, irrigation, drainage, and outfall, finding its cradle in woodland heights, and its outlet in the sea, needed scientific study, has not been a consideration brought before Parliament. After passing a library of Acts of Parliament, it is for the first time in the present year, in a clause of the dropped Bill for the Prevention of the Pollution of Rivers intended to facilitate the formation of watershed districts, that we have found any evidence that a Minister of Public Health has sought to make himself acquainted with the simplest rudiments of the subject on which he has undertaken to legislate.

Wide as is the field of which we have here attempted the survey, its salient features are few and simple. At the commencement of the present century, from a fifth to a fourth part of the area of dry land on the globe was covered with a rich wealth of virgin or cultivated forest. From this breadth of more than seven millions of square geographical miles an un-failing crop, varying, according to latitude and to level, from four hundred to upwards of sixteen hundred loads of timber per mile may be annually obtained, in perpetuity, by careful culture. The footfall of man on newly discovered shores has been attended, but too often, by a wanton destruction of that vegetable clothing of the earth, on the extermination of which fertility ceases, and a garden becomes a desert. At the rate at which that destruction is, in some regions, even now proceeding, a century from the date of colonisation will suffice for the

process of denudation. Within a quarter of that period man has effected, in many cases, such a deterioration of climate as to render some countries absolutely unproductive, and almost all newly settled countries less productive, than was formerly the case. The springs and sources of future wealth are tapped and wasted by this ravage of the forests. The destruction of their venerable shade seems to be the object of blind impulse wherever man finds a new territory open to his enterprise. What the firebrand of the settler effects in the virgin forests of the New World is wrought by the axe of the revolutionist amid the stately woodlands of the Old. It seems as if popular energy, when turned into a fresh channel, betrayed an instinctive hostility to the forest. Forming the shelter and the pride of ancient state, regal, ecclesiastical, or seignorial, the patriarchs of the vegetable kingdom have reared the green tracery of their lofty vaults towards heaven, from which they have attracted a blessing that man would seek in vain without their aid. They have resembled castles and cathedrals reared by Nature herself. As patient culture has tilled the fields that lay around their feet, the integrity of their beauty has been preserved only where ancient territorial rights have been maintained. The municipal spirit reduces the forests to a source of short-lived revenue; the anarchical spirit reduces them to ashes. With the downfall of ancient dignities, the forests everywhere fall. With the growth of that selfish kind of industry that recognises in every perch of ground merely an area for the manufacture of food, and that seeks from the hand of Nature nothing but the satisfaction of the appetites common to the brutes, the natural fertility of a country becomes more and more exhausted. Science raises a warning voice. Observation and induction show that our woodlands stand between the dead and the living. The fall of the forest, which can no more be replanted than any ancient institution of historic growth can be replaced by the artificial product of legislation, involves the loss of the fertility, as well as of the beauty, of a country, and hastens the desolation of the earth.

ART. IV.—*The Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, 1634–1689.  
Edited from the original MS. By JAMES J. CARTWRIGHT,  
M.A. London: 1875.

THIS volume is the first complete edition of a work which has been long recognised as of no ordinary historical value. ‘Reresby’s Memoirs,’ as they have been commonly called, have always held a prominent place among the records of observers of his day; and even in the form in which they have hitherto appeared, they have ranked with Pepys’, Luttrell’s, and Evelyn’s Diaries, with North’s Examen and the Life of Guildford, as illustrating English court life and politics, during the eventful reigns of the two last Stuarts. The character of the author, indeed, is not interesting or attractive, nor was his power of discernment keen, his taste refined, or his fancy vivid. There was nothing noble in him, from his own showing; a cautious, selfish, and rather mean nature made him a careful trimmer in public life, with a steady eye to his own advancement, though not without a certain sense of honour; quick and sudden in quarrel, after the custom of the age, he was a timeserver and morally weak; and his descriptions of men and things, though truthful, are wanting in force and somewhat commonplace. Nevertheless the accidents of his position have given importance to his experiences; and his recollections possess the merit which belongs to the work of a patient chronicler who has taken part in memorable events, has been intimate with many of the chief actors on the stage of affairs in a stirring time, and has accurately set down, from day to day, what he saw and heard in a busy world of intrigue, faction, and revolutionary change, alternating with more quiet scenes, in the midst of which his fortune was cast. The Memoirs, accordingly, have been a quarry from which writers on the reigns of Charles and James the Second have drawn a store of precious material; they were probably studied by David Hume; they have been more than once referred to by Hallam; and, in several places, they largely enter the course of Macaulay’s all-absorbing narrative. Yet, as had been suspected, a considerable part of these useful papers remained unknown; and, as we have said, they now appear in their full integrity for the first time. Until the present volume was published, indeed, it was impossible even to guess how widely different were the accepted versions of the Reresby Memoirs from the genuine and perfect text of the author. Two editions of the collection were printed as correct, the first as long ago as

1734, the second in 1813; but neither can be called an honest book, or has any pretence to fulness or accuracy; and both depart in important matters from Reresby's language, meaning, and even positive statements. The Trustees of the British Museum having obtained possession of the original MS., it now finally sees the light: and the present edition has been enriched by a series of letters, not without value, addressed by Reresby to the great Lord Halifax, and supplied by Lord Spencer, with characteristic kindness, from the treasures of Spencer House and Althorpe. Though we cannot say that the complete Memoirs, as we see them, at last, in their true shape, have changed our estimate of the author's career, and have largely added to the facts of history, they undoubtedly, in the words of the editor, form what is 'substantially a new work.' On some points they remove misconceptions which seemed to rest on very high authority, but are now found to have no such warrant; and, in a few particulars, they really increase our knowledge as regards the events of the time. The great value, however, of the present volume is that by reproducing the author's language, and publishing a variety of details omitted in the two first editions, it makes Reresby's narrative more life-like, and brings out in clearer relief his picture of the England of his day; and this certainly has largely augmented the interest of the book as a whole. As for the manner in which the work has been edited there is assuredly room for much improvement. Mr. Cartwright ought to have pointed out with care the differences between this and previous editions,\* a task he has not even attempted; and he has not

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\* We notice some of these differences here; a closer examination would, doubtless, discover more. The edition of 1734, which has become very scarce, contains hardly half the matter of the present edition, the entire of Reresby's travels being left out in it, and whole paragraphs being replaced by a meagre epitome. The editor, too, has omitted most of the personal and somewhat scandalous anecdotes which have been restored in the present edition—no doubt because in 1734 these reminiscences would have given offence to persons still living—and he repeatedly substitutes a colourless paraphrase for Reresby's homely, but occasionally expressive language. As might, besides, have been expected in the case of a compiler for the general public in the reign of George II., he leaves out whole passages which might detract, however slightly, from the Revolution of 1688 and its associations; and he even ventures to interpolate inventions of his own reflecting on the fallen dynasty and its system of government. How widely the edition of 1734 departs from the genuine Memoirs, even in specific statements, the following will show:—(1) The edition of 1734 repeats the story of a marriage of Henrietta Maria with the old Earl of St. Albans, in order

indicated the new matter, occasionally of no little importance, which is now published for the first time. His preface, too, is meagre in the extreme; he is singularly sparing in notes and dates; and if he has given us Reresby's text, with blanks, we suspect, for ears polite, we regret that he has not printed the orthography of the old-fashioned diarist, a very decided mistake, we think, in the case of a work which professes to be an exact transcript of an old MS.

Sir John Reresby was born in 1634, a scion of a family which had been settled for generations at Thrybergh in Yorkshire. The annals of the house, which he collected with the pride of a gentleman of that age, probably resembled those of most of his neighbours who formed the rural noblesse of his county. A Reresby figured among the Crusaders; the race felt the shock of the Wars of the Roses; and in later times it gave a succession of sheriffs and justices to the West Riding, and often received the honour of knighthood. Reresby tells

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probably to disparage the Queen; not a word of this is to be found in the present edition. (2) The Dutch invasion of 1667, and the advance of the Dutch fleet to Chatham, are distinctly chronicled in the present edition; there is no allusion to these events in that of 1734. (3) An account of the siege and relief of Vienna figures in the edition of 1734, with the view, perhaps, of discrediting the neutrality of England in 1682-3; from the present edition it would appear that Reresby never referred to either. (4) The edition of 1734 dwells, even in minute detail, on the quarrel of Louis XIV. and the Parliament of Paris with the Pope; the present edition shows that all this was interpolated and was, doubtless, inserted to draw a contrast between the independence of France and the dependence of England on Rome. (5) The edition of 1734 states that Ferguson was taken prisoner after the battle of Sedgemoor; the text of the present edition, in which Ferguson is spelled Farquison, is that he was slain; a point to be noticed by future commentators on Macaulay, who refers in the history, in a note, to the stories on this subject. (6) The edition of 1734 is silent on Reresby's love affair with Miss Hamilton, one of the most curious episodes in his book, and on nearly all that relates to the families of the Dukes of Norfolk and Newcastle, of Buckingham and Halifax. On the other hand, it puts words into the mouth of the Duchess of Portsmouth and of people who conversed with her, which do not appear in the present edition, and, indeed, could not be properly published in our age; there was no necessity, in 1734, to be squeamish with respect to Louise de Querouaille, a Frenchwoman long forgotten in England. As regards the edition of 1813, it is, for the most part, a reprint of that of 1734, with innumerable errors of the press to distinguish it; but it has a long supplementary narrative of Reresby's travels, obtained, it is said, from a MS. in the possession of Topham Beauclerk, but certainly not the composition of Reresby.

us how one of his ancestors wasted his substance at the court of Elizabeth; how another was fined in the Star Chamber; how the lands of a third were despoiled by wardship; and he notes with care the marriages of the daughters of the name, and the pedigrees of all those connected with it. At the great crisis of the Civil War, the Reresbys took the side of the Crown; their head, a Sir John, who had been made a baronet, and had received many of those attentions from Charles I. which the Stuart princes so gracefully bestowed, lost part of his estate in the King's service; and several of the family fought with distinction under Monckton, Langdale, and other commanders. On the death of Sir John in 1646, the author, then a child, became his successor; and he came into a wrecked inheritance as was then the fortune of many a Royalist. He was brought up, however, with no common care by a mother who seems to have had fine parts, and at eighteen he possessed accomplishments superior to those of most youths of his order, which afterwards stood him in good stead. As Trinity College, Cambridge, under the Protector's rule, would not acknowledge 'his rank as a nobleman,' young Sir John set off in 1654, to finish his education by a course of travel, and during the next four years he remained abroad, England and London, especially, as he tells us, being then dangerous abodes for men of position. After a short stay at the celebrated college of Saumur—the Huguenot foundation of Duplessis Mornay had utterly fallen off from its rigid discipline—having met a number of gallant adventurers at Le Mans, Lyons, and other places, he crossed the Alps and visited Italy; and having beheld the splendid pageants of Venice, and passed through Germany just in time to witness an Imperial Election at Frankfort, and to admire the magnificence of the French Embassy, he returned down the Rhine to the Low Countries. The diary, which he now began to keep, describes this tour on the whole pleasantly; but it is already marked by the reticent caution, which was a distinctive feature of Reresby's character; and the youth informs us that he took good care to stand aloof from the Royalist exiles who, at this juncture, swarmed over the Continent, from fear of Oliver's ever-present spies. In 1658 Sir John saw England again; he gives us this sketch of Republican London, as the Commonwealth was verging to a close:—

'The citizens and common people of London had then so far imbibed the customs and manners of a Commonwealth, that they could scarce endure the sight of a gentleman, so that the common salutation to a man well-dressed was "French dog," or the like. Walking one day

in the street with my *valet de chambre*, who did wear a feather in his hat, some workmen that were mending the street abused him and threw sand upon his clothes; at which he drew his sword, thinking to follow the custom of France in the like cases. This made the rabble fall upon him and me, who had drawn, too, in his defence, till we got shelter in a house, not without injury to our bravery and some blows to ourselves.'

The following shows Reresby's conception of Cromwell; like most even of Cavalier writers, he acknowledges the greatness of their illustrious foe:—

'On September the 3rd, 1658, died the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, one of the greatest and bravest men, had his career been good, the world ever produced. For his actions, I leave them to be inquired after in history; for his person, having never seen him very near but once, at the audience of an ambassador in Whitehall, I can only give this description of him, that his figure did noways promise what he performed. He was personable, but not handsome, nor did he look great nor bold. He was plain in his apparel, and rather affected a negligence than a genteel garb. He had tears at his will, and was certainly the deepest dissembler on earth.'

This passage strikingly illustrates the weakness and strength of the Commonwealth after its great head had fallen:—

'I was in London some part of this summer, when by the disputes between our new governors, the ambition of some and jealousies of others, the dislike of the Parliament's proceedings on one hand and the haughty and insolent demeanour of the officers of the army on the other, it was easy to discern that a door was opening for the king's return into England; and yet, to show the effect of fear (for all the Rump and the army were even detested by the generality of the nation as well as all Christendom), yet were they congratulated in their new power from all foreign princes; and I was present at a dinner given to Lambert and other officers of the army at the charge of the city of London, which was more costly and splendid than any of those many which I have since seen given by that city to His Majesty; so much more is awe prevalent than love.'

Sir John was in France again in 1659; and as Charles II. and his brothers had been banished the kingdom, in deference to the demands of Cromwell, the young Cavalier thought he might venture to offer his respects to Henrietta Maria, then in exiled state at the Palais Royal. Misfortune probably had made the Royal House of England more than ordinarily condescending to visitors from home; but it is certainly curious, and a signal proof how all who belonged to the Stuarts could unbend—that the Queen should have admitted a stranger, without any pretensions to special favour, into extreme intimacy in her domestic circle. Sir John thus describes how he

romped and played with the fair young girl who became afterwards the lovely and ill-fated Duchess of Orleans:—

‘Few Englishmen making this their court, made me the better received; besides, speaking the language of that country, and dancing passably well, the young Princess, then aged about fifteen years, used me with all the civil freedom that might be; made me dine with her, played on the harpsichord to me in her highness’s chamber, suffered me to attend upon her as she walked in the garden with the rest of her retinue, and sometimes to toss her in a swing made of a cable, which she sat upon, tied between two trees; and, in fine, suffered me to be present at most of her innocent diversions.’

Reresby, indeed, was more than fortunate in his acquaintance at this time. Among the Cavalier families then living in Paris was that of the famous Anthony Hamilton, and the unknown young gentleman actually became a favoured suitor for the prized hand of the radiant damsel who, in years to come, won the heart of the brilliant and fickle Grammont. The bright Elizabeth, it is true, had not yet shone the evening star of Whitehall and St. James’s; but it is strange that the beauty, whose winning face still charms us on the canvas of Lely, should have even thought of one who, as he tells us himself, was mean in appearance and not well-favoured, and positively seems to have thought it troublesome to join in the dance with Hortensia Mancini. Sir John dwells on this courtship in these frigid terms:—

‘Amongst others was the daughter of my Lady Hamilton, wife of Sir George Hamilton, and sister to the Duke of Ormond, whom I liked so well that after she came with her mother to England, as she did soon after, I had probably married her, had not my friends strongly opposed it, she being a Papist, and her fortune not being great at present. She married afterwards the Count de Grammont, brother to the Duke of that name now in France.’

A special recommendation from Henrietta Maria, by whom he was evidently much liked, introduced Reresby to Charles II., and for some time after the Restoration Sir John was frequently seen at Whitehall. During this period he led the life of most of the young Cavaliers of the day emancipated from the Puritan yoke; and it is significant of the era that though a cool-headed man, he was what we should now call a ferocious duellist, and, as he said himself, ‘not a little debauched.’ With characteristic prudence, however, he endeavoured to mend his fortune at Court; but though Charles listened to his solicitations with the courtesy of the most good-natured of the Stuarts, his efforts at first met no success. He thus describes the state



of affairs in England during the loyal transports of the Restoration:—

‘The kingdom at this time was very rich, and all people well satisfied with the King’s return, or such as were not durst not oppose the current by seeming otherwise. . . . The King at this time did not too much trouble himself with business. All things went on calmly and easily. He had a Parliament faithfully inclined to the Crown and the Church, ready to do what he could reasonably desire for the service of either. . . . The business was much left to the management of the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Chancellor; and the King, as he was of an age and vigour for it, followed his pleasures; and if amongst these love prevailed with him more than others, he was thus far excusable, besides that his complexion led to it, the women seem to be the aggressors.’

In 1665, Sir John married a ‘Mistress Frances Brown,’ whose extraordinary beauty, he tells us, ‘put Mistress Hamilton quite out of his mind,’ but who proved a flower that has blushed unseen. When the young couple first set up house, their income was less than 400*l.* a-year, perhaps equal to double that sum in our day; and these were the appointments of a Cavalier who had been favoured by the loveliest girl of the court, and had made a certain figure at Whitehall:—

‘I came with my family to Thrybergh, where I found my house in a ruinous condition, and all the furniture removed to Beverley, where my stepfather had built a house and lived with my mother; except four beds, six dishes, six pair of sheets, some furniture for the kitchen, six silver spoons, a large silver salt (given me by Sir Francis Foljambe, my godfather), and some old heirlooms, some eight old pictures, and as many books, with very little more; and with this stock I began the world.’

During the following eight or nine years, Reresby led the life of a country gentleman, occasionally visiting the distant capital. A prudent and money-making man, he contrived largely to increase his fortune; and as jointures fell in and rents rose, he rapidly emerged from the state of poverty in which he had been left at his father’s death. One of the characteristics, indeed, of the time was the marked progress of the country in wealth; and when Sir John writes how he laid out new gardens and pleasure-grounds at Thrybergh, how lath and plaster were replaced by stone in the buildings around the ancient hall, how the park was enlarged and fish-ponds dug, he was noticing a process which was going on with little variation all over England. During this period he took part, like others of his age, in the local administration of the surrounding district; as Sheriff for the West Riding he held high state in his year at York; he often ‘delivered the charge’ at Roth-

eram Sessions; and as a deputy-lieutenant he mustered a troop at parades and reviews of the Yorkshire militia, and sometimes drew a blade when occasional risings of old Commonwealth men were summarily put down, the expiring embers of a mighty conflagration. What is most remarkable, however, in his life at this time was his extreme intimacy with the neighbouring magnates; he entertained the princely and brilliant Buckingham in the friendliest way at his own board; he had the full confidence of the Duke of Newcastle; and other lords and ladies of high degree were evidently his familiar acquaintance. Reresby certainly possessed the art of pleasing the great; but this association points to a general truth; and probably the gentleman of ancient lineage was more nearly the equal of the noble at this time than he has been at any subsequent period. In that age birth more than titles determined station; it was not until the eighteenth century that the Cavalier, shut out from high social life, acquired the habits of Squire Western, and the 'Hanoverian' Peerage grew into a caste; and though the position of the country gentleman has since improved, he has been somewhat eclipsed by the aristocracy of wealth. It should be observed, too, that the very highest in the land were assiduous in courting the county families: for example, the Duke and Duchess of York went regularly to what was then known as their town; and the following shows how free from restraint and etiquette were their ordinary ways:—

'Most of the gentry attended at York whilst their Highnesses were there. The Duke passed his time in shooting and other exercises, the Duchess in receiving the ladies, which she did very obligingly. One evening having a little snake (which I kept in bran in a box) in my hand as I was in the presence, one of the maids of honour seeing of it was frightened. The Duchess, hearing the noise, and what was the occasion, desired to see the snake, and took it into her hand without any fear.'

These Memoirs also show how jovial and easy was the old-fashioned English life of the time, even then free from the harsh distinctions of class which were the curse of the upper orders in France. Take, for instance, this picture of Christmas at Thrybergh, when Reresby had become comparatively rich:—

'I had more company this Christmas than heretofore. The four first days of the new year all my tenants of Thrybergh, Brinsford, Denby, Mexborough, Hooton Roberts, and Rotheram dined with me; the rest of the time some four score of gentlemen and yeomen, with their wives, were invited, besides some that came from York; so that all the beds in the house, and most in the town, were taken up. There were seldom

less than four score, counting all sorts of people, that dined in the house every day, and Sunday many more. On New Year's Day, chiefly, there dined above three hundred, so that whole sheep were roasted, and served so up to feed them. For music I had five violins, besides bagpipes, drums, and trumpet.'

The Corporation of Sheffield Cutlers thus feasted Sir John and his lady :—

'I went with my wife and family to the Cutlers' feast at Sheffield with some neighbours. I took with me the number of near thirty horse. The Master and Wardens, attended by an infinite crowd, met me at the entrance into the town, with music and hautboys. I alighted from my coach, and went afoot with the Master to the hall, where we had an extraordinary dinner; but this was at the charge of the Corporation of Cutlers. In the afternoon the burgesses of the town invited me and all the company to a treat of wine at a tavern, where we were very well entertained.'

Reresby, who had made himself a name as a good man of business, was invited, in 1674, to contest one of the seats for Aldborough, a place since relegated to Schedule A. The constituency was, even then, as he tells us, 'mean'; and the right to elect\* was fiercely disputed between 'the owners of nine 'burgage houses,' who multiplied votes by splitting freeholds, and two or three dozen 'scot and lot' voters. Sir John was returned after a sharp contest marked by some curious electioneering tricks; and at this point his public career begins, and his *Memoirs* acquire more general interest. Having lived at home in Yorkshire for many years, he was now quite a stranger at Whitehall; and, when he took his seat, he undoubtedly belonged to what was known as the Country Party, the Opposition which, for some time, had been growing up in the Cavalier Parliament, and had indignantly resented the policy of the Cabal, the truckling of Charles to French influence, and the tendency of the court to favour Popery. He was led up to the Chair by Lords Russell and Cavendish, the recognised leaders of this great following; his maiden speech was against the Jesuits who held the conscience of the Duke of York; and he professed truly patriotic sentiments against the neglect of the fleet, the power of France, and the scandalous shutting up of the Exchequer. Danby, however, who had just come into office, and, being a county neighbour, knew his man perfectly, was not discomposed at these demonstrations; and before long the adroit Minister, a master of the art of Par-

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\* Reresby, however, mentions that the voters were altogether about 66 in number; in 1831 they did not exceed 64.

liamentary corruption, had wholly won over the recreant M.P. The conversion was completed by Charles himself, who, recently embarked in the struggle with Shaftesbury, pursued skilfully the art of a canvasser, and left nothing undone to gain votes and to influence members of the House of Commons. The following records the interview of the King with Reresby; the duplicity and cynicism of the Royal schemer, whose secret aims were in exact opposition to his words, are as characteristic as his courtesy and assumed frankness:—

‘The King said he had known me long, and hoped that I knew him so well that I should not believe these reports of him. “I know,” says he, “it is said I intend the subversion of the religion and government; that I intend to govern by the army and arbitrary power, to lay aside Parliaments, and to raise money by other ways. But every man (nay of those who say it the most) know it is false. There is no subject that lives under me whose safety and well-doing I desire less than my own, and should be as sorry to invade his property and liberty as that another should invade mine.” “Those members,” said the King, “that pretend to this great zeal for the public good are of two kinds, either such as would subvert the government themselves, and bring it to a commonwealth again; or such as seem to join with that party and talk loudly against the Court, hoping to have their mouths stopped by places or preferments.” Indeed my Lord Treasurer had named some of the heads of that party to me who had desired such and such things of the King, and would have come over upon these terms.’

From this time forward Reresby became a useful and supple instrument of the Court. The means by which his allegiance was secured show how perfectly, even at this time, ministerial influence had become a system. Coarse bribery was not attempted in his case; but his vote and support were skilfully made safe by indirect corruption of various kinds. Charles introduced him to the Duchess of Portsmouth; called him into the Royal box ‘at the French play;’ familiarly ‘laid his hand on his shoulder;’ in a word, practised on his dupe those arts of persuasion in which he was eminent even among the Stuarts. A false but dangerous charge against Sir John was also conveniently hushed up; and Danby gratified him with little favours, and held before him the prospect of a military post. At the same time, a petition against his return for Aldborough having been preferred, great exertions were made to save his seat; the King and the Duke of York interfered in his favour; and Members of Parliament who held places at court were peremptorily enjoined to vote in his favour. How this last-named influence was strenuously used may be gathered from the following:—

‘At the Duke’s levée I desired him to order his people once more to attend the committee that afternoon (it being the day of my election). The Duke of Monmouth, to whom I had made an application, told me he had already ordered all the officers that were Parliament men to be there, for he then was declared general. The King was so zealous for me that he had charged some of his servants, with some threats, to attend the trial, as I was told, not being by, and himself confirmed it to me as he came out of his bedchamber. My Lord Treasurer told me the same, and carried me with him in his coach that day to the House, ordering two of his gentlemen to be at the lobby door to speak to Parliament men as they came in.’

Devices like these made the late patriot a mere ‘King’s friend’ and tool of the minister. Sir John discreetly saw the error of his ways, and became convinced that the Country Party were factious and wrong when they claimed from Charles an assurance that war with France was meant, and looked with jealousy at the prospect of a standing army. Reresby, indeed, seems to have done worse than merely change his side of the House; by his own showing, he made Danby aware of more than one project of his old associates, and he acted, perhaps, as a spy upon them. His conduct exasperated the Opposition; and a vote of the Committee of Privileges, which declared him unseated—though he contrived to retain his seat by an accident—was welcomed with a satisfaction he thus describes:—

‘My adversaries had made me more considerable than I deserved to be, not only by the great opposition they made against me, but by giving a halloo in the House by way of triumph when they found I had lost it. “Well,” said the Duke (of York), “be not discouraged; if “you go out of the House we must make use of you in some other station more considerable.” I heard that the King, when he was acquainted by somebody that the opposite party had given this kind of halloo (or noise of joy) when I had lost it, did say, “Those that would “halloo him out of that House would halloo me out of the kingdom.”’

Such, however, is the force of self-deception, or was, perhaps, the natural character of the man, that Reresby thought himself a political Cato. After remarking that ‘the business of the session had gone on pretty coolly in both Houses, and my Lord Treasurer did so order the matter that the King’s party rather increased than the other; but it was much feared that some votes were gained more by purchase than by affection,’—he thus moralises on his own integrity:—

‘Several persons had got into good employments, not by my lord’s kindness so much as by giving money to his lady, who had driven a good trade of taking bribes for good offices, and not without my lord’s knowledge. I knew it, but had neither the face nor the desire to come

in at that door, which made me postponed to some that, as I thought, deserved as little as myself.'

In return for his devotion to the Court, Sir John had a large share of Danby's confidence. It is remarkable, indeed, and a proof of Reresby's discretion, that throughout his career he was entrusted by great personages with their thoughts and secrets. How curious, for instance, it is to find the chief minister of the Crown speaking in the following strain of the king's brother, the near presumptive heir to the throne, to a mere ordinary supporter in Parliament:—

'His lordship was then so free as to tell me that though the King denied almost nothing to the Duke, his brother, yet he did not really love him. . . . He was so open as to tell me, further, that the Duke was the chief carrier on of the French interest; that he now made it his business to court the sectaries and fanatics, hoping thereby to strengthen the popish interest; that his highness was so bigoted in that religion that when the Archbishop of Rheims was here, went into our churches and kneeled during the time of Divine service, the Duke would not be persuaded so much as to come into the door.'

Even before the Exclusion Bill, Danby ventured to speak of his master's intentions as to the devolution of the Crown:—

'His lordship told us the King would be content that something should be enacted to pare the nails (to use his own phrase) of a popish successor; but that he would not suffer his brother to be taken away from him, nor the right line of the succession of the crown interrupted.'

Danby even apologised to Reresby for the French policy of Charles, which the Treasurer himself disapproved at heart:—

'He said, further, that the King in honour ought not to join with the confederates against France; that in all the treaties of peace the King of England was named as the principal in that war; that he did actually join with France in the beginning, and went off contrary to his promise, and now to turn his arms against France would not look well nor just to the world.'

It was necessary, however, for the Treasurer, perhaps, to attempt excuses of this kind, for even devoted partisans of the Court detested the domination of Louis XIV., and were jealous of the dependence of Charles upon him. Cautious as he was, Reresby partook in these sentiments:—

'There was fresh discourse of a war with France; but I thought it impossible by what I heard, and seeing the King, Duke and French ambassador so often very merry and intimate at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, laughing at those that believed it in earnest. . . . This peace with France, when there was like to be so strong an union to reduce that proud and potent king to better manners, was very displeasing in England.'

The year 1678 was marked by the Popish Plot and the frenzy that ensued. No rational person will attempt to excuse the follies and crimes which then took place; but it is right to bear in mind that though the tales of the Oates and Bedloes were infamous falsehoods, a deep-laid conspiracy did exist against the freedom and power of England, of which a Catholic monarch was the chief author, and a Romanising court the complaisant instrument; and the national instinct was so far not at fault. Reresby's *Memoirs*, like other publications of the day, throw a clear light on this most unhappy and tragic passage in English history, and show what madness possessed the popular mind, and how cruelty and perjury ran riot for a time. The following are some of the monstrous charges which sent many an innocent victim to death:—

'Mr. Bedloe did give evidence that there was a consultation at Somerset House, when the Queen, my Lord Bellasis, my Lord Powis, and four French abbots being present, it was agreed that the King should be poisoned; that the Queen wept, but at last did consent to it. . . . Bedloe, being further examined before my Lord Chief Justice, accused my Lord Carrington and my Lord Brudenell to be privy to the plot; the former was therefore committed. He said, therefore, that 10,000 Spaniards were to land at Burlington, and to be commanded by Sir Henry Tichborne\* as general and Sir Francis Ratcliffe as lieutenant-general, which was very improbable.'

What was the effrontery of Bedloe may be gathered from this:—

'This Bedloe was the son of a cobbler in Wales, but had cheated a great many merchants abroad and gentlemen at home, by personating Lord Gerard, and other men of quality, and by divers other cheats; and when he was taxed with it, he made it an argument to be more credited in this matter, saying nobody but a rogue could be employed in such a design.'

Sir John gives us this account of a dinner with Oates. His conduct was certainly to his credit; but the informer was a contemptible coward, and the Cavalier a most accomplished duellist:—

'There came and received with us Doctor Oates, the famous evidence of the Popish Plot. We dined together afterwards at the Bishop's table, when the Doctor, blown up with the hopes of running down the Duke, spake of him and his family after a manner which showed himself both a fool and a knave. He reflected not only on him personally, but upon the Queen, his mother, and his present Majesty, till

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\* These ancient and distinguished names, Catholic doubtless, but eminently loyal, may remind us that 'fanatics and fools' are not wanting in our day to pander to the grossest anti-Popish prejudice.

nobody daring to contradict him, for fear of being made a party to the plot, I at last did undertake to do it, and in such a manner that he left the room in some heat.'

Reresby thus describes the trial of Stafford—the worst, perhaps, of the judicial murders of the time :—

'The three chief witnesses against him were Drs. Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. The first swore he had brought him a commission, signed by the Pope, to be paymaster of the army to be raised against the King; the second that his lordship offered him 500*l.* to kill the King; the third that he had offered him a reward for the same thing, but at another time. They seemed so positive in this and other dangerous evidence, that myself that sat and heard most of the trial knew not what to believe, had the evidence been men of any credit; but such incoherences, and indeed contradictions in my judgment, appeared towards the latter end of the trial that for my own part I was satisfied at last of its untruth. However, the party were so strong that pursued the cause against him, more than the man, that he was voted guilty, there being 59 lords affirmative, and 32 for negative, or not guilty.'

It is fair to say, however, that the popular madness was seen in the country in a mitigated form. A batch of accused Catholics of high degree, who would probably have been condemned in London, were, with one exception, acquitted at York :—

'Though some had been found guilty in London upon this or the like evidence, yet it found so little credence in this county that three of the four were acquitted, as also one Pickering, who was indicted for being a priest upon the same evidence.'

The selfish conduct of Charles during the Popish Plot has often been censured by historians. But, in truth, he was altogether unable to resist the flood-tide of popular passion; and with characteristic craft—for it is a complete mistake to suppose that he was not an able man—he followed the stream, waiting till he could turn it to account. The cynical indifference, however, with which he looked on at the perpetration of deeds of blood, for which he was in part responsible, is well shown in the following :—

'His Majesty told me Bedloe was a rogue, and that he was satisfied he had given some false evidence concerning the death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. . . . I was at the King's going to bed. There were but four present; and His Majesty being in a good humour, spent some time in showing the cheat of such as pretended to be more holy and devout than others, and said they were generally the greatest knaves. He was that night two hours putting off his clothes, and it was half-an-hour past one before he went to bed. He seemed extremely free from trouble and care, though at a time we would have



thought he was under a great deal; for everybody guessed that he must either dismiss his Parliament in a few days or give himself up to what they desired.'

For his services in Parliament at this juncture, Reresby was made Governor of the Fort of Burlington. His Memoirs narrate at length the impeachment and fall of Danby, but do not contain any new details. It is pleasing to find that Sir John assured his patron of Montague's breach of faith—Montague, apparently, was the author's cousin—and spoke in the House on behalf of Danby. The conduct of Charles at this critical moment provokes the following even from the courtly partisan:—

'It is very unhappy for a servant to serve an inconstant or unsteady prince, which was a little the fault of our master.' . . . 'The King seemed not concerned at his parting thus with his brother and his treasurer, nor what use the Parliament would make of it.'

Before his fall Danby had told Reresby that the Cavalier Parliament would be soon dissolved, and had advised him to stand again for Aldborough. How the Minister could influence elections in those days appears from the following:—

'A new writ was obtained for the choosing a new member for Aldborough in the stead of Sir Solomon Savile (a Roman Catholic member who had just been excluded). My Lord Treasurer prevailed with my Lord Chancellor to bring it with him to the Charterhouse, the 22nd, when I dined with their lordships; and it was given to the under-sheriff of Yorkshirc, with this order from the Lord Treasurer to execute it, and to make the return as I directed, and he would justify him in it.'

Reresby was returned for Aldborough in the first Parliament of 1679, but lost his seat on petition this time, no justice, as he ruefully observed, being done to a 'friend of the late Treasurer.' He was urged by the Court to start again at the second General Election of 1679—one of the most bitter of political contests; but he did not succeed in getting in, and, we daresay, he was glad to keep out of the House of Commons at a season of trouble when a follower of the Court might have been in danger. His account of his candidature is amusing and curious:—

'In most of those little boroughs, which consisted of mean and mercenary people, one had no man sure longer than you were with him; and he that made him drunk or obliged him last was his first friend. However, of 66 electors or voters for Members of Parliament, there continued 37 firm to me; but the precept being got into Sir Godfrey Copley's and Sir Bryan Stapleton's possession, who joined together against me, I found the return would be made in favour of them, and they would be the sitting members. I therefore contented myself with

putting a public affront upon Sir Godfrey Copley, who had done unhandsonely with me in the management of this matter (which he put up with very patiently), and turned my back on further pretending to stand for burgess for that Parliament.'

During the stormy crisis of the Exclusion Bill the conduct of Reresby was characteristic. He was diligent in his attendance at Court, professed the deepest respect for James, and gave him information as to the design of proving the marriage of Lucy Walters, yet, at the same time, he but faintly condemned the politicians who tried to disinherit the Duke; and he was in the highest degree deferential to Monmouth. He drew up also, at the Assizes of York, one of the abhorrence petitions against the Bill, but took care, as he tells us, 'to pen it so carefully, that "no great exceptions could be taken against "it." The Memoirs do not dwell at much length on the fierce parliamentary war that ensued; he evidently wished not to commit himself, and purposely shunned a perilous subject. Some of his notes, however, are not without interest; thus he confirms the opinion that at one time Charles was not indisposed to yield to Shaftesbury:—

'The want of money was so pressing, and the offers of Parliament were so fair, if he would relinquish his brother, that nobody seemed secure which way he would bend. That which made people the more jealous was that several that were well in the King's esteem appeared for the Bill of Exclusion; and the Duchess of Portsmouth was known to incline to it, whether cunningly to gain the good opinion of that party (that were before her greatest enemies), or to comply with the French—whose tool she was—for they were for anything that caused disturbances in England—is uncertain.'

This is a picture of the animated scene—one of the most important in our whole history—when the genius of Halifax caused the rejection of the Bill:—

'This was one of the greatest days ever known in the House of Lords, as the matter was extraordinary, viz., cutting off the lineal descent of the crown; for the bill having passed the Commons they had sent it up to the Lords. So also was the debate. There was a great party in that House for the passing of the bill, and great speakers, of which the chief was the Earl of Shaftesbury. The chief manager against it was the Earl of Halifax, which was a great surprise to many, he having gone along with my Lord Shaftesbury and that interer for some years; but this not being agreeable to his judgment, he opposed it vigorously; and having a great deal of wit, and both judgment and eloquence with it, he made so fine and powerful a defence, that he alone (for so all confessed) persuaded the whole House against it, so that after the debate had lasted ten hours, the question being put whether the bill should pass that House, it was carried in the negative.'

Reresby describes the King as calm and indifferent during the agitation of this critical time ; but better observers have told an opposite tale. Charles was anxious in the highest degree, but he played a difficult game coolly and with great skill. Sir John gives us this glimpse of the Monarch at Windsor, composed and courteous even in the most trying hour :—

‘The King showed me a great deal of what he had done to the house, which was very fine, and what he intended to do more ; for it was then that he was finishing that excellent structure. The King lived very privately at this time ; there was little resort to him, and he passed his days in fishing or walking in the park ; which, indeed, he naturally loved more than to be in a crowd or business.’

The state of England at this juncture seemed dismal to Reresby, of whose real sympathies there can be no question :—

‘At this time the state of the kingdom and government looked very melancholy. The King was poor ; the officers of the crown and household clamorous for their salaries and wages, which had not been paid for some time. Sir Robert Howard, one of the chief officers of the Exchequer, said in the House of Commons that there was not money sufficient for bread for the King’s family ; there were no stores in the magazines either for sea or land forces ; the garrisons all out of repair, the platforms decayed, the cannon unmounted, the army divided, some for the Duke of York, others against him, and the officers of state the same thing ; the Parliament, or the major part, in a ferment, glad of their private divisions, that they might the better clip the prerogative, lessen monarchy, and carry on their private designs ; the King and his brother divided, and followed by the adverse party, who promised if he would grant to comply with them and disinherit the Duke, they would set him at ease in all other particulars, that he hardly knew how to refuse.’

How Reresby, though an ‘Abhorrer,’ paid court to Monmouth, appears from the following—a glimpse into the manners of the time :—

‘Hearing that the Duke of Monmouth was to be at Doncaster, post out of Scotland, I went to meet him, and sent half a buck and some extraordinary sorts of wine to entertain him there. He came not in till midnight, when we expected him no more that night. I was got into the bed designed for His Grace. Before I could put on my clothes the Duke came in with Sir Thomas Armstrong ; they were glad to find something ready to eat. The Duke sat up but a short time, and would not have the sheets changed, but went into the same bed. The next morning he borrowed my coach, that which he designed to get having but four horses, to Bawtry.’

The defection of Reresby from the Country Party was apparently, in a great measure, condoned ; perhaps his dealings with Danby were not fully known. Certainly he did not forfeit

the friendship of some opposition magnates; he remained on kindly terms with the 'good Lord Devonshire,' and seems to have continued acquainted with the House of Bedford. Political honour, in fact, in those days was very different from what it is now—a plea to be borne in mind in Sir John's behalf; and men then did things with little discredit which would brand them as scoundrels in our stricter time. After the fall of Danby Reresby had the sense to see that Halifax was the rising sun; and an intimacy sprang up between the county baronet and the celebrated statesman which is at least curious. In truth, however, though the parts of Reresby were contemptible compared to those of Halifax, the two men had some points in common; both, in different spheres, could read the times; both, from different motives, could shift and turn with singular skill in a sea of troubles. These Memoirs give us a clear idea of the illustrious Trimmer and bring out fully the want of daring, the halting caution, the love of compromise which blended with his genius and thoughtful wisdom. His confidences to Reresby were remarkable, and, indeed, Sir John tells us, were 'too frank;' yet he certainly kept back a great deal from the author. The following on the sentiments of the House of Commons with respect to his speech on the Exclusion Bill, is characteristic in a high degree:—

'The same day, waiting on the Lord Halifax, he complained of the unjust severity of the Commons against him in their vote, which was that he was a promoter of popery and betrayer of the liberties of the people. He said that were a man never so innocent, it coming from the representatives of the people, it was too heavy for any single person to bear; therefore he had thoughts of retiring from Court, but he would go his own pace, and not just be kicked out when they pleased.'

What Halifax thought of the state of opinion in England at this critical moment is seen in the conversation with Reresby, a most striking proof of the statesman's openness:—

'He carried me with him in his coach to Whitehall; the next day he invited me to dine with him in private. He told me it was to be feared some unhappy differences might arise in the nation from those disputes about the Succession; and in case it should come to a war, it might be convenient to form a party in one's thoughts. He told me that he knew very well there was but one other and myself that had any considerable interest in my neighbourhood; asked me my opinion how their inclinations stood. I told him I had an account in writing of all men of note thereabouts, and would wait upon him the next day with their names and characters. I did so, and he did agree with me that the loyal interest was not only much more numerous, but consisted of more wealthy and active men; and that those who were so

busy in Parliament against the Court were men of little power or esteem in the county.'

Reresby was returned for Aldborough in the short Oxford Parliament, but he does not notice its proceedings in detail. He thus describes the attitude of the Exclusionists now involving themselves in designs of treason:—

'It was observed that many of the discontented members of both Houses came armed and more than usually attended; and that there was a design to have seized the King and restrained him till he had granted their petitions; but if any such design was, they either wanted courage or time to execute it.'

The following is a correct account of the violence which caused the dissolution, and the strong loyalist reaction which ensued—a movement which Charles turned to advantage with a skill that proves his ability as a political player:—

'The truth was that the question was not now whether the Duke should succeed or not, but whether it should be a monarchy or a commonwealth. Some of the party had blabbed it in the House that this was not the only material bill they intended should pass this session to secure the people of England from falling under popery and absolute government; that it was necessary that both the military and civil power should be put into other hands, and that the present affairs of both ought to be examined and changed, insomuch as the King was told that if he quitted the Duke, it was but to be a step both to quit all his friends and servants afterwards, and to fall entirely into the hands of people whom he had reason to think were not so well affected to his person and government.'

When the King had triumphed over the fallen Whigs, Reresby was put in the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex, in order, doubtless, that a trusty agent should watch the doings of the 'brisk boys' of Shaftesbury. Sir John acquitted himself of this duty well; reported to the Court whatever he heard; superintended the proceedings in the murder of Thynne, supposed to be a political crime; and composed loyal addresses for his brethren of the Bench marked with his accustomed discreet caution. A few of his experiences in this post may be noticed. He thus describes the temper of the City at this time:—

'I dined with the Lord Mayor of London, one of the faction, where some reflection being cast upon the Court, I answered it the best I could. One cannot imagine how every little fellow undertook to censure the King and his proceedings at that time. . . . So great was the anti-Court interest then in the City, that the juries would seldom find for the King.'

As might have been expected, Halifax inclined to the side of mercy in the case of Shaftesbury:—

'He had as good be set at liberty upon terms as by a jury, which would be sure to acquit him, should he be brought to trial, though never so guilty. Nor could he do the King that harm if he were out, as such an act of mercy and legality would do him good.'

•This is Reresby's account of the Rye House Plot:—

'June 26 came the report of a dangerous conspiracy against the life of our Sovereign Lord the King, laid by the anti-Court party, composed of such as had been disappointed of preferments at Court, and of Protestant dissenters. It was also against the Duke of York, and intended to have shot the King and the Duke coming from Newmarket in their coach, the certain day of his return being known, by forty men well armed, who, after the blow given, were to fly to London, and to report that the papists had done it.'

By this time, owing to his useful services, to the support of Halifax, and to the favour of the King, Reresby's influence at Court was really great. He had been talked of for Envoy to Sweden and Denmark, and had actually been mentioned as not unfitted to represent England at Vienna and Paris—a statement we should have thought incredible but for our knowledge how reckless was the favouritism of the Stuarts. In the summer of 1682 he was made Military Governor of York, a post then of very high importance; and he gave proof of considerable skill in hunting down some of the Rye House conspirators. This sketch of the Castle of York, under the later Stuarts, when the memory of the Civil War was fresh, is not without interest at the present day:—

'The garrison of York I formed at this time into this method. The ten companies consisted of 500 men, besides officers, and the daily guards of eighty men, by detachments of eight out of every company, of four serjeants, six corporals, and one commissioned officer. . . . The tattoo was beaten every night by five drums at ten o'clock, at which hour every soldier was to go to his quarters, or be punished if found after that hour in the streets by the patroller, who went the round of the streets to see that good order was kept. No soldier was suffered, nor, indeed, citizen, to go out of the gates in the daytime with fire-arms, dogs, or engines for the destruction of game, except gentlemen or officers, or such as had leave in writing from myself.'

Sir John, however, had other duties at York besides those of commanding the garrison. The city, though an appanage of the King's brother, had for some years been opposed to the Court; it had recently returned Exclusionists for members, and the Mayor and Corporation had made themselves obnoxious to the men in power at Whitehall. A letter of Reresby from the Spencer collection shows how high party-spirit ran at this place, and probably represents the state of feeling in not a few of the great towns of the kingdom:—

'The loyal party is much inferior to the factious. The first consists of the gentry, clergy, officers, and dependents of the Church, militia officers and soldiers, and about one-fourth part, as is computed, of the citizens. The second of the mayor and whole magistracy (two aldermen only excepted), the sheriffs, and most of the common council, with the rest of the city. . . . It is now come to that, that there is not only a separation of interests, but few do buy of, or have any commerce but with those of their own principle.'

Reresby went to York not only to rule in the castle, but to influence or coerce the city, and to bring it back to allegiance to the Crown. He performed his office with accustomed discretion; remonstrated with the Whig magistrates; held before them the terrors of the Tory reaction; and having persuaded them he was their good friend, advised the Court, now engaged in the project of robbing the large towns of their municipal rights, as to the likeliest way to get rid of their charter. The manner in which Charles directed this service is characteristic:—

'The King, as he came from my Lady Portsmouth's, asked me, leaning upon my arm, if I knew sufficient matter for bringing a *quo warranto* against the charter of York. I answered—No, but would endeavour to inform myself. I said I found I could not do it so well at this distance as if I were upon the place. The King replied, "I only recommend it to you."

Reresby displayed remarkable zeal in this matter, and Halifax, we regret to say, consented. The Governor of York grudged to others their share in aiding the plot to disfranchise the place:—

'Sir Thomas Slingsby, Sir Thomas Mauleverer, and some other gentlemen of Yorkshire, to show their diligence in the King's service exceeded mine, sent up an agent with some matter whereon to ground a forfeiture of the charter of the City of York, of which, having early notice from a friend, I first went to inform the Duke of York and the secretary of it, and used means to introduce their messenger myself to the secretary, whereby I did prevent any jealousy at Court of my being too much a friend to that city, and them of the credit they pretended to have by it.'

The doom of the city at last appeared certain, and Sir John hastened to apportion the spoil:—

'The charter of York being now likely to fall into the King's hands by default, Sir Thomas Slingsby and Sir Henry Marwood, myself, and others, met to agree upon persons for bearing office in that city who were of best ability and loyalty.'

During all this time the nation was under the flood-tide of Tory reaction. The anti-Court party appeared prostrate; and

the government of Charles was fast becoming a jealous and even a cruel tyranny at home, while England was reduced to a cipher abroad, and France pursued unchecked her career of conquest. Reresby thus notices this state of affairs; his hostility to France again peeps out:—

‘The face of things began much to alter in England at that time. The Duke, that was in Scotland, was extremely courted in that kingdom. . . . The confederates in Spain, Holland, Sweden, &c., that were now preparing to resist the French, were very angry with us that we still continued in our neutrality, and, as the Spaniard said, contrary to our league with him; but our King said his own affairs were in such a posture at home, that he was not in a condition to come into the war. This confirmed the jealousy of our adhering to the French interest, and of a private commerce with them, by the means of the Duchess of Portsmouth.’

The frivolity of Charles in this hour of success is vividly seen in this sketch. The King was only able under the stress of danger:—

‘At Newmarket the King was so much pleased with the country, and so great a lover of the diversions which that place did afford, that he let himself down from majesty to the very degree of a country gentleman. He mixed himself amongst the crowd, allowed every man to speak to him that pleased, went out hawking in the mornings, to cock-matches in the afternoons (if there were no horse races), and to plays in the evenings, acted in a barn, and by very ordinary Bartlemew-fair comedians.’

This was the time when the Duchess of Portsmouth was at the height of her influence. The form of the French concubine seems to arise and mock at the humiliation of England and the State; and she had a real weight in the councils of Charles. As we have said, we suspect this edition qualifies some conversations in which she figures; and we must go back to the earlier editions of the work to read the language in which the reigning sultana was addressed by those who stood well with her—language banished now to the worst dens of vice. The veil, however, is partly raised in these pages. Conceive a man like Halifax, after paying his court to the favourite in a very humble way, addressing her in this phrase, a mere *équivoque* for the words which, we believe, he used: ‘He said ‘further, that were he as young as he had been, he would be ‘as well with her as others.’

The following illustrates the decorum of the Court, which Reresby, to do him justice, described as ‘wicked and debauched beyond measure,’ though his wife figured at the Portsmouth receptions:—



‘This day the Queen being at dinner, the Duchess of Portsmouth, as a lady of the bedchamber, came to wait on her, which was not usual, and put the Queen into that disorder that tears came into her eyes, whilst the other laughed and turned it into jest.’

Reresby contrived to stand well with both the parties which divided Whitehall in the last years of Charles. His real friend was, however, Halifax; and the conversations of the keen-sighted statesman continue to illustrate his striking character, and throw fresh light on the events of the time. To the powers of Halifax Reresby gives this flattering tribute: ‘He always both spake and acted with goodness, honour, and discretion; for certainly there never lived a man in the world of more wit and judgment than himself.’

The following shows what sound advice was given by Halifax to the King at this time; a statesman, however, of sterner stuff would either have resigned or enforced compliance:—

‘My Lord Privy Seal told me he had been very earnest with the King for a Parliament, but to no purpose; that he had used for arguments, that, though the King had slipped his opportunity of calling one soon after the last plot, when he would not have missed of one according to his own desire, if he feared not to have a good one now, the longer it was deferred the more it would be, till at last it might be used as an argument never to call one at all. That nothing ought to be so dear to him as to keep his word with his people; that the law required a Parliament to be called every three years; that, . . . though the anti-monarchical party was very low and discouraged, yet this might raise discontent in another party, that which was for the service of the Crown, but for his majesty observing the laws at the same time, especially when they had his royal word for it.’

Halifax thus described the position of affairs on the occasion of his dispute with Rochester; like all true Englishmen he disliked the ascendancy of Louis XIV. in the councils of England:—

‘He knew not how long he should keep his station (being driven at so fiercely by some); but he did think he had the King his friend, and could not believe that he would part with him for having committed no fault, except it were ever to obey his commands, assuring me that he would ever use his interest so long as it continued to serve me. . . . “But,” said he, “times may come, if the Court should fall into French councils, when some other station may be fitted for you than that (York); and if that come to pass I must quit mine also, for I have greater endeavours against me from the other side of the water than from home.”’

This was the prophetic judgment of the sagacious minister on the following, the character, and the prospects of James:—

‘In some private discourse at the same time, his lordship told me

that those who belonged to the Duke of York were mad, for that there were few amongst them that had common sense. . . . Amongst other things he was saying how far he had been with the Duke of York in the point of changing his religion; for he had written to him that, except he became Protestant, his friends would be obliged to leave him, like a garrison that one could no longer defend.'

The death of Charles II. found Reresby at York; and the Governor, who had feared a popular rising, proclaimed James without a sign of opposition. He thus described the incident:—

'I ordered the mail to be brought unopened to my house, so that no letters could be dispersed till I knew the true state of the King. The letters came not in till four in the morning, and then they gave me an account of my gracious and great master's departure out of this world upon the 9th, at night. . . . The King was proclaimed by nine in the morning by my Lord Mayor, myself, and the high sheriff. . . . All this being done with every sign of peace and satisfaction that could be, not only in York but afterwards throughout the county, and, indeed, the whole kingdom.'

Reresby was not blind to the defects of Charles; and indeed often comments on the inconstancy of the King, his levity, and his French leanings. Still, like so many other men of the time, he had been charmed by the graces of his late master, and seems to have really almost loved him. His sentiments towards James were much less warm. He tells us that 'his smiles were not real,' though he had paid assiduous court to the Duke, and the Duke had been very condescending to him; and he never felt for the new sovereign the sympathy he had for his predecessor. Nevertheless, he was devoted in his respects at Whitehall; and James and his Queen were most courteous to him. This little scene shows how the royal pair could unbend, like others of the ill-fated race of the King:—

'Not being very desirous that my daughter Frances, who was now near twenty years of age, should appear often at court, she had not been at that of the Queen Dowager's till about this time since she came to town, when being presented with her mother to kiss the Queen's hand, the Queen told her—calling her by her name—that she was grown very tall and very pretty since she saw her; and without partiality she was then as handsome as most women of that time, had a great deal of wit, and virtue and goodness with it.'

Sir John was elected to represent York at the general election of 1685. The city not yet having lost its charter, there can be little doubt that this choice was made to propitiate the Court and please the King; and even as it was, the seat was secured, as these Memoirs show, by illegal practices, as was the case in other boroughs at this time. Reresby gives this

account of the ultra-loyal Parliament which met to welcome the new monarch. The conduct of James had already given rise to doubts:—

‘Now began the consideration amongst gentlemen of the House what would be asked by the Court, and what would be granted in the ensuing Parliament, which consisted of a great many loyal gentlemen, and the generality, however, good patriots and Protestants. Some things to be asked were such (so report said) as gave more countenance to Popery than the laws then in force did permit; the settlement of a constant revenue upon the Crown, suitable to that of the late king, and ready money besides for the King’s present occasions. The repeal of the law of Habeas Corpus was one which I found the great men opposed in their private discourse, as well as some of us. A toleration or liberty of conscience, which the Papists seemed to apprehend if it were general, some seemed willing to grant, but resolved at the same time not in any alteration to give a capacity to the Papists to come to any place or employment in the government.’

The House of Commons of 1685 was very largely composed of untried men; and Reresby, whose experience had been matured, seems to have made a considerable figure in debate. He spoke on the question of Supply and others; and took a prominent part in supporting the Court. The following is his brief account of Sedgemoor:—

‘The Duke stole out about one o’clock in the morning with his whole army, towards the camp, but with that silence that the king’s forces knew nothing of their approach till they came to the sentry, whose fire gave them the first notice. The Duke of Monmouth marched at the head of the foot, my Lord Grey led up the horse and brought their cannon within pistol-shot. Our men got into order as soon as they could, and received them as well as they could, but were so overpowered in numbers that, till my Lord Grey ran away with the horse, being frightened by our cannon, we were in great danger to lose the day. The Duke of Monmouth, however, stood till a great part of his foot was cut to pieces. . . . The Duke of Monmouth from the beginning of this, his desperate attempt,\* had shown the conduct of a great captain, insomuch that the King said himself, he had not made one false step.’

The discontent smouldering in the country was even then such that, in Reresby’s opinion, any real success would have made the rising formidable in the extreme:—

‘This great storm, which began from a little cloud (for the number of men which he brought ashore was not above 150) was fortunately dispersed; for, had he got the day, it was to be feared the discontented

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\* This is contrary to the judgment of every historian we have read,

were so numerous that they would have risen in several parts of England, to the very hazard of the Crown. . . . I was informed also by one of the lieutenancy of the City, that should the Duke of Monmouth give a blow to the king's forces, he much feared there would be a rising in London by the factious party.'

Sir John is silent as regards the Bloody Assizes, and the atrocities committed in other places. He evidently, however, disliked Jeffreys, and tells us some characteristic anecdotes about the brutal and foul-mouthed judge. Take, for instance, the following :—

'After dinner the Chancellor, having drunk smartly at table (which was his custom), called for one Montfort, a gentleman of his that had been a comedian, an excellent mimic, and to divert the company, as he called it, made him give us a cause, that is, plead before him in a feigned action, when he acted all the principal lawyers of the age in their tone of voice, and action or gesture of body, and thus ridiculed not only the lawyers but the law itself. This, I confess, was very diverting, but not so prudent, as I thought, for so eminent a man in so great a station of the law. . . . My Lord Chancellor had like to have died at this time of a fit of the stone, which he brought upon himself by a great debauch of wine at Alderman Duncomb's, when he and my Lord Treasurer, and others, drank to that height as 'twas whispered that they stripped unto their shirts, and had not an accident prevented, would have got upon a sign-post to drink the King's health, which gave occasion of derision, not to say more of the matter.'

Reresby, however, could play the courtier to Jeffreys, as to any other more human favourite :—

'I dined with my Lord Chancellor and complimented him upon some civilities I told him I hoped I had received from him, and particularly for the King's kindness to me, which I attributed to his character of me in some measure (though I was not very much persuaded he was my friend to that degree, but the way to make friends at court is to pretend you think them so already). He took it very kindly.'

After the dissolution of the Parliament of 1685, which, though loyal in the highest degree, had nevertheless given umbrage to James, and had shown that it would not yield in everything, Reresby kept for the most part in his government, occasionally, however, resorting to London. His Memoirs form a good running commentary on the arbitrary proceedings of the next two years, and dwell more or less fully on the follies and crimes by which the King offended an attached people, and ultimately lost an ancient throne. The attitude of the author in narrating these events is probably that which most of his party held ; he notices with regret the royal infringements of the laws ; dwells on the anger this caused with cautious reserve ; excuses the King as much as possible ; and

is very indignant with the Popish faction, which, he insists, worked his 'Majesty's undoing.' What irritated him most, as may be imagined, was the violent subversion of the local powers which he had been accustomed from youth to revere, by the general dismissals of lords-lieutenant of counties, of justices of the peace, and of militia officers; and he resented, with the scorn of an Englishman of the day, the crowding the army with 'Irish papists,' and the ruin of the Anglo-Irish Protestant settlement. He complained, also, a good deal of the attempts that were made 'to strain conscience,' by endeavouring to ascertain, through emissaries of the Court, what would be the sense of the House of Commons in the event of a new Parliament meeting; and he professed a hearty abhorrence of the Romish ascendancy which was being established throughout the kingdom. Like most, indeed, of the high Tories, he disliked Popery quite as much as Dissent; and the sentiment, in his case, was quickened by the fact that he had been disappointed of more than one legacy which he had expected from kinsmen of the unpopular faith, and that part of his quarters near the Castle of York were actually taken as a Popish seminary. We can only glance at his numerous allusions to the incidents of this memorable time. Sir John thus describes the feeling with which the news of the dismissal of Halifax was received—the first triumph of the Romish faction:—

'This lord was so generally looked upon as a wise man and a good subject, that the removal of him, especially at the beginning of Parliament, astonished a great many, and made them fear there was a change of councils as well as councillors.'

The exultation of this party is thus glanced at:—

'The Popish party at this time behaved themselves with an insolence which did them a prejudice . . . such power had the council of priests over His Majesty.'

The policy of James in Scotland and Ireland is thus noticed:—

'About this time the Duke of Gordon, a Papist, was made governor of Edinburgh Castle. . . . This declared favour to persons of that religion gave great disgust in that kingdom. . . . The King gave all the encouragement he could to the increase of his Church by putting more Papists into office, but especially in Ireland. . . . My Lord Clarendon, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was recalled, and Mr. Talbot, a strict Irish Papist—made a little before Earl of Tyrconnel—sent over to succeed him, which made a great many people leave or sell their estates, and come over for England.'

Reresby thus comments on the dismissal of the Judges, and the attempt to override law by the dispensing power :—

‘There was a great change in Westminster Hall of the Judges ; there was a new Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and another new judge there ; a new Lord Chief Baron ; in fine, four new judges of all courts. This made the greater noise, because several of those turned out were knowing and loyal gentlemen, and their crime was only this—that they would not give their opinions, as most of the rest had done, that the King might dispense, by his prerogative, with the taking of the test to Roman Catholics.’

Public opinion thus pronounced in the well-known case of *Hales* :—

‘It was agreed by all the judges, Baron Street only excepted, that the King had power by his prerogative to dispense with all penal statutes ; that he was the only judge of the necessity of dispensing with the penal statutes. Sir Edward, pleading the King’s pardon, had the better of the cause. This judgment was very surprising, and occasioned much disorder in the kingdom.’

The establishment of the High Commission is thus referred to :—

‘I received the news that the King had sworn four Papist lords of his Privy Council, three of whom had been in the Tower for the Popish Plot, and had appointed a commission for my Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and some others, of whom three were bishops, to inspect and inquire of ecclesiastical affairs and persons.’

How men in office were dismissed wholesale, and the King tried to coerce those around him into sanctioning this insane policy, is shown in this :—

‘Every day produced so great a change in officers, both civil and military, who would not comply with what the King desired of them, that there was no assurance of anything. . . . The only trial of any, especially members of both Houses of Parliament, who had placé and came near the King, was this—he took them aside, told them the Test Act was made in the height of faction . . . and therefore he hoped they were so loyal as not to refuse to give him votes for taking away of so unreasonable laws. Every man that resisted the King in this was discharged of his employment.’

The Declaration of Indulgence appeared next. Reresby tells us its object was perceived from the first :—

‘Then came down the declaration of liberty of conscience, gilded over with tenderness for His Majesty’s subjects. . . . But the design was well understood, viz., to divide the Protestant churches that the Papists might find less opposition.’

The reception of the Nuncio at Windsor is thus noticed :—

‘The Pope’s Nuncio being to make his public entry at Windsor with

great solemnity, and the Duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, being in waiting, refused to attend in that ceremony; for which he was forbid coming to court and lost all his places. Five of the six gentlemen of the privy chamber in waiting were put out of their employments for the same cause.'

Sir John could not restrain his censure at the violence done at Oxford and in the City :—

'The King now put out several aldermen that had ever been reputed faithful and loyal men to the Crown, and had stuck by his interest in the worst times in the City of London. . . . Dr. Hough, president of Magdalen College in Oxford, was put out by certain Visitors appointed by the King for that purpose, for being elected, though according to the statutes of the college, yet contrary to the King's mandamus, which had recommended the Bishop of Oxford to that office.'

The attempts to influence a Parliament before it was convened, and the arbitrary measures which soon followed, are dwelt upon in this deprecatory tone :—

'The King caused the Lord-Lieutenants of most, if not all, counties of England, to call together all their deputy-lieutenants and the justices of the peace, and to ask them these three questions :—

'(1) In case the King should call a Parliament, and they should be chosen of it, would they give their votes to take away the Test and Penal Laws ?

'(2) Would they give their votes for the choosing of such members as they believed would be for the taking them away ?

'(3) Would they live peaceably with such as dissented from them in religion, as good Christians ought to do ?

'Several Lord-Lieutenants who refused to execute this order were turned out, and Papists put in their places, and the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace that did not give a satisfactory answer were generally displaced. This was indeed putting the thing too far, and the wondering of all men to what purpose it was done.'

The effect of these dismissals was, in many places, to destroy the whole machinery of local government ; and nothing probably in the policy of the Court so deeply offended the country gentry, or made the tyranny of James so evident to all men. How Yorkshire was weeded appears in the following —

'In the East and North Ridings the prime of the gentry had been put out of commission of justice of peace and deputy-lieutenants. . . . At this time my Lord Thomas Howard was Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding, a Papist, who was gone ambassador to Rome, and he had left but three deputy-lieutenants behind him, two of whom were Roman Catholics, and but two of them in the country.'

A similar attempt was made in the case of the Corporation of York, the charter of which had by this been forfeited :—

'October 4. Comes a messenger to purge the Corporation, to put out

the former mayor and aldermen, and to put in others, almost all Papists; but it was so lame, by mistakes in the execution of it, that it could not be done.'

The following shows how the army was remodelled :—

'My Lord of Oxford, first Earl of the realm, but low in his fortune . . . the King took from him his regiment of horse, and gave it to the Duke of Berwick. At this time died Sir Thomas Slingsby, who had a troop in that regiment, which he bought for 2,000*l.*, which the King denied to his son, though cornet in it, but gave that also to the Duke of Berwick. Fifty Irishmen and Papists had been sent for from Ireland by the Duke of Berwick, to be put into his regiment, and every captain was to have some.'

Sir John thus dwells on his special grievance :—

'I had a letter from one Lawson, a priest, wherein he gave me notice that the King had given him his house, the manor of St. Mary's in York. . . . He came down to York and claimed the possession, which it being to no purpose to contest, I ordered my housekeeper to give him.'

The quality of the Roman Catholic magistrates who were thrust into the places of the discarded Protestants is thus described in a letter of Reresby; it is needless to say what the feelings of his class must have been :—

'The first can neither write nor read; the second is a bailiff to the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk, writes; and neither of them has one foot of freehold land in England.'

This picture of the acts of James and his Government sufficiently explains the indignation his conduct provoked throughout England. Undoubtedly, as Hallam and others have observed, he was not a mere Diocletian or Nero; and his father, we think, was guilty of deeds that savoured more of violence and a despot's will. But, even as the Constitution was then understood, there never was a more unconstitutional King; and his policy far more than that of Charles I., was calculated to offend the great mass of the nation. Englishmen revered, beyond all things, their laws, and believed they possessed sufficient guarantees against arbitrary infringements of them; but the dispensing power, as it was abused by James, threatened all laws with complete subversion, and seemed to remove every restraint on tyranny. The supremacy, too, of the great National Council and its freedom were dear to the national heart; but the King had lately got rid of a Parliament as devoted to him as a Parliament could be, and he seemed resolved to do without a Parliament unless he could reduce the two Houses to the nothingness of the half-forgotten States-



General of France. Worse than all, the administration of the realm had been rudely metamorphosed by the royal will; Protestants had been recklessly supplanted by Papists in the state, in the army, even in the Church, in Scotland, in Ireland, in all local government; and this had been done in defiance of law, and in the interest of a faction despised yet abhorred, and suspected of treason of every kind against the liberties and even the existence of England! No wonder, when, in 1688 men saw all that they prized as freemen assailed by a stealthy but encroaching tyranny, and felt themselves subjected, they hardly knew how, to a domination they dreaded and contemned, that the national discontent grew fierce and deep; no wonder that even the loyalty of the Cavaliers could not bear the strain put on it; no wonder that even a foreign prince was gratefully welcomed as a deliverer! These Memoirs fully attest how general was the anger roused by the policy of James, though the author acknowledges the truth with regret. He thus describes the scenes he beheld before the memorable trial of the seven bishops:—

‘The Hall and palace yards of Westminster were crowded with thousands of people begging their blessing as they passed, and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave it, advising them at the same time to be constant to their religion. Ten Nonconformist ministers went to visit the bishops in the Tower, which the King took ill and sent for four of them to reprimand them. They answered that they could not but adhere to them who were constant to the Protestant faith, or to that effect. The soldiers that kept guard at the Tower drank very often the bishops’ good healths, which being told to Sir Edward Hales, Lieutenant of the Tower, he sent word to the captain of the guard to do it no more. He returned answer that it was being done at that very time, and that they would drink it, and no other health, whilst the bishops stayed there.’

This was the feeling evoked by the trial:—

‘In this great argument the King’s power to dispense with the laws was extremely arraigned, and the King’s counsel so much undone, that it was wished at Court that the thing had never been begun. Westminster Hall and the Palace Yard, with the streets near them, were so full of people, and their huzzas and shouts for joy of their lordships’ delivery so great, that it looked like a little rebellion in noise, though not in fact. Bonfires were made not only in the City, but in most towns of England where the news of it came, though orders were given to the magistrates in the City to prevent it.’

The fleet, like the camp at Hounslow, reflected the national sentiment:—

‘The King went down to the mouth of the Thames to see the fleet, but the true cause was to appease the seamen, who were ready to

mutiny upon occasion of some sea captains using mass openly aboard their ships. . . . Admiral Herbert, an able seaman, whom the King had put out of great employments, because he would not promise to take off the test, went privately to Holland, and was made rear-admiral there, which made the King very angry, a great many seamen going after him.'

Reresby, cautious as he was, could not endure the packing of the Middlesex Bench with Papists :—

'I was at the general sessions held for the liberty of Westminster, and some days after at that for the County of Westminster, at Whitehall, when I found such a change of justices of the peace and so many papists and fanatics put into commission, that I did not seek business, and mixed with them as little as I could.'

As is well known, Roman Catholics of sense disapproved of the infatuated policy of James. The testimony of Bellasis, though after the Revolution, is striking :—

'I waited upon my Lord Bellasis, Chief Commissioner of the Treasury under the late King James. He told me that he had been very averse, though a papist, to the measures used in that reign for promoting that religion, as the putting of papists into office in counties and corporations, the High Commission Court, the laying aside Protestants for refusing to take away the test and penal laws; but his council was suspected, as coming from a man who, as the hot party informed the King, was old and timorous.'

When the enterprise of William had become threatening, the King paused in his desperate course, restored many of the men he had dismissed, and made promises of the fairest kind; but it was too late, and the nation had ceased to trust him. Reresby tells us that this was the state of opinion on the news of the landing at Torbay :—

'It was very strange, and a certain forerunner of the mischiefs that ensued upon this invasion, that neither the gentry nor common people seemed much afraid or concerned at it—saying "the Prince comes only to maintain the Protestant religion; he will do England no harm."'

Danby, before declaring himself, made this remark :—

'We are in ill condition now in this nation all ways; for if the King beat the Prince, popery will return upon us with more violence than ever. If the Prince beat the King, the crown and the nation may be in some danger.'

The state of York and the neighbourhood at this crisis is fully described in Reresby's narrative, and had its counterpart in many parts of the kingdom. On the first news of the approach of William, the Duke of Newcastle, a Tory magnate, was made Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding, in the stead of

the Catholic Lord Thomas Howard; and commissions were prepared to restore the Protestant justices and deputy-lieutenants who had been dismissed. Meanwhile the city resumed its ancient charter; and pledges were given that the former Corporation should be reinstated in their old authority. These concessions, however, made at the last moment, had no influence on the general feeling; and the country gentlemen, irritated at the slights put upon them, and the city magistrates who had suffered affronts from the Catholic soldiers within the garrison, and the few Catholic citizens who belonged to the place, resolved to declare for the Prince of Orange. Danby, who, Tory and Loyalist as he was, had been for some time in treaty with William, placed himself readily at the head of the movement; and a conspiracy was formed to seize the Castle of York, and openly to join the rising in the West, under the pretence of a meeting to petition the King. It had been ascertained that the bulk of the garrison, formed of the sympathising county militia, would fall in with the intended project; and it was evidently thought that little resistance was to be apprehended on the part of a governor whose character as a timeserver was understood. Reresby, to do him but justice, does not seem to have been privy to this design; but he had been lukewarm of late in the royal cause; he was known to have a grievance of his own; and he had conveniently abstained from committing himself by any extreme acts to the tottering Government. How the plot succeeded may be told in his own words:—

‘When such a draft (of the petition) was finished as Sir Henry (Goodricke) and his party approved of, though many that disliked it went away, they began to sign; and when Mr. Wortley Montague and Sir Henry had done, before a third man could sign, Mr. Tankard went into the hall, and cried that the papists were risen, and had fired at the militia troops. At this all the gentlemen ran out, and those that were privy to the design got their horses, which were laid ready for them. Sir Henry Goodricke, Mr. Wortley Montague, Mr. Tankard, my Lord Danby, who was ready in his lodging, expecting this project at dawn, my Lord Dumblain, his son, my Lord Willingby, two Mr. Berties, my Lord Lumley, my Lord Horton, and several others, who made a party with their servants of a hundred horse, well armed and well mounted, rode up to the four militia troops drawn out for another purpose, and cried for a free Parliament, the Protestant religion, and no popery. The captains of these four troops were Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Gower, Mr. Robinson, and Captain Tankard, who, being made privy to the design only the night before, but were ready enough in their tempers for such an action, complied and led all their men to join with them. The first step they made was to the place

where the guard of the standing company was kept, consisting of about twenty men, which they surprised, before I had the least notice or jealousy of such an attempt, not believing it possible that men of such quality and estate, however dissatisfied, would engage in a design so desperate, and so contrary to the laws of the land and the religion which they professed. I then sent to every captain to bring his troop to me, as the King's Governor, as also the other guard of foot of the militia, who all denied to march or to obey orders. I then sent for my horses, and as I was preparing to go to the troops, hoping to regain them to the King's service if I appeared, Sir Henry Bellasis, who had commanded a regiment in Holland under the Prince, and lurked long here in Yorkshire for his service, drew up a party of thirty horse before my door, and thus prevented my going out, till my Lord of Danby, with his chief companions, came up to me. My lord told me that to resist was to no purpose; that he and other gentlemen were in arms for a free Parliament, and for the preservation of the Protestant religion and the government, as by law established, which the King had very near destroyed, and which the Prince of Orange was come to assist them to defend, and that he hoped I would join with them in so good a design.'

The parole of the Governor was accepted by Danby, and Sir John was kept a few days at his own house at Thrybergh. From this place of repose he received intelligence of the progress and success of the Revolution; but his reminiscences are not of much importance. He thus notices how completely the unhappy King was abandoned:—

'The number of those that revolted was not 1,000 in all as yet, but everyone was so jealous one of another that they knew not whom to trust, so the army and artillery were marched back towards London. In that part of Yorkshire where I lived very few gentlemen continued firm to the King, nor, indeed, in any part of the North of England.'

This is his account of the insurrectionary rising in London:—

'The rabble being sufficiently animated against the papists before, and more especially now thinking (and reasonably) that the council given the King to withdraw himself came from them, rose in prodigious numbers, and, dividing themselves, pulled down the chapels of that worship, and many houses of such as did profess it, taking and spoiling their goods, and imprisoning such as they suspected to be priests; nor did they forbear the very chapels and houses of ambassadors and other public ministers.'

In Yorkshire, however, the peace was preserved:—

'It was very much that in these confusions no more mischiefs had been committed. In the West Riding there were few or no justices of the peace sworn but papists, who all absconded, nor any almost as acted as deputy-lieutenants; and yet very few robberies, felonies, and not one murder, and scarce a battery, had been committed. Only

some arms and horses had been seized of Roman Catholics, and that under colour of authority.'

Reresby thus describes how James was stopped on the coast of Kent:—

'About the 11th or 12th day. His Majesty, being in a hoy, with very few with him, amongst others Sir Edmund Hales, and passing from an island in Kent, was boarded by a boat that had thirty-six armed men on board of her, which was going, as they called it, a priest-codding or catching. They used the King, and especially those that were with him, very uncivilly, took from His Majesty 300 guineas, all he was worth at the time, and his sword.'

Sir John was soon released from parole at Thrybergh, and with the true instinct of a waiter on fortune, was not long in reaching the capital. The scenes he there witnessed naturally aroused his sympathies with the fallen monarch; and cool-headed as he was, he could not learn that his old master had been sent off from Whitehall, and that Dutch troops were encamped in London, without a feeling of indignant bitterness. He thus notices the sudden reaction which followed the first success of William, and perhaps gave his rival a last chance, had he had the ability to turn it to account:—

'The Prince came to St. James's, where he was complimented and attended by many of the nobility, and the night was spent in ringing of bells, bonfires, and other expressions of joy by the rabble; but thinking men of the City seemed displeased at the King being forced to withdraw himself a second time. . . . When I arrived I found London much changed. The guards and other parts of the army, which both in their persons and gallantry were an ornament to the town, were sent to quarter ten miles off, and the streets were filled with ill-looking and ill-habited Dutch and other strangers of the Prince's army; and yet the City was so pleased with their deliverers that they did not or would not perceive their deformity, nor the oppression they lay under, which was much greater than what they felt from the English army.'

Reresby was equally displeased with the acts and professions of William:—

'The Prince declared that he had no design for the crown, and yet sought it all he could. He came to settle the Protestant religion, and yet brought over 4,000 papists in his army, which were near as many as the King had English of that religion in his. . . . The Prince kept his Dutch forces in London, and sent the English army to remote quarters, declaring that he would keep his own men near, and send the English into Holland and Ireland.'

In spite of loyal regrets, however, Reresby hastened to make peace with the ruling powers, and had no notion of being laid on the shelf. He offered himself to the Convention for

the citizens of York, but received a polite rebuff from Danby ; and, indeed, he was probably glad that he was not chosen, since ' he foresaw several things would be done or attempted which ' were very dangerous.' A sure instinct led him to find out Halifax ; and his intinacy with that eminent man, now almost master of the situation, was renewed apparently on the old footing. During the critical period that had just passed away, Halifax had characteristically warned his friend not to put himself forward or aim high ; but when the Revolution had been accomplished, the great Trimmer took real pains to secure Reresby's adherence to William, and even to back the claims to preferment urged sedulously by the late officer of King James. This is Reresby's account of their first interview, after the great change which had just taken place :—

' My Lord Halifax spoke further that himself should be employed, and used some arguments to me to prove the legality of accepting to be so. One was, that the King having relinquished the government, it was not for that to be let fall, and it could not be supported if men did not act under those on whom it was conferred, and that as things stood now, *salus populi* was *suprema lex*. His lordship said further that there were so many declined to serve, and there were so few fit for it, that, if I would do it, there would no question be room for me.'

The peculiar character of Halifax comes out distinctly in his subsequent relations with Sir John. A lady of the late court having told Reresby some gossip about James, his objects, and Halifax himself, the all-powerful statesman, intellectually great but morally timorous in the extreme, insisted on seeing this unknown person, and expressed himself in this curious way :—

' I said enough to him to let him understand that the chief motive the lady had to speak to him was to inform him of something that might be for his own as well as the public service. Upon this he began to be freer with me than usual upon this chapter ; and when I told him, in general, that great designs were on foot, he said he believed it ; and that though men were in the present interest, it was not discretion to venture too far ; that if things were as I said, it was well to carry fair to them of that party, and to let some know that he spoke always very respectfully of King James, for it might come to blows. He should be glad to meet the lady at my house when she pleased.'

The revelations of another court dame are interesting and circumstantial in some respects ; but, as Macaulay has remarked, they are in part incorrect, and it is difficult to say what we can credit in them. Halifax could hardly have been in communication with James with a view to return to office, except

on conditions of which no evidence has come down to us ; and certainly the excuse offered for the flight of the King is untrue. The passage, however, ought to be cited :—

‘ She told me that his lordship had treated with the King to come again into business some weeks before the certainty of the Prince’s invasion was known ; that she was the very person sent by him to the King, that the King met him in her house, and that they agreed upon terms—nay, that his lordship treated with some priests concerning his return to Court ; that for this reason the King depended most on him, and named him one of the three lords to be sent to the Prince of Orange to treat for him ; that the Marquis sent the King a private letter, after he had spoken to the Prince, threatening some evil design against his person, which was the true reason of His Majesty’s flight and of sending away the Queen ; and after the King was brought back, that my Lord Halifax was one of the lords that came and advertised him, on behalf of the Prince, to go from Whitehall to Rochester or Ham in two hours ; and that the reason his lordship gave for bringing so ungrateful a message was, that he was assured the Prince’s party had resolved in Council to seize and imprison him. So that it was obvious to my lord’s own knowledge that it was neither the King’s inclination to fly either the first or the second time, but self-preservation. She told me further that the King was so fully possessed of his danger, and afflicted after the Princess Anne went away, that it disordered his understanding the first time, but after he returned was very well restored. She said further that the second time he went away he so little designed it that he knew not where to go. Sometimes he resolved to go into the North to the Earl of Danby ; once he thought to go to the Bishops of Canterbury or Winchester, and that she was sent by the King to them to know if they would receive and secure him, and that the two Bishops neither accepted nor rejected the offer.’

Sir John glances at the Convention’s votes and debates, but there is nothing valuable in his account of them. The points of most interest in this part of the Memoirs are the evidence they afford how very insecure the new settlement appeared even to the ablest men who had taken part in the Revolution of 1688. Danby freely expressed himself to Reresby thus :—

‘ He said that being concerned with his all, he was sorry to see things managed no better, and with no more expedition. Ireland was in a manner become invincible, by neglect of not sending forces thither before now, which he had pressed the King to so much, as well as to other things which are slighted ; that he was uncivil in pressing it ; that he had told his present Majesty that he saw he did all things to encourage Presbytery and to dishearten the Church of England, and that he would absolutely prejudice himself and the Government by it ; but at present he (Danby) meddled very little in councils, neither his desires nor health disposing him to it.’

Halifax, as might have been expected, was even more dubious:—

‘I heard my Lord Privy Seal say, that as the nation now stood, if the King (James) were a Protestant, he could not be kept out four months; but my Lord Danby went further, for he said that if he would give the satisfactions in point of religion, which he might, it would be hard to resist him as he was. . . . My Lord Privy Seal, amongst other things, said that the King (William) used no arts. I replied some arts were necessary in our English Government. He said he was of the same opinion, and that we acted a little too plainly. I acquainted my Lord with some grounds of discontent much murmured at in the town, and since in the country. My Lord said, “Come, Sir John, we have wives and children, and we “must consider them, and not venture too far.”’

The acute statesman was not slow in finding out how injurious to his cause were William’s manners and bearing:—

‘His Lordship told me further that the King’s inaccessibleness and living so at Hampton Court altogether, and at so active a time, ruined all business. That he had desired him to lie sometimes in town, and his answer was that it was not to be done except he desired to see him dead; “which,” said my Lord, “was a very short answer.”’

Reresby’s health had been for years declining; and his Memoirs were abruptly brought to a close by his sudden death in 1689. He had amassed a considerable fortune by thrift; but a worthless heir squandered the well-earned hoards, and Thrybergh soon passed to another line of masters. The character of the chronicler appears in his work, and our estimate of it is not doubtful. His career was subject to two influences—the associations that belonged to the Cavaliers, and that connected him with the later Stuarts; and we trace them in many passages of his life. Cautious, artful, and somewhat mean by nature, in his case the chivalry of the old country gentleman was effaced by the cunning of the follower of the Court; and, like many others of his order, perhaps, he became a timeserver and a shifty schemer in the corrupt age in which his lot was cast. For the rest, he possessed in an eminent degree the difficult merit of pleasing the great. He was in a certain sense not devoid of honour, and his accomplishments must have been not contemptible; and in justice to his memory we must recollect that he lived in an evil and revolutionary time. His Memoirs, happily at last given to the public in a complete and genuine form, contain on the whole a very instructive account of events of the highest moment in history, and of the men and manners of a memorable era; they can hardly fail to amuse and inform the reader.



ART. V.—*The History of Israel*. By HEINRICH EWALD, Professor of the University of Göttingen. Translated from the German. Edited, with a Preface and Appendix, by RUSSELL MARTINEAU, M.A., Professor of Hebrew in Manchester New College. 5 vols. London: 1869–1874.

WE are indebted mainly to the brief but lucid preface of Professor Martineau for the following biographical details respecting the great historian, linguist, and critic in whom the University of Göttingen has recently lost one of the most distinguished of her scholars and professors.

George Heinrich August Ewald was born at Göttingen on November 16th, in the year 1803. He was in his 72nd year when at the place of his birth he was removed by the hand of death from the prosecution of those studies with which his name has been so long and so closely associated. The German prefix *von*, indicative of personal nobility, was conferred upon Ewald in the year 1841 by the King of Würtemberg, but was seldom, if ever, assumed by him. He was educated at the Gymnasium, and subsequently at the University, of his native town. After a short residence as teacher at the Gymnasium of Wolfenbüttel, during which period he published his first work, entitled 'The Composition of Genesis critically examined,'\* Ewald returned to Göttingen in 1824, and commenced his lectures in the Faculty of Theology. In 1827 he was appointed Extraordinary Professor, and in 1831 Ordinary Professor, in the Philosophical Faculty; and in 1835 he became Professor of the Oriental Languages. After the death of Eichhorn in 1827, he began to lecture on Old Testament Exegesis. In consequence of the abolition of the Hanoverian Constitution by the Duke of Cumberland, on his accession to the throne of Hanover in 1837, Ewald, together with six of the most eminent Professors of Göttingen, resigned his appointment. After a short visit to England he accepted a theological professorship in the University of Tübingen, and retained that position until his recall to Göttingen in 1848. During this period of his life some of Ewald's most important works were published. The list is too lengthy for insertion. We may refer, however, in particular, to his translation of, and commentaries upon, the Poetical and Prophetical Books of the Old Testament, to his critical Hebrew Grammar (which procured for him from Hitzig

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\* The opinions expressed in this early production of Ewald's were, for the most part, abandoned in his later writings.

the title of 'second founder of a science of Hebrew language'), and to the commencement of his great work on the 'History of Israel,' which, together with a supplementary volume on the 'Antiquities of Israel,' this learned and laborious writer lived to complete. The early volumes of this history have passed through three editions in Germany, and two editions in England; and the present translation, which comprises the first four volumes of the original work, and extends to the Christian era, was undertaken by Professor Martineau, Mr. Carpenter, and others, with the full sanction of the author.

Before we enter upon our review of a work which, whatever may be its merits and its defects, is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable productions of the present century, we must briefly indicate some points of divergence between our author and ourselves respecting the aspect in which the history of the Jews commends itself to the mind of the thoughtful inquirer at the present day. We agree with Ewald in assigning a place of the highest importance to the subject of the volumes before us, and we sympathise with the generous glow of enthusiasm with which he expatiates upon the sublimity of his theme. We admit the justice of his remark when he describes the chief glory of Jewish history as consisting, not so much in the fact that it stretches backwards to 'the scarcely discernible dawn of antiquity,' whilst it 'shares the full noon-day beam which lights up the history of a few of the most prominent ancient nations,' as in the fact that posterity feels, and must ever continue to feel, its influences and its fruits, even when it is least conscious of the channel through which they have been derived.

But whilst prepared thus far to go along with our author, and whilst ready also to admit with him that the lessons of history are most readily learned when the lapse of time has hushed the passions and the strifes which close proximity to the scenes of action seldom fails to engender, we are altogether unable to follow him in the conviction which he expresses that the history of the ancient people of Israel is 'a concluded portion of human events,' and that none who are able to read it aright will 'expect from the future a new page to complete this chapter of the world's history.' On the contrary, if ever it be lawful to gather from the past experience, and from the present condition, of any people an augury of its future, we maintain that an inference, the very reverse of that which has been drawn by Ewald, must be extracted from the past history, and from the present position, of the Israelitish nation. The annals of that

people present, and have presented for forty centuries, a unique phenomenon in history. The Jews alone have emerged, living and unchanged from the remotest antiquity to the nineteenth century. Their present power and influence in human affairs is perhaps greater than ever it was before, and we doubt not, though probably in some manner unforeseen by the interpreters of prophecy, that the ulterior destinies of the Hebrew people will continue to mark their track in the history of mankind.

But if we demur—as it seems to us that we must do—to the view adopted by Ewald respecting the completion of the part which the Jews, as a nation, are destined to act upon the stage of the world's history, we take yet stronger exception—and as it seems to us upon yet stronger grounds—to the picture which our author has drawn of that people, as ever aspiring after the attainment of 'perfect religion,' and as ultimately successful in the realisation of the object at which they aimed. So entirely inconsistent with the facts of history does this theory appear to us, even when it is qualified by the very important admissions which Ewald elsewhere makes, that we are utterly at a loss to account for its adoption by a writer whose testimony, throughout the whole of these volumes, seems to us to furnish conclusive evidence of its unreality. We need only to recall to mind—and that as described in the words of Jewish historians and prophets—the almost unbroken record of apostasy from the law of Moses which prevailed from the Exodus down to the Captivity, in order to see how inapplicable to that portion of their history is Ewald's description of the uniform aspirations of the chosen nation. In regard to 'the whole period of the Monarchy,' Ewald himself expresses his conviction that 'the people had wandered further and further 'from its higher calling.' And when we proceed to examine closely the history of the period which followed upon the Exile, and the struggle which our author has so graphically delineated between the 'Hagiocracy'\* and the true religion which it 'concealed' and 'impeded,' or when we consider again, the accounts, as given alike by friends and by foes, of the total corruption which preceded and which accompanied the final catastrophe, we cannot fail to be struck with the utter disagreement between the dark picture of religious decline

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\* The term 'Hagiocracy,' which is formed after the model of 'democracy,' 'aristocracy,' and 'autocracy,' and which denotes the 'Sovereignty of the Holy,' is employed by Ewald as the designation of that modified form of the theocratical government which was instituted after the return from the Babylonian Captivity.

thus presented to our view, and the exaggerated, or rather unfounded, assertions of Ewald, that the history of Israel is 'the history of the growth of true religion rising through all stages to perfection,' and again, that the object which had concentrated the highest efforts of a whole people for more than a thousand years was reached at length as the prize of 'the noblest struggles.'

We have thus briefly indicated some of the fundamental fallacies which seem to us to underlie Ewald's view of the position which the Jewish nation occupies in the great drama of the world's history. Those who read the 'History of Israel,' bearing in mind the stand-point from which Ewald regards it, will not derive the less benefit from the luminous rays which these volumes shed upon the obscure portions of the ancient records in which that history is preserved. They will, at the same time, be less likely to be beguiled by the prodigious learning and the marvellous penetration of the writer into the acceptance of those visionary theories with which these volumes abound—theories which are too commonly propounded by Ewald, not as hypotheses which the reader is at liberty to accept or to reject, but as facts which require no proof, or as axioms which admit of no question.

We must again pause at the threshold of our undertaking, in order to put our readers in possession of an outline of the views adopted by Ewald respecting the composition of the historical books of the Old Testament, and to supply them with a key to the interpretation of that peculiar nomenclature without which the productions of modern Rationalism generally, and the writings of Ewald in particular, are wholly unintelligible.

In treating of the chief sources of Jewish history, Ewald divides the historical books of the Old Testament into three classes. To the first of these, which comprises the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, he assigns the name of the *GREAT Book of Origins*.\* The second class of writings comprises the Book of Judges, the two Books of Samuel, the two Books of Kings, and the Book of Ruth. The third class includes the two Books of Chronicles, and the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. Our author proceeds, from this general division of the historical books of the Old Testament, to place before his readers some of the results of that research which has sufficed, in his judgment, to 'exhaust all the evidences

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\* Our readers must be on their guard against confounding this designation with that which Ewald applies to a smaller collection of writings, to which we shall shortly refer, viz., the *Book of Origins*.

' that the present documents offer,' and which has enabled him to assign, with a degree of probability amounting, as he maintains, almost to certainty, their respective chronological places to the five chief sources from which the early historical books of the Old Testament were derived. To these five sources Ewald assigns the following arbitrary designations:—(1) The Book of the Wars of the Lord; (2) The Biography of Moses; (3) The Book of Covenants; (4) The Book of the Upright; (5) The Book of Origins.

The general character and contents of these books may be described as follows:—

I. *The Book of the Wars of Jahveh\** is supposed to have contained, in addition to some ancient songs, a collection of the reminiscences of the victorious campaigns of Moses and of Joshua.

II. *The Biography of Moses*, as its name implies, contained the life of the great lawgiver, and is supposed to have been compiled within the first century after his death.

III. *The Book of Covenants* contained an account of the origin of ancient compacts. It is supposed to have been written during the second half of the period of the Judges, or, more definitely, at the beginning of the jurisdiction of Samson.

IV. *The Book of the Upright*, commonly known as the *Book of Jashar*, was composed with the view of showing, by historical songs, how an upright man in Israel, such as Joshua, or Jonathan, should live; what victories he could achieve, and what glory he could acquire. Its composition is assigned to the time of David or of Solomon.

V. *The Book of Origins* is a designation given by Ewald to a work which he supposes to have been compiled during the period of the early monarchy. Its title (which it has been

\* Professor Martineau has appended an elaborate note to the end of the second volume of this work in which he assigns his reasons for the adoption of the form *Jahveh* in preference to that of *Jehovah*, as the representation of the tetragrammaton. It is well known that the Jews abstain from the pronunciation of the sacred name, and substitute for it the word *Adonai* or *Elohim*, the punctuation of one or other of which words is employed in those copies of the Hebrew text in which the vowel points are inserted. The fact being indisputable that the punctuation of the four letters *Jhvh* is adopted from that of another word, the only question is what the true punctuation ought to be; and Professor Martineau argues from the etymology of the word itself, and from the analogy of other proper names, that the most correct form in which to represent it is, in all probability, *Jahveh*, the initial *J* being pronounced as *Y*, as in the word *Allelujah*.

reserved for our author to revive) is derived from the fact that when the writer begins a section with the explanation of the origin of an important family or tribe, or, indeed, of the commencement of the human race, it is said, *These are the Origins (or generations) of . . .*; or *This is the book of the Origins (or generations) of Man*. The author of this book is supposed to have been a Levite of the age of Solomon; and the work itself, which comprises a considerable portion of the first four books of the Pentateuch, together with the account of the rise of legal institutions under Joshua, and closes with the erection of the Temple of Solomon, is assumed to have been completed within 'the first third of Solomon's 'forty years' reign.'

The designation of the *Third Narrator of the Primitive History* \* is given by Ewald to a writer whom he imagines to have lived in the tenth or ninth century before the Christian era, 'while such prophets as Elijah and Joel were still active;' and to this writer, whom he places in the northern kingdom, he assigns some of the records of the Patriarchal times, much of the history of Joseph, and a portion of the history of Moses. Other portions of the Pentateuch are assigned to the *Fourth Narrator of the Primitive History*, a writer who is supposed to have lived about a century later than the *Third Narrator*, and 'as late as the age of the greater prophets.'

It is thus that we at length approach the work of the *Fifth Narrator*, to whom Ewald ascribes 'the first great collection 'and working up of all previous sources of the Primitive History;' in other words, the composition, or rather compilation, of the whole existing Pentateuch, together with the Book of Joshua, excepting only some later intercalations to which our author afterwards refers. Concerning the so-called *Deuteronomist* who is supposed to have lived about the latter half of the reign of King Manasseh, and to have written the Fifth Book of the Pentateuch in the land of Egypt, we shall have somewhat to say hereafter.

We have thus briefly endeavoured to place our readers in possession of such a key to the general scheme and nomenclature adopted by Ewald as will prepare them for the references

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\* The two earlier narrators are the writers of the *Book of Covenants* and of the *Book of Origins*. The authors of the *Book of the Wars of Jahveh*, and of the *Biography of Moses*, might be designated as the First and Second Narrators respectively; but inasmuch as it is impossible, in Ewald's estimation, that the authors of those works should have included in them 'the primitive histories, properly so called,' he prefers the designation 'Third Narrator' to that of 'Fifth Narrator.'

with which the 'History of Israel' abounds, to the *Book of Covenants*, to the *Book of Origins*, and to the *third, fourth, and fifth Narrators*, as the principal sources from which the materials of the historical Books of the Old Testament, in the form in which we now possess them, were derived.

It is almost superfluous to remind those who are at all familiar with Ewald's writings that he is not in the habit of adducing specific reasons in each instance why any particular passage is ascribed to one, rather than to another, of the imaginary writers to whom he assigns it. Inasmuch, however, as the acceptance of the theory respecting the composition of the Pentateuch which is propounded in the volumes before us, involves the rejection of the almost unanimous belief of the Jewish and the Christian Church, so far as that belief is capable of being traced, it is but reasonable that some other grounds should be sought for its acceptance than the authority even of one possessing the high claim to consideration which is justly conceded to the learning and the genius of Ewald. And here the inquiry naturally arises, whether there is any one consistent and well-defined theory respecting the origin of the Pentateuch which the negative critics, generally, have agreed to accept; and which they are prepared to advance as a substitute for the consentient creed of Judaism and of Christendom, down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Dismissing, then, from our minds, as much as may be, those prepossessions in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch arising out of the fact of the acceptance of that authorship by men, who spoke the Hebrew language, who belonged to the Hebrew race, and who were familiar not only with the geographical peculiarities of Egypt, of the wilderness, and of the Land of Canaan, but also with the stereotyped habits and customs of their inhabitants, we naturally inquire whether the results of the higher criticism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—so far as it has been in any degree constructive, as well as destructive—are found to be in such substantial agreement, as to afford a reasonable presumption in favour of the truth of its general conclusions.

Those of our readers who have had occasion to 'investigate' the characteristics of the pathway streaming with light from 'Eichhorn to Ewald,' will not need to be told that, so far from recognising any substantial agreement amongst the negative critics, we meet with the utmost possible amount of diversity in the conclusions at which they have arrived in regard to the age, the number, and the distinctive characteristics of style of the supposed authors of the Pentateuch. It is but fair however

to Ewald that we should notice the fact, that so far from attempting to establish any amount of coincidence between the results of his own investigations and those of his predecessors in the same field of inquiry, he claims for his theories the merit due to original discoveries. He was curious, as he informs his readers, to see whether Ilgen, 'the only scholar of older date who, after 'the physician Astruc and Eichhorn, carefully examined the 'Book of Genesis with reference to its sources, had discovered 'the true state of the case in this book at any rate.' The result of the investigation is recorded in the following words: 'But, alas! I found that, though he occasionally takes a step 'in the right direction, he always loses it again.' After referring to the equally unsatisfactory conclusions of other writers of the same school, Ewald continues, thus: 'The opinions of 'such as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, Kurtz, stand below 'and outside of all science.'

It is no part of our design to vindicate the reputation of the able and learned writers who are thus indiscriminately consigned by Ewald to oblivion.\* Our present object is simply to show that our author's theory as to the composition of the Pentateuch is, according to his own representation, a discovery, the credit of which is due altogether to himself. None who are acquainted with the light in which Ewald's speculations are regarded by those scholars, whether at home or abroad, who are capable of estimating their value, will need to be informed that, notwithstanding the marvellous learning and constructive ability which they display, they are for the most part held in little higher estimation than that in which Ewald holds the conclusions of those who went before him. But, whilst it is impossible to regard without suspicion the theories of critics whose single point of agreement is found in their rejection of that belief which is common to Jews and to Christians, we desire to weigh with the utmost amount of consideration the grounds upon which those theories have been formed, whenever we find them stated in such a manner that they can be tried by the ordinary standards of common sense, and of sound criticism.

Now it so happens that in regard to the age and authorship of the various books from which the Pentateuch is alleged to have been compiled, Ewald has afforded to his readers a sufficient insight into the grounds on which his conclusions are

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\* Such vindication is the less necessary inasmuch as, through the indefatigable enterprise of the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, the most valuable productions of these and of other German critics and theologians have already become generally accessible to English students.



based, to enable them to form an independent estimate of their value. Speaking generally, Ewald assigns to some one or more of the imaginary works above described, short passages in the Pentateuch, and in the Books of Joshua and of Judges, which 'according to all appearances,' must have already stood in some historical book or other before the date of the *Book of Origins*. We entirely agree with Ewald, that there are very many passages to be found in the Pentateuch to which it is but reasonable to assign an earlier date than that of the books in which they now occur; and, further, inasmuch as the *Book of Origins* is assigned by our author, as we have already seen, to the days of Solomon, it is almost superfluous to observe that no orthodox critics will dissent from Ewald's conclusion, that there are many historical passages to be found in the Pentateuch and in the Books of Joshua and of Judges to which a date earlier than that to which he refers the *Book of Origins*, not only may, but must be assigned. It is needless, so far as concerns our present purpose, to enter into any discussion respecting the probable date of the art of writing.\* The day has long gone by when scholars could be found to maintain that writing was the invention of an age later than that of Moses. Ewald freely admits that the use of writing was not only known in the days of Moses, but that it had then become familiar; that not only are the two stone tables ascribed, on sufficient grounds, to the time of Moses, but that it is difficult to suppose that the art of writing 'commenced with the hardest 'writing materials,' or that its use was restricted to a few words on one single occasion. The question for consideration then is limited to an inquiry into the nature of the grounds on which Ewald assigns a specific date, not only to the collection of writings known as the Pentateuch and the Books of Joshua and Judges, but also to the fragments or particular passages which he undertakes, in a somewhat arbitrary manner, to select, and to combine, as the productions of specific earlier authors.

Now the tests on which Ewald relies in his selection and combination of these separate passages of various dates, though partly of a philological and partly of a philosophical character—i.e. though partially consisting of peculiarities of words and forms, and partly derived from the supposed character and design of the writings themselves—are mainly dependent for their value upon the acceptance of certain canons of criticism which, though assumed throughout the whole of these volumes,

\* It is well known that the cursive hieratic character was in use in Egypt, not only in the Mosaic period, but some centuries previously.

appear to us not only incapable of proof, but altogether inconsistent with the unquestionable facts of history.

We have already expressed our entire concurrence with our author in the belief that many passages which are found in the historical books of Scripture—more particularly in the Book of Genesis—are derived from earlier sources. The peculiarities of the phraseology employed, and the subject-matter of the narrative itself, seem to us to point alike to this conclusion. If, as we believe, Moses wrote the Book of Genesis, he must have derived his knowledge of almost all which is contained in that Book, either from immediate revelation, or from accounts transmitted from earlier times, whether orally, or in written documents. Now, inasmuch as it is not in accordance with the ordinary course of the Divine administration to employ supernatural agency where natural agency will suffice, it is more probable *à priori* that Moses should have derived his information respecting such facts as the Deluge and the destruction of the cities of the plain from oral tradition, or from existing records, than that he should have derived it from immediate revelation. It is true, indeed, that we have no distinct information as to the existence of written documents in the Patriarchal times; but neither have we any evidence that such documents did not then exist. It must be remembered also (if we may assume the correctness of the numbers which we find in the Book of Genesis) that in the early ages generally, and more particularly in the period before the Flood, the protracted duration of human life required but few intervening links in the chain of evidence through which each particular fact had to be transmitted; whilst the retentiveness of the memory would naturally be proportionate to the exertions which were demanded of it, and to the amount of reliance which was reposed upon it. The existence, moreover, of artificial aids to the memory, such as have been found in the songs of all nations in primitive times, is clearly traced in the sacred writings of the Hebrews. The speech of Lamech to his wives, or, as Ewald designates it, 'The song of the sword,' affords a very early illustration of the truth of this statement; and we entirely agree with our author, not merely in assigning to this song a date unquestionably anterior to the time of Moses, but also in the opinion which he expresses that 'its apophthegmatical conciseness makes it' 'probable that it was long preserved in the memory merely.'

But, if we are still in ignorance as to the date at which written documents first came into use amongst the ancestors of the Jewish people, and further, if, as regards some of the earliest fragments which have been transmitted to us in the

Pentateuch, we are unable to determine with certainty whether they have, or have not, been preserved in their original form, it seems to us to follow as a necessary consequence that all attempts to classify these isolated passages, and to assign to them a specific date, either in their original form, or in that in which they are now found, must be involved in the utmost uncertainty.

It may, indeed, be alleged that this objection does not apply in its full force to Ewald's theories respecting the composition of many of the early historical passages which he finds dispersed over the Pentateuch, and Books of Joshua and Judges, and which he has undertaken to classify and combine, inasmuch as he assigns to the earliest of these collections a date much later than that at which written records are known to have been of common occurrence; and, consequently, that he has, or may think that he has, a known standard by which to ascertain their respective periods of composition. But whilst the 'free treatment,' and 'the thorough change of redaction,' to which the early portions of the history have, according to Ewald's views, been subjected, must of necessity involve in obscurity the whole question respecting its original form, we submit that the real ground on which Ewald assigns specific dates to the several collections of writings of which we have spoken, is wholly independent of all linguistic peculiarities whatsoever.

If, as it has been well observed, 'the historian is the prophet' 'with his eyes turned backwards,' it may be said with equal truth, that, in Ewald's judgment, the prophet is the historian with his eyes turned little, if at all, forwards. We do not consciously misrepresent the fundamental canons of Ewald's school of criticism, as set forth in the volumes before us, when we express our conviction that they involve the total elimination of the predictive element from the records of the Old Testament Scriptures. Wherever, then, Ewald has to deal with any passages in which the future course of events is anticipated in a manner which exceeds human prescience—in other words, in which the predictive element properly so called is introduced—he has no alternative but to assign their composition to such a period that they can be regarded either as unquestionable allusions to the historic past, or as sagacious anticipations of the nearly impending future.

We will refer, by way of illustration, to the manner in which Ewald deals with the date of composition of the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, and we select this example because—contrary to his ordinary custom—he has, in this instance, assigned

at some length the grounds on which his conclusions rest. In the first place, then, Ewald dogmatically asserts that 'it is as certain that Jacob's Blessing was composed in the period of 'the Judges,' as it is that the Song of Deborah belongs to the same date; and he then employs this very improbable conclusion, as an important aid to the determination of the date of composition of the *Book of Covenants*, from which he thinks, according to 'every sign,' that this blessing has been 'borrowed.' Now, before we examine the grounds upon which Ewald assigns the composition of Jacob's Blessing to the second half of the period of the Judges, we must first remind our readers that the words of Jacob are professedly, in the strictest sense of the words, a *prophecy* of the future destinies of the twelve tribes. 'And Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days (or, at the end of the days).' The words which follow correspond with this introduction. Independently of the antique character of the whole of this composition, the terms in which Jacob describes the destinies of the twelve tribes, so far from being based, as Ewald maintains, on an actual view of their existing circumstances in the days of the Judges, are, as we think we shall be able to show, the very reverse of those which a writer of that period would have employed. The passage which relates to Simeon and to Levi may be rendered thus :—

'Simeon and Levi are brethren :  
 Instruments of violence are their swords (or plans).  
 Come not thou, my soul, into their council;  
 Unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united;  
 For in their anger they slew men,  
 And in their self-will they houghed oxen.  
 Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce,  
 And their wrath, for it was cruel.  
 I will divide them in Jacob,  
 And will scatter them in Israel.'

We shall not discuss the questions whether Simeon and Levi were, or were not, associated in other deeds of violence, besides that which was done to the Shechemites, and whether allusion is, or is not made, in this place, to such acts. The historical truth of the representation here given of the personal character and disposition of Simeon and of Levi is not called in question; neither is it denied that the tribe of Levi was, subsequently to the death of Moses, distributed throughout the whole of the land, in the forty-eight cities which were allotted to the Levites, or that the tribe of Simeon was dispersed, first

throughout the southern frontier land originally allotted to Judah, and, at a later period, beyond the very limits of the land of promise (Josh. xix. 1-9; 1 Chron. iv. 39-43). Our objection to Ewald's theory respecting the date of the composition of Jacob's Blessing is this—that the circumstances attending the dispersion of these two tribes were so widely different, and their later history so entirely separate and distinct, that it is in the highest degree improbable that they should have been associated, as we find them, in that Blessing, had it been composed in the days of the Judges, and had the writer been describing the actual condition of these tribes from the stand-point of the poet, the historian, or the politician, instead of predicting their destinies with the pen of an inspired prophet. In the outrage committed at Shechem, which may well have risen up before the eyes of the aged patriarch, Simeon and Levi acted as 'brethren' in disposition, as well as 'brethren' by birth. On the plains of Shittim the bond of union was broken. As the result of the census taken after the plague which followed upon the sin of Israel in the matter of the Midianites—in which the part taken by the whole tribe of Simeon appears to be represented in the person of Zimri, a prince of one of their chief houses—we find that this tribe which, at the earlier census in the wilderness of Sinai, had been one of the most numerous, was reduced to about one-third of its former number, and that it had become the weakest of all the tribes of Israel. On the other hand, the prompt and decisive action taken by the Levites on the same occasion, whilst it finally severed the link between the two tribes, secured for the tribe of Levi the renewal of the blessing which had been previously pronounced upon it in the plains of Sinai, even the heritage of an everlasting priesthood.

It may be objected to the view which is here adopted, that if the dispersion of the Levites throughout the land, as the instructors of their brethren, was the event originally foretold by Jacob, it would not have been mentioned at all in connexion with the dispersion of Simeon, but would have been announced as a reward, rather than as a punishment. It may suffice, however, to reply to this objection, (1) that the historical books of the Old Testament afford sufficient evidence that the Levites must have been exposed to much privation during the unsettled periods of their country's history, by reason of their isolation and their exclusion from a direct share in the produce of the soil; and (2), that it would be easy to adduce analogous instances in which, upon repentance, threatened judgments have been converted into actual blessings. We may add, in corroboration of the views already expressed, that whilst in the

Blessing of Moses, which is supposed by Ewald to have been composed in imitation of that of Jacob, no mention is made of the tribe of Simeon\*—an omission which may reasonably be accounted for, if that tribe was chiefly concerned in the recent idolatrous worship of Baal-Peor—the tribe of Levi has a special pre-eminence assigned to it in the words, ‘They shall teach Jacob Thy judgments, and Israel Thy law.’

A similar difficulty attends the application of Ewald's theory respecting the date of the composition of Jacob's Blessing to that portion of it which relates to the pre-eminence of Judah. The tribe of Judah was the most numerous of all the tribes at the time of the Sinaitic census; and it maintained an honourable position during the marches in the wilderness, and in the subjugation, under Joshua, of the Land of Canaan. But, at the precise period to which Ewald assigns the composition of Jacob's Blessing, Judah's greatness had not only already begun to wane, but its territory had become the chief scene of the Philistine domination; and its future glory was, according to Ewald's views, unforeseen. The grounds on which Von Bohlen and others have assigned the composition of this Blessing to the time of David or of Solomon—whatever other anachronisms may be involved in their respective theories—are, as regards the possession of the sceptre by Judah at that time, perfectly intelligible. On Ewald's supposition, on the contrary, the blessing pronounced upon Judah is, as we maintain, utterly inexplicable. Hitherto the sceptre had been wielded in succession by Moses, a Levite, by Joshua, an Ephraimite, and at this time, according to Ewald, the fact that the sceptre had passed in the person of Samson into the tribe of Dan, affords ‘the clearest indication of the date of the composition.’ And yet at this very period in the history of Judah, when the past glory of the tribe was already extinct, and when its future greatness was as yet unknown, its pre-eminence *as the lawgiver* over all the other tribes is unequivocally proclaimed, and—whether it be interpreted as a description of the present, or as a prediction of the future—the equally strange annunciation concludes the blessing pronounced upon this tribe, ‘And to him shall the obedience of the nations be’ (v. 10).

We should far exceed our prescribed limits were we to subject to any further tests the soundness of Ewald's assertion

\* It is true that the word Simeon is inserted in the second half of the verse in the Codex Alexandrinus, so as to make that part of the verse refer to Simeon; but it is not found in the Hebrew text, in the Samaritan Pentateuch, in the Codex Vaticanus, or in the early versions.

that 'the whole Blessing of Jacob dates from the age of Sam-son.' He is himself constrained to admit that the portion which relates to Joseph belongs to a more remote period, and that it 'bears the stamp of extreme antiquity.' And yet it is upon the strength of an assumption thus devoid of the very semblance of probability, and fraught with difficulties which Ewald himself is thus compelled to acknowledge, that he first assigns to this period of Jewish history the composition of the *Book of Covenants* as a whole, because the Blessing of Jacob is *supposed* to have formed a part of it, and then, not content with taxing thus heavily the credulity of his readers, he proceeds to infer 'the plan and nature' of the work from 'the period of its origin.' 'I confess,' wrote the late Dean Milman, in reference to conjectures such as these, 'that I have 'not much sympathy for this, not making bricks without straw, 'but making bricks entirely of straw, and offering them as 'solid materials.'

Ewald's view of primitive Biblical history may be briefly explained as follows. He divides the primeval, or, as he regards it, the pre-historical, period into three stages, the first commencing with the Creation, the second with the renovation of the human race after the Flood, and the third with the entrance of Abraham into the Land of Canaan. When the age which succeeded the patriarchal, and which Ewald regards as the commencement of the historical age, properly so-called, is added to these, we are constrained, in his judgment, to recognise the same four ages of the world of which the old legends, both of the Greeks and of the Hindoos, speak, and also the existence of a primary tradition, from which Hebrews, Greeks, and Hindoos drew their materials in common. The origin of much of the primeval tradition which is preserved in the Book of Genesis concerning the first two ages is traced by Ewald to Eastern Asia. Its introduction into Palestine in the tenth century before the Christian era is regarded as one of the results of the more frequent intercourse with foreign countries which marked that period; and it is supposed to have become so completely leavened with the spirit of the Mosaic religion that it was deemed worthy of a place amongst its sacred archives. There is, however, another, and, in Ewald's opinion, a more simple and a more ancient portion of this tradition which is incorporated into the *Book of Origins*, the importation of which from foreign sources he considers to be in every respect improbable. He assigns the origin of those traditions, which are traced not only in Eastern Asia, but also in ancient Europe, to the obscure primeval period of some one unknown but early civilised nation

which was 'afterwards dissolved into the nations of that day, but 'left many wonderful relics as traces of its former existence.'

It will be evident from what has been stated that whilst Ewald freely concedes to the Hebrew records the merit of preserving the primitive tradition in its purest form, and of lending the most aid in the determination of 'its original shape,' he reduces the whole of those traditions which, in successive ages, have been traced in all nations, to one and the same level, and he deprives them of all claim to be recognised as possessing anything higher than a human origin.

In dealing with the first and second of the ages above mentioned, Ewald asserts the impossibility of preserving the memory of any individuals; and he regards the names recorded in the Book of Genesis as supplied in an entirely arbitrary manner out of the boundless stores of tradition. Inasmuch, however, 'as the very conception of a long past age, although allowing 'a certain necessary fulness, demanded limits and moderation 'in respect to numbers,' we find groups of round numbers, more particularly seven and ten, employed; and these, Ewald observes, are found perpetually to recur.

In illustration of this theory Ewald analyses the composition of the series of patriarchal genealogies before and after the Flood, each consisting of ten names, reaching respectively from Adam to Noah, and from Shem to Abraham.\* By dint of the application of some amount of pressure, he extracts from these names such meanings as enable him (1) to arrange them in groups, and (2) to treat some as merely dialectic varieties, brought side by side with each other, for the sake of making up the required number of ten; and he then arrives at the conclusion that in the original tradition many of these names must have had the significance of typical beings, Methuselah, e.g. being 'a sort of Mars,' Mahalal-el, 'the God of Light,' and Jared, 'the God of the Lowland, or the Water.'

Had we been dealing with an ordinary writer of the mythical school, we should have deemed it labour ill-bestowed to expose the transparent fallacy of an argument which bases upon such data the conclusion that these genealogies are unhistorical; in other words, that they are the mere inventions of

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\* We subjoin the two lists for the facility of reference. The first series is as follows:—(1) Adam; (2) Seth; (3) Enos; (4) Cainan; (5) Mahalal-el; (6) Jared; (7) Enoch; (8) Methuselah; (9) Lamech; (10) Noah. The second series is (1) Shem; (2) Arphaxad; (3) Cainan; (4) Salah; (5) Eber; (6) Peleg; (7) Reu; (8) Serug; (9) Nahor; (10) Terah.



the writers who record them, or the floating traditions of the times in which those writers lived. Such an inference, even when urged by a writer of Ewald's unquestionable learning and sagacity, can scarcely be deemed worthy of an elaborate refutation. For, in the first place, with reference to the number *ten*—a point on which Ewald lays great stress—it must be observed in regard to the second of the two series of names, that this number is attained only by the insertion of the name of Cainan, on authority which Ewald elsewhere rejects as altogether inadequate, viz., that of the Septuagint.\* Independently, however, of this objection, we demur to Ewald's conclusions on many grounds, of which it will suffice to assign the following: (1) It is quite possible that two series of genealogies may present certain points of resemblance, and yet that both of them should be historically true. (2) It is well known that some of the intervening links are omitted in other Scripture genealogies, which links are elsewhere supplied. (3) The reduction of the sum total of the links in any particular chain to a uniform number, by means of such omissions, is found in genealogies which belong to times undoubtedly historical, as well as in genealogies which belong to earlier, and in Ewald's opinion, unhistorical times; and (4) Hebrew names being in all cases significant, peculiarities similar to those which occur in the patriarchal genealogies may be found in those of a later date, and in regard to persons whose historical existence is universally admitted.

Indeed, as to the last of these points, we observe a remarkable amount of obliquity in Ewald's mode of reasoning. It is freely admitted that the first and third of the names which occur in the first series, viz. *Adam* and *Enos*, denote man. In regard, however, to the second and fourth of the names which occur in the same series, viz. *Seth* and *Cainan*, we demur *in toto* to Ewald's attempts to identify their signification; and it is nothing but the respect due to the name of so distinguished a scholar which induces us to notice arguments so

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\* Whilst maintaining the superiority of the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch over that of most of the other books in respect of fidelity, intelligibility and uniformity, Ewald is of opinion that very many of the readings, even where they agree with those of the Samaritan Pentateuch, are simply due to the arbitrary changes of ancient readers (v. 253, note). It is quite true that the insertion of the name of Cainan is found in St. Luke iii. 37, but critics are by no means agreed whether the words in question are, or are not, an interpolation in that place; and, in any case, Ewald's argument rests only upon the Old Testament genealogies.

feeble, and inferences so illogical, as those on which he makes this identity to rest. The grounds on which Ewald arrives at the conclusion that the name *Seth* or *Sheth* means *germ* or *scion*, and hence *young man*, are as follows: (1) He appeals to *its own meaning*, the very point which was to be proved, not to be assumed; but which, if rightly assumed, renders all further reasons superfluous: (2) He refers to the meaning of the 'cognate' word *shathal*, which means to *set* or *plant*, the organic root of which, however, is matter of dispute; and consequently the point assumed is again that which should be proved: (3) He adduces the 'happy play upon the word in Gen. iv. 25,' a passage in regard to which we think it would be difficult to find any other critic who does not consider that 'the happy 'play' is upon the Hebrew verb rendered 'appointed,' and not upon the noun, which is rendered 'seed.'

Nor is Ewald more successful in his attempt to extort the same signification out of the word *Cainan*. It is quite possible, indeed, that this name may be derived, as Ewald asserts, from the Hebrew verb *kun*; but, unfortunately for Ewald's purpose, this verb is never used in the sense which some lexicographers assign to it, viz. to *form* or *create*. If, moreover, it is open to us to appeal to another 'happy play' upon words, and one which occurs in the same chapter to which Ewald refers in the case of *Seth*, we think that as in the case of the cognate name *Cain*, the derivation of *Cainan* must be traced to the Hebrew verb *Kanah*, which means to *acquire* or to *possess*, and that the signification of both proper names is *acquisition* or *possession*.

But were we to admit the identity of signification of *Seth* and *Cainan*, as well as of *Adam* and *Enos*, we should still deny that any inference can be fairly drawn respecting the unhistorical character of the genealogies in which these names occur.

The range of proper names in those primitive times may reasonably be supposed to have been more restricted than at later periods. Special reasons may have existed, of which we are ignorant, why the names which occur in one series were assimilated to those which occur in the other. In any case, unless we are prepared to contend for the identity of Adonizedek and of Melchizedek; of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and of Phinehas, the son of Eli; of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and of Jehoram, his contemporary, the son of Ahab, king of Israel, we see no sufficient reason why we should arrive at the conclusion that Cainan, the fourth in descent from Adam, must of necessity be identified with Cain, his son; or, again, why Enoch, who was the third in

descent from Adam in the line of Cain, is to be identified with Enoch who was seventh from Adam in that of Seth.

But independently of the manifest failure of Ewald's specific attempts to establish the mythical character of primitive history, as contained in the Pentateuch, the difficulties involved in the general theory which he espouses appear to us to be insuperable. We can understand how, if the supernatural element be admitted, the real persons and incidents of patriarchal and of Jewish history may have sustained a typical or representative character. Thus, the destruction of the world by water, in the days of Noah, may have been a designed type of the destruction of the world by fire in the last day; and Melchizedek, as a priest, and Moses, as a prophet, may have been designed types of Christ as the great Priest and Prophet of His Church. Or again, if the patriarchs of old had no real existence, but are merely mythical creations, we can understand how, as in the case of the early traditions of Greece and of Rome—as expounded by Wolf, by Müller, and by Niebuhr—the destinies of vast communities may be described under the imaginary histories of petty tribes, and the results of the protracted conflicts of nations beneath the vail of the contentions of single individuals. But Ewald's theory of patriarchal history, if we rightly comprehend it, combines the difficulties which belong both to the typical, and also to the mythical interpretation. According to Ewald's view, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were real persons, but they were, at the same time, representative men. The recorded history of their lives must, therefore, be capable both of a literal, and also of a mythical, interpretation. Abraham was literally a wanderer in Canaan and in Egypt, but his wanderings—as Mr. Martineau expounds his author's views in the preface—must be regarded also 'as those of a large tribe.' Jacob and Esau were real persons, and had real personal differences, but their quarrels must be interpreted also as historical representations of 'great international struggles between the Hebrew and the Arabian tribes.' We readily admit the justice of Mr. Martineau's observation that when the records contained in the Book of Genesis are thus explained, we see history in 'a new light.' We think, however, that the majority of intelligent and unprejudiced readers will demur to the conclusion at which Ewald's learned editor has arrived, viz., that that light is the light of 'truth.'

It is but due to Mr. Martineau that we should observe that, in his commendation of Ewald's mythical interpretation of Patriarchal history, he suppresses all allusion to his author's

strenuous defence of the personal existence of the Patriarchs, and of the literal truth of some of the events connected with their history. It is obvious, then, that Mr. Martineau's alleged analogy between the theory of Ewald and that of Niebuhr and of Müller altogether fails. 'Dorus and Æolus,' he tells us, 'were not single men, but represent the whole nations 'of Dorians and Æolians;' but, according to Ewald, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were 'single men' as well as 'representative men,' and it is this combination which presents the insuperable difficulty in the reception of his theory to which we have referred.

It would be alike an ungracious and a superfluous task to enlarge further upon the demands which Ewald's theory respecting primitive Biblical history makes upon the ready and unquestioning acceptance of his readers. We agree with Mr. Martineau in admiring the originality of his conceptions, and also the critical skill which he has displayed in the combination and elaboration of his materials. We are painfully sensible, however, as we read this portion of his work, that it is the artist, not the historian, who excites our admiration; and we read it with emotions similar to those which we experience as we gaze on some marvellous production of a painter such as Martin—dazzled by the boldness of the design, but conscious that it is imagination, not history, from which the artist has drawn the materials of his picture.

There is much which will amply repay an attentive perusal in that portion of Ewald's work which describes the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, as a period of distinct preparation for their peculiar mission. The influence which the Egyptians exercised over the nations which were brought into contact with them is well described in the following passage:—

'Egypt, both through her wealth and treasures, and through her incomparably early and high culture, was in the earliest times for the less civilised nations surrounding her very much what in later times Athens and Rome were for the northern tribes; a magnet attracting or repelling, but from which all departed other than they came; a high school for all migrating races, whether conquering or conquered. Much, indeed, both of art and of practical experience she had to impart, mingled, however, even thus early with too much that was degraded and repulsive; and a simple primitive people when submitted to her strong and manifold influences necessarily received an impress varying in strength with its native force of character. Even after Egypt had for centuries lost both strength and independence, and become the prey of invader after invader, it still retained for the adjacent bands of Asia something of the magic charm which "the Thousand and "One Nights" so vividly describe. How mighty, then, must the in-

fluence of Egypt have been in her first flush of prosperity and culture, to us well-nigh inexplicable, but attested by those wondrous monuments, the accurate investigation of which has been reserved for our own days, and for the hands of such scholars as Rosellini, Wilkinson, and Lepsius.' (Vol. i. pp. 386-7.)

Those who possess any acquaintance with the early history of Egypt are well aware both of the important part which was acted by the Hyksôs, or nomad shepherd-tribes, and also of the great difficulty of determining the actual position in which the Israelites stood with regard to those tribes. Rejecting the opinion of Josephus, who identifies the Israelites with the Hyksôs—an opinion which Ewald thinks was adopted with a view to push back the date of the Exodus, and to establish the distinctness of the Israelites from the Egyptians—our author inclines to the opinion that the Hyksôs comprehended the whole of those various tribes which were united by a common Hebrew origin, and by a common movement southward.

Impelled, as he thinks, by internal dissensions, and by the first rise of the Assyrian or rather Aramæan power, the Hebrews, in conjunction with some of the aboriginal tribes of Palestine and of northern Arabia, immigrated into Egypt, and there founded the dynasty of the shepherd-kings. It was thus, according to Ewald, that Abraham, and afterwards Joseph, on their arrival in Egypt, found there a dynasty of apparently native kings, who had assumed the regal state of the old Pharaohs; and on this hypothesis it becomes less difficult to understand how it was that the Israelites, as a people, became firmly established in Egypt.

Another difficulty, equally great with that which is involved in the first establishment of the Israelites in Egypt, arises out of their continuance in the land after the expulsion of the Hyksôs, throughout nearly the whole of the powerful Egyptian dynasty, under which that expulsion took place. This difficulty is solved by Ewald in the following ingenious manner. At the commencement of the 430 years' sojourn in Egypt, which Ewald dates from the immigration of Joseph, not of Abraham, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, accompanied, probably, by that of Benjamin, settled in Egypt under the rule of the Hyksôs. In some manner, to us unknown, this smaller part of the Israelite nation became involved in serious contests with the kindred Hyksôs. Hence, on the expulsion of the latter, the Israelites at once took part with the conquerors. Joseph, having already conferred signal benefits upon Pharaoh and the country of Egypt, in the issue attracted thither the remaining and stronger portion of his own people.

And forasmuch as the Hyksôs, who had retired towards the East, still hovered on the frontiers, and were only awaiting a favourable opportunity for renewing their incursions, the Israelites were stationed as a frontier-guard in the land of Goshen, a district which was admirably adapted as a settlement for a pastoral people, and as the abode of an advanced guard on the side of the Arabian Desert. It was thus that the Israelites, having been from the earliest times a warlike nation, retained their military habits and predilections; and it was thus also that when they made their final exodus from Egypt, they issued forth as a nation 'well equipped for war.'

Our readers will judge for themselves whether this is, or is not, the only supposition upon which 'the whole course and 'close of the history of Israel in Egypt can be satisfactorily 'understood.' We have placed it before them, not only by reason of its direct connexion with the subject of Ewald's work, but also because it affords a fair specimen of the skill and ingenuity which distinguish so many of his peculiar theories, and at the same time of the manner in which he dovetails those portions of the Biblical narrative which he accepts, into the framework of 'a history,' a large portion of which has no other existence than in the mind of the writer.

In regard to the history of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, Ewald accepts, in the main, the accounts which he finds in the so-called *Book of Origins*. He considers that during a considerable portion of this period the Israelites were acquiring, by their intercourse with the Egyptians, many of those higher appliances and arts of life which they undoubtedly possessed at the time of the Exodus, and which they never afterwards wholly lost; and that it was not until the last century of their abode in Egypt that their severe oppression began.\* Whilst maintaining, and as it should seem on sufficient grounds, the opinion that the whole adjacent country derived its name from the city Raamses, Ewald considers that the Israelites took their departure from the city itself. Pursuing a north-eastern route, probably to the north of the Crocodile Lake, the people stood on the frontier of the land at

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\* The basis of this calculation is as follows. The city Raamses is mentioned in Ex. i. 2 as one of the cities which the Israelites built for Pharaoh. Now no king of that name is found until the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, and even then, according to Manetho, not until the fourteenth ruler of that house. Assuming, then, that the city was called after the name of the sovereign, and that this was one of the first cities built by the Israelites, the time of their oppression would fall within the century which preceded their deliverance.

the border of the desert which separates Egypt from Palestine. At this point Moses seems to have changed his course, and to have turned southwards in the direction of Pi-hahiroth, a small place on the west coast of the Red Sea, above Suez (Num. xxxiii. 7). Here—to adopt the words of Ewald—‘Israel was saved at the right moment, and the stormy rage of the Egyptians suddenly quenched in the swelling waves of the sea.’

It is by no means easy to infer from these words the views of Ewald as to the nature of that agency by which the deliverance of the Israelites was effected. He says, indeed, that it was the sublime and unchanging conviction of the very first age after Moses that it was ‘Jahveh alone, and the strength which comes from Him,’ which gave the victory; and the following description is given as ‘the nucleus of the oldest recollection preserved in the bosom of the congregation:’—

‘A violent wind from above drove back the waters so powerfully that they were pressed together in heaps, and held up as by a dyke; but while the vindictive Egyptians in wild eagerness rush in pursuit through the ford, which they deem secure, an opposite wind, like another mysterious breath of the angry God of heaven, suffices to make the waves flow again, to the destruction of the pursuers.’

We are still, however, left in uncertainty as to the real opinion of the writer respecting the nature of that agency which was thus called into operation, in effecting the passage of the Israelites ‘upon dry land’ through ‘the midst of the sea,’ and in causing the overthrow of the Egyptians by the return of the waters; and it is only by a comparison of a portion of the extract given above referring to a ‘ford,’ which the Egyptians ‘deemed secure,’ with a foot-note in which we find mention of a place where the gulf ‘can be easily crossed at low tide,’ that we are enabled to arrive even at a conjectural conclusion as to Ewald’s views on this subject.

The present is not the place in which to discuss, at length, the important question thus raised. We might not unreasonably demur to the theory of the ‘ford,’ on the ground that although such a ford as that to which Ewald alludes has existed in the neighbourhood of Suez in modern times, there is strong evidence that in earlier times the gulf extended considerably further to the north than it now does, and that the depth of water in the neighbourhood of Suez must have been much greater than it is at present. We have no need, however, to lay any stress upon this circumstance, perplexing as it is to those who adopt Ewald’s theory. We content ourselves with observing, that any theory invented with a view to explain

the incidents of the passage of the Red Sea, as recorded in the Book of Exodus, independently of miraculous agency, appears to us to involve difficulties greater than those which it is attempted to remove. It is, of course, conceivable that Moses, either as the result of blind chance, or with a skill which an Alexander might have envied, conducted his hosts to the banks of the Red Sea, just at that critical moment at which the ebbing tide might have been expected to allow time for the passage of the Israelites, but not for the pursuit of the Egyptians. It is further conceivable either that the Egyptians were ignorant of the fact of the periodical ebb and flow of the tide, or that they were so blinded by military ardour and by national animosity, that they knowingly incurred the risk of the destruction which overtook them. It is conceivable also that some natural causes, to us unknown, may have delayed the return of the tide throughout the whole of the night which the passage appears to have occupied; or that an extraordinary flood-tide, causing an unexpected inundation, may have set in at the opportune moment at which the Israelites had accomplished the passage, and whilst the Egyptians were in hot pursuit. Some, or all, of these suppositions are, when viewed separately, conceivable; but any theory which involves the casual coincidence of so many independent agencies is one which, in our judgment, taxes the credulity of its advocates more severely than the simple statement of the historian, that 'the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night,' and again, that 'the sea returned to his strength, when the morning appeared.' (Ex. xxxiii. 21, 27.)

And such, indeed, would appear to be the conclusion at which Ewald himself was constrained to arrive. For, after condemning, in terms the consistency of which with his own views it is not our province to vindicate, the 'unfortunate historical scepticism of modern times,' Ewald proceeds to contrast the scantiness and obscurity of late Egyptian legends with 'the full life of the times preserved in the Old Testament records;' and, as a striking illustration of the contrast thus exhibited, he not only refers, in express terms, to the Scriptural account of the passage of the Israelites 'through the middle of the sea,' but observes, in direct reference to that account, that here 'there is full life and transparent truth.'

Inasmuch as Ewald did not possess the advantage of the light which has been thrown upon the route of the Israelites by the Sinaitic Survey under Captains Wilson and Palmer, it is no just matter of surprise that he was insensible of the claims of the Ras-Sufsafeh to be regarded as the scene of the



giving of the law, and of the plain El Rahah, immediately to the north of that mountain, as the spot on which the hosts of Israel were assembled to receive it. We think, moreover, that the arbitrary principles of critical interpretation which were adopted by Ewald disqualified him, in great measure, for the calm and dispassionate examination of questions of this nature. The following quotation will serve to illustrate our meaning :—

‘The two names Sinai and Horeb are not interchanged as designating different points of the same mountain range, as has been assumed in modern times without any reason. But the name Sinai is clearly the earlier one . . . the use of the name Horeb cannot be proved before the age of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators.’ (Vol. ii. p. 39.)

Now, we admit with Ewald that the two names, Sinai and Horeb, are not to be regarded as designating different points of the same mountain range; but we altogether deny that they are to be regarded as the earlier and the later designations of the same mountain. On the contrary, it appears to us tolerably clear that Sinai denotes the particular mountain from which the law was delivered, and that Horeb denotes the mountainous range of which Sinai formed a part. Thus, e.g. whilst we read of Sinai being ‘on smoke,’ and of the two tables being given to Moses on Mount Sinai, we find the rock at Rephidim, which was a considerable distance from Sinai (Num. xxxiii. 14–16), described as being ‘in Horeb’ (Ex. xvii. 6); and again, the place where the people were assembled to hear the law, and in which the golden calf was made—which was not Mount Sinai itself, but a plain at the foot of the mountain—is described as being ‘in Horeb.’ (Deut. iv. 10, 11.) And once more, when Moses is described in Exodus iii. 1, as ‘coming to the mountain ‘of God, *even* to Horeb,’ where the word *even*, as the italics show, is not found in the Hebrew, the literal translation is Horebwards, or as it is explained by Canon Cook, in his commentary on the place, ‘Moses, being on his way towards Horeb,’ came to the mountain, i.e. to Sinai.\* It does not appear whether Ewald first satisfied himself, on independent grounds, respecting the identity of Sinai and Horeb, and then drew conclusions as to the respective dates of the passages in which the one or the other of these two names is found; or whether, conversely, he first assumed the chronological order of the writings, and then inferred the identity of the spot described under the two designations. In either case, if the conclusions above stated be correct, Ewald’s assertion that Sinai is the earlier, and

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\* Dean Stanley seems to have arrived at the same conclusion, though on somewhat different grounds. ‘Sinai and Palestine,’ p. 41.

Horeb the later name of the same mountain, coupled with the further assertion, that the latter name 'does not occur before 'the age of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators,' may be fairly adduced in proof of the caution with which his conclusions must be received, and of the still greater caution with which his canons of criticism must be applied.

Whether the Exodus was effected during the reign of Thothmosis II., or during that of one of his immediate successors, it is reasonably inferred, both from the historical records of the general prosperity of the kingdom at those periods, and also from its exemption—as far as can be ascertained from Egyptian sources—from any reverse in war, that the departure of the Israelites could not have been accomplished under ordinary conditions. Accordingly, Ewald, in common with most critics whose judgment is entitled to consideration, is of opinion that signs and wonders, such as those recorded in the Book of Exodus, must have preceded the deliverance from Egypt; and inasmuch as the *Book of Origins*—that favourite conception of Ewald—contains only one of the Egyptian plagues, he infers that, in its original form, it must have included the account of other similar 'signs and judgments from Jahve.' It is not unworthy of observation, moreover, that Ewald, whilst ascribing the details of the plagues to the pens of different narrators, expresses his opinion not only that the round number *ten* is here selected with *deliberate art*, and that the plagues are 'arranged in an appropriate advance in severity; but 'further, that the whole constitutes a very Egyptian picture, 'indeed more so than the separate details.' With his ordinary acuteness of observation, Ewald does not overlook either of the two facts connected with this subject to which Dr. W. Smith and Canon Cook have directed the special attention of Biblical students, viz. (1) that the Egyptian plagues are nearly allied to analogous Egyptian phenomena; and (2) that they are directly aimed at some Egyptian superstition. So far, however, are these facts from tending to weaken the evidence of Divine interposition, that they seem rather to have produced upon the mind of Ewald the same effect which the miracles themselves produced upon the minds of Pharaoh's magicians, 'This is the finger of 'God.' 'The Egyptians,' he writes, 'are beaten by the true God, 'in and through their own faith.' We have no desire to indulge in controversies of pure logomachy. Ewald has expressed, in these words, the essential truth, viz. that the plagues of Egypt were inflicted not by chance, nor in the ordinary course of nature, but by direct Divine intervention.

In regard to the main features of the Levitical legislation, as

it is contained in the Books of Exodus and Leviticus, Ewald is a strenuous advocate in behalf of their Mosaic origin. Whilst he is of opinion that some of the laws contained in these books must have had an earlier existence, and that others—particularly those relating to minor details—were added at a later period, he contends that ‘those essential truths and social arrangements which constitute the motive power of the whole history must certainly have been promulgated, and firmly ordained in the hallowed ground of the encampment at Sinai.’ This admission not only constitutes an insuperable barrier between the views of Ewald and those of a considerable number of modern rationalists, both in England and on the Continent, who relegate the substance of the Levitical legislation to the later times of the Monarchy, but amounts, in our judgment, to a virtual surrender of one of the chief strongholds of the negative school of criticism. If, according to Ewald’s admission, we are justified in assuming, (1) that the substance of the Levitical legislation had its origin at Sinai; and (2) that the art of writing was familiar to the Israelites at that time, it is surely more probable—regarding Moses only in the light of a Solon or of a Lycurgus—that the laws which he promulgated should have been committed to writing, than that they should merely have been rehearsed in the ears of the people, and their provisions and their penalties exposed to the risk of change or oblivion. Whether Moses himself acted as scribe as well as legislator—whether each series of enactments was committed to writing immediately upon its promulgation, and in the precise order and connexion in which it is now found—whether any additions or explanations may have been designedly added at a subsequent period, or may have crept into the text as the result of the carelessness or the caprice of transcribers—all these are points which may fairly be discussed and decided on their own merits, but which are altogether irrelevant to the main issue of the controversy. As regards that main issue we claim Ewald as an independent witness, and as one whose prejudices and prepossessions were not likely to err on the side of orthodoxy. On the other hand, the theory which has been broached in modern times, according to which the Levitical legislation was first propounded in a distinct form in the later days of the Monarchy, is one which rests upon such conflicting evidence, and which is maintained by such directly antagonistic arguments, that little more is required on the part of its opponents than a reference to the signal discomfitures which it has sustained at the hands of its friends.

Widely diversified, however, as are the views of those nega-

tive critics who have maintained the late date of the Levitical legislation, whether in part or in whole, as it has been transmitted to us in the Books of Exodus and Leviticus, there is one conclusion in which it must be allowed that there is a general *consensus* amongst them, and that is in regard to the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy during the later period of the kingdom of Judah. Ewald's theory on this subject may be briefly described in his own words as follows:—

'At a time at which the prophetic power had been broken, and no generally recognised prophet was exercising a salutary influence in the kingdom, the spirit of the great prophet, from whose work the book which is fitly named *Deuteronomy* has been adopted into our present collection of the books of the primitive history, sheltered itself in all sincerity in the recognised sacredness and unattainable greatness of the founder of the community.' (Vol. iv. p. 221.)

Having presented to our readers this, which has been justly described by the late Dean Milman as 'the most extraordinary' of all Ewald's theories, in his own words, we desire to offer a few remarks upon it. Divesting Ewald's representation of his theory of the mist which shrouds, to a certain extent, its extreme improbability, it may be thus described. At a period of Jewish history when everything around was very dark, and when the prophetic order was well-nigh extinct, some unknown Israelite, in the land of Egypt, conceived the daring design of forging a book, under the name of Moses, in which, not only the existing provisions of the Levitical law were reimposed, but additional laws were added, having a direct bearing upon all classes of the community, from the king upon his throne to the meanest of his subjects. The improbability of the success of such an imposture will appear in a clearer light if we consider the nature of a few only of the enactments contained in the forged production.

(1) At a time when the monarchy had been hereditary in the house of David for upwards of three centuries, this unknown legislator prescribes laws for the observance of the nation in the original appointment of a king (xvii. 15).

(2) At a time when polygamy had been long sanctioned by the example of the best of the kings of Judah, and when horses and chariots had been long employed for military purposes, a law is enacted prohibitory of both these customs (xvii. 16, 17).

(3) Whereas, before the Exile, the observance of the Sabbath year had fallen into a long protracted desuetude, a law is framed during the continuance of that desuetude, enjoining

that the book of the law should be solemnly rehearsed in the ears of the people at that particular time (xxx. 10, 11), and that a general remission of debts should take effect in that year (xv. 1-11).

It would be easy to multiply evidence of a similar character derived from the contents of the Book of Deuteronomy itself, but we think that that which has been already adduced will suffice.\*

We must now briefly allude to Ewald's explanation of the account of Hilkiah's discovery of the Book of the Law as it is contained in 2 Kings xxii. and in 2 Chron. xxxiv. The evidence that the book which Hilkiah discovered in the Temple either was the Book of Deuteronomy, or contained that Book, together with others, is too overwhelming to admit of controversy. The existence, then, of this Book in the days of King Josiah being admitted, the questions arise (1) how long previously it had been composed? and (2) how it came into the hands of Hilkiah at this particular time? The theory of Bishop Colenso that its author was the prophet Jeremiah, acting under the influence of a supposed Divine inspiration, which would exclude all considerations as to morality or immorality, appears to us so manifestly improbable as to be altogether unworthy of notice. The theory of Ewald, whilst it removes the 'unjust' charge (as he describes it) of imposture from Jeremiah and Hilkiah, and attaches it to the memory of some unknown writer who died before his forgery was palmed off upon his countrymen in Judæa, is exposed to other objections, which appear to us as strong as those which attach to the theory of Bishop Colenso. Lest, however, we should unconsciously misrepresent our author, we will give his explanation of the origin of the work in his own words:—

'If it had been written in Egypt thirty or forty years before, so that

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\* We cannot refrain from expressing our surprise that any Biblical student—we may say anyone possessed of ordinary intelligence and education—should conceive it possible that the blessing pronounced upon Joseph, as contained in Deut. xxxiii. 13-17, more particularly the allusion to the 'ten thousands of Ephraim,' and the 'thousands of Manasseh,' should have been composed, as Ewald would have us believe, some centuries after the captivity of the Ten Tribes, and 'during the last gleam of happiness which once more shone upon Judah, after the national reformation under Josiah' (see i. p. 128). Our readers will form their own opinion upon the application of the words which we find in a foot-note to the very page in which this extraordinary anachronism is maintained: 'It is unnecessary here to speak farther of the views held upon Deuteronomy in this day by those who ignore history.'

the author might have been dead some time already, and it had only been slowly circulated, and had reached Palestine by a sort of chance, a copy of it might have been brought by some priest into the Temple, and there discovered by the high priest.' (Vol. iv. p. 235.)

Our readers will not fail to notice the numerous conjectures to which Ewald is constrained to have recourse in support of this remarkable theory. We have already seen that the supposition of the recent date of the Book of Deuteronomy is attended by no inconsiderable difficulties. But these are not all. The writer, Ewald suggests, '*might*' have been some time dead. The book, he proceeds to argue, '*may* have circulated 'somewhat slowly, and it *may* have reached Palestine *by a sort of chance*' (*wie zufällig*). It is somewhat singular that the writer of a book so remarkable in its character, and one which was obviously designed to bring about such important reforms, should have adopted no effectual means to circulate it, either during his lifetime or after his death; and that he himself should have remained unknown. But there are other objections to Ewald's theory which are yet to be considered. This book of unknown date and of unknown authorship, which, so far as the writer was concerned, might have perished with him, is supposed by a 'sort of chance' to be imported into Palestine, and by a second chance (for the *zufällig* is repeated in the original) of a yet more improbable nature, it finds its way into the Temple, and by a third 'chance,' as we presume, is there discovered by the high priest. Now it is upon the second only of these 'chances,' which the translator—whether accidentally or designedly we will not venture to surmise—has omitted, that we propose briefly to animadvert. It so happens—we presume by another of those chances which attended the entire history of this book—that the direction to place the Book of the Law in, or by the Ark, occurs only in Deuteronomy xxxi. 26. Either the priest who 'by chance' brought the book into the Temple was aware of this direction, or he was ignorant of it. If, in Ewald's opinion, the priest was aware of the fact that the side of the Ark was the appointed place in which the book of the law was to be deposited, then what becomes of his supposition that it was by 'a sort of chance' that the book was brought into the Temple? If, on the contrary, it was Ewald's belief that the priest had not read the book with which he was entrusted, then the supposition that, as the result of blind chance, he chose that place in which to deposit it which Moses, in the volume which was in his hands, is alleged to have appointed for that purpose, appears to us to exceed the limits even of that easy credulity

which the critics of the negative school are wont to pre-suppose on the part of their readers. It is true, indeed, as we have already intimated, that Ewald protests against the theory that Hilkiash himself composed the Book of Deuteronomy, or concealed the authorship, as one which 'wantonly clouds the 'memory of this event.' It appears to us that the only difference between the theory which he adopts and that against which he protests, is that, instead of ascribing the forgery to one person, Ewald ascribes it to many. We feel ourselves justified, then, in applying to his own explanation of the origin of the Book of Deuteronomy the remark which he has made upon that of those who assign its composition to Hilkiash, viz., that 'the want of historical conscientiousness 'cannot be more painfully displayed than in suppositions 'like this, which are in every respect without foundation and 'moreover highly unjust.'

If further proof of the unsoundness of Ewald's theory as to the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy be needed, it will be found in the data which he has himself supplied. Forgeries of this description date only from a late epoch in the literature of any nation of antiquity; and, according to Ewald, the *first* example of any work composed in the name of some great prophet of an earlier period is afforded in the publication of the prophecies of Jeremiah by some unnamed writer, at a time when Cyrus was laying siege to Babylon. Now, on his own showing, the Book of Deuteronomy was composed about one hundred and thirty years previously to this event; in other words, upwards of a century before any instance whatever had occurred in Hebrew literature of the assumption of the name of any prophet of an earlier date, one of the most copious and most important of all the sacred books of the Hebrews had been put forth under the assumed name of the greatest of all their prophets.

In dealing with that portion of the history of the Theocracy which followed the times of Moses, Ewald frankly admits that 'our authorities are virtually limited to the Biblical records,' and further, that 'the narratives which are found in the Book 'of Joshua, or (according to the later orthography) Jeshua, are 'entitled to rank very high for perspicuity and historical anti-'quity.' Moreover, he traces in these narratives the principles of the Mosaic legislation, exhibited in real life, insomuch, indeed—to adopt his own words—that 'we seem to be still 'listening to the self-same voice, expounding and illustrating 'by captivating narrative the duties and rights of the commu-'nity.' It is, however, almost superfluous to add that Ewald

rejects the miraculous portions of the history of Joshua as the elaborations of a later age. We may refer, by way of illustration, to his account of the passage of the Jordan. The historical character of the account of that passage, as it is contained in the Book of Joshua, is not denied. It is admitted by Ewald that the passage was effected at a spot near Gilgal, according to the narrative of chapters ii. and iii.; that it took place at the time of corn harvest, i.e. in the first month of the year, when the river is swollen by reason of the melting snows of Lebanon, and overflows all its banks; whilst the erection of the memorial stones at Gilgal, 'perhaps surrounding 'an altar,' as a living remembrance of the successful passage, is regarded by Ewald as a fact which 'admits of no question.' And yet the miraculous dividing of the waters, which alone could make a passage through the river, under such circumstances, practicable for so vast a multitude of men, women, and children, with their baggage and their cattle, is rejected on no other grounds which we can discover than the unsupported assertion that the crossing of the Jordan at the same season of the year by a band of David's warriors (1 Chron. xii. 15) is 'also reported as a miracle,' and the strange suggestion that the twelve stones said to have been set up in the Jordan itself, may 'guide us to the idea of a dam, and thence perhaps, in 'accordance with an ancient phrase, of a bridge over the 'river.'

The first of the three great periods of Jewish history having terminated, as in the case of those which succeeded it, with the violent destruction of the existing form of the National Sanctuary, Samuel, whom Ewald compares in this respect with Luther, stood forth as the spiritual hero of the momentous crisis; first developing the latent powers and resources of the existing institutions, and then, when thoroughly convinced of the necessity of change, becoming the earnest and efficient organiser of the new age. In the rise, the development, and the decay of the Jewish monarchy Ewald finds a theme which is well calculated to excite the brilliancy of his inventive imagination, to afford scope for the exercise of his political sagacity, to exhibit the extensive range of his scholarship, and to give proof of the minuteness as well as the comprehensiveness of his observation. When regarded solely in its political aspect, Ewald justly insists upon the indispensable necessity of a change in the external administration of the government, with a view to the continuous existence and prosperity of the nation. On the other hand, it might reasonably be feared that the institution of a permanent human sovereignty, even if it



should not prove altogether incompatible with the continuance of the Divine theocracy, would yet be fraught with imminent peril to that form of government which had hitherto been the greatest and the most characteristic of Israel's distinctions. It is easily conceivable that the people, whilst concurring in the desire for the establishment of a monarchy, may have been influenced in that desire by a variety of motives. Hence it is that we are unable to discover, with Ewald, any inconsistency between those statements in the Scriptural narrative which ascribe this desire to the want of a leader in battle, and those which ascribe it to the want of a judge who should occupy the position of Samuel. Both of these motives may have operated in the minds of the same, as well as of different individuals; and they are, in our judgment, perfectly consistent, both with each other, and also with a third statement, in which the eagerness of the people for the appointment of a king is ascribed to their desire to assimilate their own form of government to that of the nations by which they were surrounded.

We reject, as equally without foundation, Ewald's theory respecting the inconsistencies which he thinks that he detects in different parts of the narrative, in regard to the views adopted and the course pursued by Samuel on this occasion. Samuel was well aware that the demand for a king was a virtual rejection of the theocracy on the part of the Israelites. At the same time he was equally aware that it was God's design that their request should be granted, and that he was acting in accordance with the Divine will in carrying that design into effect. Under these circumstances the reluctance expressed by Samuel at the first to comply with the demand of the people is perfectly natural and intelligible; whilst we look in vain for any justification of Ewald's assertion that the monarchy is, in any part of the narrative, represented in the light of an unmixed good.

In his brief sketch of the personal history and of the reign of Saul, Ewald displays much of his characteristic insight into the mind of man; and he appears to us to have formed, upon the whole, a just and impartial estimate, alike of the strength and of the weakness of Saul's character. We think, however, that in ascribing to the short duration of Saul's reign that transfer of the sovereignty to David which followed so shortly after the death of the first king, Ewald has not only overlooked the real cause of that transfer, which is expressly ascribed to the sin of Saul, but has substituted for it one which rests upon no secure foundation. On the contrary, we think that the age of Jonathan at the time of the transactions recorded in 1 Sam. xiii., and also that of Ishbosheth, at the time of his

accession to the throne, viz. forty years, taken in conjunction with the description of Saul as a *bahur* (1 Sam. ix. 2), i.e. a young, and, in all probability, unmarried man, at the time when he was anointed by Samuel,\* afford strong confirmation of the historical accuracy of the statement which occurs in Acts xiii. 21, as understood, not of the duration of Saul's dynasty, but of his personal reign: 'And God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years' (xiii. 21). In any case, the short reign of Ishbosheth would not materially diminish the number of years which the whole of the narrative contained in the First Book of Samuel leads us to assign to the reign of Saul.

Ewald's masterly sketch of the personal history and reign of David demands, and will amply repay, the careful examination of the reader of these volumes. The influence of the times in which David lived upon the formation of his own character, and the equally powerful influence exercised by David, not only upon his own age, but also upon the religious and political history of the people, are delineated by Ewald with admirable skill and with striking effect.

In the person of David the great requisites, both natural and acquired, of the ideal king were signally combined. In addition to those physical qualifications, which, as in the case of Saul, were of great importance in troublous times, such as were the early years of the monarchy, David possessed, in a remarkable degree, the higher qualities of undaunted courage, of unwearied energy, and of prudent circumspection, combined with a marvellous power of personal fascination, and an inborn aptitude for the government of a large and powerful nation. In conjunction with these natural endowments there was found in David an inexhaustible faith and firmness of confidence in God, insomuch, indeed, that in the judgment of one who, to adopt Dean Stanley's words, was not a too-indulgent critic of Biblical history, 'David's life and character, as transmitted to us in his Psalms, are the truest emblem ever given us of a man's moral progress and warfare here below.'† Whilst by no means insensible to the defects in David's character, and more especially to that want of entire truthfulness in which

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\* The word *bahur* is commonly found in conjunction with another word, *bethulah*, which is rightly rendered *virgin*. There appears, as far as we have been able to ascertain the use of the word, no proof that the word *bahur* is ever applied in the Old Testament to a married man.

† Carlyle's 'Heroes, and Hero-worship,' p. 72.

many of the darkest blots upon his memory may be traced, Ewald is disposed to regard these blots rather in the light of national than of individual delinquencies; and he expresses in the following graphic terms his conviction that 'the general spiritual devotion of the age found its natural leader in the person of David.'

'Raised by it, he raised and glorified it in return, and, standing at the crowning point of the history of the nation, he concentrates in himself all its brilliance, and becomes the one man of greatest renown in the whole course of its existence. Indeed everything appears singularly perfect at this point; and it is an essential feature of the glory of the age, and its leader, that while other founders of fresh dynasties, who rise from the bosom of the people to royalty, usually make their entry in the midst of conspiracy, treachery, and ambitious strife, David, on the other hand, rises to power simply by his own loftiness of character, and almost against his will, though in obedience to a higher necessity, and, far from destroying or banishing the surviving members of the earlier dynasty, makes special provision for their maintenance.' (Vol. iii. p. 63.)

A just estimate, as it appears to us, is formed by Ewald of the baneful results, both personal and national, of David's great and aggravated transgression. This sudden and disastrous eclipse of his greatness is ascribed by Ewald to a custom of immemorial antiquity in Eastern countries, viz., that monarchs, in proportion to the development of their resources, should multiply their wives, and provide separate establishments for their maintenance. It is a striking illustration of the pernicious influence of the indulgence of sensual passions, that one who not only seemed to be, but who undoubtedly was, raised far above the level of his own age and country, should have been so suddenly and so completely cast down from his high pre-eminence, and betrayed into the adoption of a foul stratagem, which had its foundation in deceit, its development in corruption, and its consummation in bloodshed. In graphic language Ewald describes the results of Nathan's rebuke, as manifested first in the recovery of the king from the dull torpor into which he had fallen, then in the awakening within his breast of the pangs of remorse, and, lastly, in the open acknowledgment of his fault before God and before man, in the depths of self-abasement and in words of deep and genuine contrition.

The results of David's sin long outlived the occasion. The bright sunshine of his house and of his kingdom was obscured, and a dark shadow diffused itself over the whole of the remaining portion of his history. The fulfilment of Nathan's prophecy in the unnatural rebellion of Absalom is described by

Ewald at considerable length and with his characteristic ability. In the defection of Amasa, one of David's near relatives, and in that of Ahithophel, his tried and trusted counsellor, both of whom belonged to the tribe of Judah, Ewald traces manifest indications of discontent amongst those with whom David was most closely connected, and who had been the first to acknowledge him as their king. As to the immediate motive which prompted Ahithophel, 'whose importance and 'whose crafty nature,' Ewald observes, 'made him the soul of 'the whole enterprise,' our author is unable to form any other conjecture than that it was 'an ambition to play a new and 'higher part.' This conjecture appears to us to account but very inadequately for the desertion of Ahithophel, and we think that had Ewald exercised in this instance some of that remarkable insight which he elsewhere displays in penetrating the secret springs of human actions, he might have discovered a sufficient motive for the course adopted by Ahithophel in the relation in which he appears to have stood to Uriah and to Bathsheba. This omission is the more remarkable, inasmuch as in a foot-note to his account of Ahithophel's defection from David, Ewald refers to the fact that Ahithophel had a son amongst the mighty men of David's army, viz. Eliam. Had he pursued the family history a little further he would have observed that in the first place in which the name of Bathsheba occurs we are told that she is the daughter of Eliam (2 Sam. xi. 3).

'I feel,' writes the late Professor J. J. Blunt, 'that I now have the key to the conduct of this leading conspirator . . . for I now perceive that when David murdered Uriah, he murdered Ahithophel's *grandson* by marriage, and when he corrupted Bathsheba, he corrupted his *grand-daughter* by blood.' \*

Whilst attaching but small importance to the results of the decyphering of the Assyrian inscriptions, so far as those results had been ascertained at the time when the 'History of 'Israel' was in process of composition, Ewald expressed a conviction, which the event has fully justified, that should the relations of Israel to other nations in the Assyro-Chaldean times be hereafter more clearly defined, 'the great historical truths 'which constitute the most powerful and beautiful portion of 'the national history of Israel would not suffer, even in the 'smallest degree.' It will suffice, in justification of this prediction, to refer to the light which has recently been thrown upon a very interesting period of Jewish history by the decy-

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\* Hulsean Lectures for the year 1831, p. 81. 1832.

pherment of those inscriptions which relate to King Sargon, and to the establishment of the facts that an important place in Assyrian history must now be assigned to a person whose name was altogether wanting in those lists of Assyrian kings which had previously come to light, and of whose very existence, for the period of two or three thousand years, Isaiah was the only witness.

We would fain have made more than passing allusion to Ewald's graphic description of the growth of the Messianic hope in the days of Isaiah, and to the virtual recognition which he is constrained to admit of the existence, at this period, of a prophetic element in the Old Testament Scriptures. This element is undoubtedly exhibited in its most striking form in the writings of Isaiah, the greatest and the most original of his order, and more especially in those portions of his writings which Ewald (who, in common with the whole school of negative critics, disputes their genuineness) ascribes, as a collected whole, to a writer resident in Egypt towards the close of the Exile,\* whom he designates as 'the great *Unnamed*, or the great *Unknown*.'

It would be manifestly out of place to enter here upon a controversy which involves a careful examination of the subject-matter, the local allusions, the style, and diction, not only of the whole of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah, but also of many earlier passages which modern criticism has been constrained to ascribe either to the same 'Great Unnamed,' or, with Ewald, to some other unknown authors of about the same period. Suffice it to say, as regards the leaders of this school, that the theory of a Babylonian Isaiah which was once so earnestly insisted on, is now dead; and that until some more feasible theory is invented than that which regards a collection of prophecies, the most original, the most sublime, and the most distinctly stamped by peculiarities of style and of expression, as the productions of some 'unknown' writer, or writers, who imitated, and who borrowed from, his or their predecessors, we may be content to abide by the belief alike of the Christian and of the Jewish Church, that it was the veritable Isaiah of the days of King Hezekiah from whose pen the later as well as the earlier prophecies which bear his name proceeded.

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\* It is not for us to reconcile this theory with the allusion made, according to Ewald, by the 'great Unknown,' in Is. lxvi. 1, to the 'too glowing ardour' of the returned exiles, under Zerubbabel, to push forward the rebuilding of the Temple (v. 99).

There is much in Ewald's account of the period which intervened between the destruction of the Monarchy and the return from the Exile—a period which he designates as that of 'the transformation into the Hagiocracy'—which is well deserving the attention of Biblical students. 'The ruinous errors and perversities of earlier centuries,' he writes, 'were over now; and all the storm was past of that wild passion into which even the essentially noble efforts of Israel had so often degenerated in the time of the nation's independent life.' The history of the Hagiocracy, i.e. the Sovereignty of the Holy, after the restoration of the people to their ancient fatherland, is, in our judgment, one of the most interesting portions of Ewald's elaborate work. Whilst freely admitting that it was in correspondence with the succession of the three powerful supremacies of the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans that this portion of the history of Israel falls into its three broad sections, Ewald maintains that the most potent influence which guided the course of events was the one fundamental conception of the 'Messianic hope of Israel.' So far as this conception is regarded as exercising its designed and legitimate influence upon the inner life of the community of Israel at large, or upon that of its individual members, we think that Ewald's account of the internal dissensions which characterised this period of history, and of the 'weak faith,' and 'groundless doubt,' which a Hagiocracy 'inevitably fosters,' will serve very materially to qualify the foregoing assertion. On the other hand, when the history of the Hagiocracy, in common with the whole of that of the preceding periods of Jewish history, is regarded in reference to the accomplishment of the divine purposes in the 'fulness of the times,' we entirely acquiesce in the justice of Ewald's remark that, little as we might suspect it from a superficial glance, this fundamental conception was 'most profoundly and irrevocably' determining the course of the Hagiocracy, for a period of nearly six centuries up to the time of Christ. Whilst earnestly contending, however, for the principle that the whole antecedent period of Jewish history will be read in its true light only when it is regarded as a preparation for the promulgation of the Gospel, we are compelled to express our conviction that Ewald's view of the Hagiocracy is but an unsatisfactory attempt to frame a theory respecting the rise of Christianity which neither Jew nor Christian will be able to accept.

The numerous allusions which are found in the later prophets to the restoration of Israel as well as of Judah create a very perceptible difficulty to those who, with Ewald, not only reject the predictive element of prophecy, properly

so called, but who also, with him, regard the history of the ancient people of God as 'a concluded portion of human events.' We freely allow the probability of the supposition that many descendants of the Ten Tribes, as well as a large number of the Tribe of Judah, availed themselves of the permission granted by Cyrus, and 'gradually, and with no great display,' returned to the ancient fatherland. At the same time, Ewald is constrained to admit that no such restoration as that which was enjoyed by the kingdom of Judah ever fell to the lot of the sister kingdom; which had once been so much greater, and that the name of 'Judeans' is the only one which, after the restoration, maintained a place in the great history of the world.

The great outlines of the Maccabean age are delineated by Ewald with a masterly hand, and with a greater freedom than we observe elsewhere from those peculiar theories which present so strong a temptation to an historian, such as Ewald, to distort the facts which he undertakes to narrate. A comprehensive sketch is also given by him of the origin and the distinctive tenets of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, or Essees, as Ewald designates them, who constituted the three leading Jewish schools, which arose within the Hagiocracy; whilst the concluding pages of the fifth volume of this great work are devoted to a graphic sketch of the life of Herod the Great, and to a short account of the development of Jewish nationality, literature, and science, in the later Greek age. Having thus arrived at the period of the direct supremacy of the Romans over Judea, and with it of the rise of Christianity, we are again compelled to express our conviction that Ewald leaves his readers in utter darkness respecting the solution of the great problem which he undertook to solve, viz., how it was that a religion, the incessant deterioration of which in its latest period is here sketched in so graphic a manner, ended in the development of one which was perfect; or, in other words, how it was that as the result of a continuously progressive course of development, the Jews—having aspired throughout the whole of the successive stages of their history to the attainment of 'a perfect religion'—were ultimately successful in the realisation of the object at which they aimed.

Neither, on a calm and dispassionate review of the elaborate and ingenious theories with which these volumes abound, do we feel that we have met with any arguments which are calculated to shake our faith in the great outlines of the historical creed of the Jewish and the Christian Church respecting the composition of the Books of the Old Testament.

On the contrary, whilst we entirely agree with the late Dean Milman that Ewald's 'History of the Children of Israel' is, in every sense of the word, 'a wonderful work'—a work which 'no one can read without instruction,' few without admiration of 'the singular acuteness,' 'the indefatigable industry,' 'the 'universal erudition' of the writer—we think that the same result must be produced upon the mind of every thoughtful and impartial student of sacred history which Dean Milman describes in the words which follow:—'I must confess that I 'read Ewald ever with increasing wonder at his unparalleled 'ingenuity, his surpassing learning, but usually with *decreasing* 'conviction.' As a book not only of reference but also of study for the Biblical student, Ewald's 'History of Israel' is not likely to be soon superseded. As regards his peculiar theories, we look upon them as virtually buried in the grave of their learned and lamented author.

Those only who are acquainted with the peculiarities of Ewald's style will be able to appreciate the full debt of gratitude which English scholars owe to his able and accomplished editors and translators. Whilst regretting, in some few instances, that the complications of the original are not wholly removed from the English version, we are much more disposed to admire the clearness and general intelligibility of the translation than to animadvert upon minute and occasional blemishes in it. Indeed, we are disposed to think that the majority even of those who are capable of mastering the work in its original form—and such readers do not form a very numerous class—will prefer to study it in that garb in which Professor Martineau and Mr. Carpenter have clothed it.



- ART. VI.—1. *The Archæology of Rome*. By JOHN HENRY PARKER, C.B. Two volumes, 8vo. London: 1875.
2. *La Vita di Nino Bixio*, narrata da GIUSEPPE GUERZONI. Firenze: 1875.
3. *L'Italia Economica nel 1873*. Pubblicazione Ufficiale. Roma: 1874.
4. *Stato Attuale della Finanza in Italia*. Per FRANCESCO BALLARINI. Imola: 1874.
5. *I Dialecti d'Italia*. Letture Pubbliche di Antonio Zoncada. Pavia: 1875.
6. *Documenti relativi al Progetto di legge per l'applicazione dei provvedimenti straordinari di pubblica sicurezza presentati alla Camera del Ministro dell'Interno* (CANTELLI). Tornata del 5 Maggio 1875.
7. *Lettere Meridionali*. Di Signor PASQUALE VILLARI. Published in L'Opinione newspaper in March and April 1875.

YEAR by year, the pilgrimage which for centuries past has had its point of arrival at Rome proceeds thither, proving constantly more true the old saying as to the place to which all roads lead, while the roads to which the saying refers are yearly multiplied. There is generally something vulgarising in the effect of such indiscriminate worship on the object of it. A crowd of cockneys or a swarm of Parisians can hardly settle on a place without somewhat interfering with its attractions, and when to these are added all the shoddy aristocracy of 'the States' and all the swagger of victorious Berlin, it might be thought that even Rome would suffer. But Rome is too vast and too historical to be affected by incursions like these. She has survived Attila and Genseric, and will not fall before an inroad of Cook's Tourists or English Pædobaptists.\* And yet there is something very droll in the way in which successive waves of tourists inundate the Eternal City, and how, when there, they mount high as the lantern of St. Peter's, and

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\* Besides Father Gavazzi's flock, there are now congregations of Waldensians, English Episcopalians both Decorated and Perpendicular, American Episcopalians, who are building a church of beautiful proportions and elaborate design, Presbyterians, and last of all, Baptists, who this spring celebrated the opening of their chapel with unusual splendour, having imported a high priest from England, with several van-loads of what the Roman newspapers called 'the faithful,' to do honour to the inauguration.

dive down into aqueducts, catacombs, and even sewers. Twice a week during the winter and spring, an enterprising archæologist sallies forth at the head of a crowd of followers. There are to be seen English clergy with that peculiar form of wide-awake hat, which, if Convocation do not interfere, or the Bishops prohibit its use, will certainly end in securing the object which Mr. Miall compasses by a different method—strong-minded women of the stouter sort, some with pug-dogs, all with spectacles—enthusiastic young ladies, who form a charmed and charming circle round the lecturer—and a few steady pursuers of the object in view, or not in view except to the eye of faith, be it Servian wall, Imperial aqueduct, or brick-work of Nero. The lecturer, for such he is, halts in some by-street, ascends the step of one of the houses, holds up his umbrella as a preaching friar holds a crucifix, and proceeds to dilate on the piece of antiquity, visible or buried, a supposed proximity to which has caused his halt. Note-books are produced, there is a silence, and he begins his sermon on the text of the Servian Wall. The inhabitants of the street, *Vicolo della Concezione Immacolata*, or whatever the dirty slum may be called, crowd out of their doors in Italian fashion, and ejaculate in the phrases of their country that it must of needs be ‘a function.’ And ‘a function’ it is, though not of a kind common on the shores of the Mediterranean. The worship of Art and Antiquity is a real worship, though confined in great measure to strangers in Rome, and not popular with the natives. And it has produced some remarkable results. Probably more has been done within the last twelve years in the investigation and identification of the buried relics of old Rome, mainly by the activity of one or two Englishmen, than had ever been done in all preceding times. And though to accept all Mr. Parker’s conclusions requires a more robust faith in the literal truth of early Roman legends than falls to the lot of many men who have studied the subject in the light of Niebuhr and Niebuhr’s followers, yet the manner in which he has succeeded in unearthing much which had been buried before, and which is now in many cases buried again—the way in which he has deduced the age of each building from its construction and material peculiarities, and the skill with which he has applied the science of what may be called comparative archæology to elucidate the plan of Roman wall-building, are alike deserving of the highest praise.

It is fortunate that the adoption of Rome as the capital of Italy has taken place at a time of archæological activity; for otherwise, many objects of great interest which the urban im-

provements have brought to light even while compelling their destruction, would never have been noticed, or if noticed would not have been understood. As it is, however, the various works of drainage, excavation, and levelling which go on under municipal authority at Rome, are carefully watched from an archæological point of view, and due note is taken of all that is found as well as of all, unfortunately a good deal, which it is necessary to destroy. Within the last year, a lithographed plan of Rome has been published, containing not only the existing streets, but, marked in red, all those new constructions as well as all the *destructions* which have been sanctioned by the Municipality. From this plan it will be seen that a space not much less than half as large as the existing city is proposed to be covered by new streets. Some of these are already built, others, the Via Nazionale for example, in course of construction at one end before the other end has yet been mapped out, while the drainage and footways of many are more or less advanced towards completion. We are now referring only to that part of the plan which adjoins existing streets, for, counting also the new town which it is proposed to create on the right bank of the Tiber in the meadows below the Vatican, and the commercial quarter which is to rise in the extreme south-west corner on the left bank, the area of buildings bids fair to be almost doubled. In fact, Rome, having during post-imperial times slipped down more or less from all her so-called hills except the smallest though most important, into the valley by the river-side, the Campus Martius of old, is now climbing back again and re-occupying her position on the Esquiline, the Viminal, and the Cælian. We use the phrase 'so-called' in reference to three of the hills of Rome, which are in fact no hills at all, but simple continuations of the high table-land of the Campagna, running down towards the Tiber, and split up like the fingers of a hand as they approach it. And the fact that the Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Esquiline were promontories, and not detached hills, affords the reason why one great work of antiquity which is now being rapidly demolished, the Agger of Servius, was ever constructed. So long as 'that cluster of village communities' which was eventually to rule the world consisted of only four, settled, if they ever were so, on the Aventine, the Cælian, the Palatine, and the Capitol, it was easy by scarping the outside cliffs of each as has been done, and by building short walls across the valleys between, to form a kind of four-fold citadel; but when the other three hills, were added, it became necessary to have recourse to another kind of fortifica-

tion, running not across a valley, for there was none, but across high table-land from the end of the last cliff of the Quirinal on the NE. to the end of the last cliff of the Esquiline on the E. of the city, so enclosing the E. side, which would otherwise have been practically defenceless, as being on a level, or nearly so, with the vast plain or Campagna beyond.\* This was done by this Agger, which one cannot help sighing over as it disappears day by day, to make room for streets and squares of modern pattern, and for the sidings and warehouses of a daily more crowded terminus.

The Aurelian walls, as is well known, contain vast spaces entirely devoid of building. The Aventine has little upon it except churches and monasteries. The Palatine is a huge congeries of ruins, one palace built on the top of another, till the substructions are buried twenty or thirty feet below the present surface. Much of the Cælian and Esquiline are, or till lately were, mere vineyards, while the modern city stands much of it to the north of all the seven famous hills, and about one-third of it on the other bank of the river altogether. In fact, it is only a broad band running through Rome from east to west that is common to the ancient and modern cities, for even as late as the time of Augustus there was little except public buildings on the Campus Martius, a part which is now crowded with streets, and which makes up a large proportion of the present capital. Ancient Rome was mostly to the south of the Capitoline Hill, while modern Rome is, to a large extent, to the north. But by neither the one nor the other was the whole space occupied which is now contained within the walls, and at present there are whole square miles of room still unoccupied except by gardens and vineyards.

It is evident, then, that the new capital has plenty of room, even within its old walls, to extend itself to at least double its present size, and as the population is increasing at the rate of some 9,000 souls yearly, it is well that such should be the case, although a land speculation which has been going on for years past will probably prevent any rapid increase of houses beyond the actual wants of the citizens,† who, however, now

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\* The visitor to Rome may remember that as he steams into the railway station he crosses the site of the Agger of Servius at an acute angle, having it to his left before he enters the station and to his right at the station itself. The railway runs SE. and NW., the Agger, from S. to N.

† Mr. Spithöver, the bookseller in the Piazza di Spagna, bought, about five years since, a vineyard consisting of some forty acres of ground abutting on the Via Venti Settembre (the street which leads

count up to more than a quarter of a million, not a large number to inhabit a city which in the time of the Empire is calculated to have held more than two millions of inhabitants, though at one time in the middle ages its population had sunk to 17,000.\*

It is curious to observe how in great cities the centres of gravitation have altered at various epochs of their history. Thus, in London, the fashionable quarter is constantly moving further West, so that streets and whole quarters which at the beginning of the eighteenth century were the abode of the highest ranks are now the refuge of the lowest, while a new London spreads its innumerable squares and 'gates' and terraces over fields which, half a century ago, were sacred to strawberries and potherbs. The population of Rome has had two distinct and distant points of attraction; in Republican and Imperial times the Capitol, in the Middle Ages, the Vatican, or perhaps more strictly speaking, the bridge of St. Angelo; while for the future it seems as if they would be more and more drawn to the neighbourhood of the Quirinal. Not, however, that the English colony in Rome is ever likely to shift its quarters. The Piazza di Spagna and the neighbouring streets have attractions for them which cannot be rivalled, and if the truth had to be confessed, it might be necessary to allow that their political sympathies are almost as active towards the Pope as towards the king of Italy, the fact being that art and antiquities and social gatherings engross their attention far more than public matters. The strangers' gallery in the House of Commons may be an attraction to an Italian if he understands our language, though even there it is difficult to hear although not to see; but the tribunes in the Italian Chamber of Deputies which are set apart for visitors have the double disadvantage of being nearly out of earshot and of being placed behind the Ministerial bench, so high up, moreover, that only those few who are fortunate enough to secure front places can see even the back of Signor Minghetti's head. A foreigner, then, even with sharp ears and a perfect knowledge of the language, has very little temptation to try to *hear* politics, so that if he wishes to study them in Rome he is pretty much confined to the newspapers. And this can be done as well in one set of lodgings as in another. For many years to come, then, we may safely prophesy that our successors will be content with that part of Rome which in the time

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to the Porta Pia). He gave 5,000*l.* for it, and he has since been offered and refused 200,000*l.* !

\* See Dyer's '*Rome*,' and Hübner's '*Life of Sixtus V.*,' vol. ii. p. 73, *sqq.*

of Sixtus V. was the abode almost exclusively of the disreputable classes of society, and the proof against the temptation of lovely views and broad streets offered them in the new quarter of the town.

The fact is, whatever reactionary loungers may say, that the simple arts of drainage and scavengering have been introduced much to the benefit of all streets, and not least to the benefit of the English quarter. It is all very well for the authors of guide-books to whine over the closing of convents as Mr. Hare has done; but to assert as he does that street mendicancy has increased is simply to assert what is not true, and what anyone who remembers what Rome was in the Papal times must acknowledge not to be true. It is, of course, hopeless to argue with those who espouse the cause of convents, and no great social change like the abolition of monastic institutions can take place without causing inconvenience, or worse, to some at least of those who are the subject of that change. It was so in England in the days of Elizabeth. It was so forty years ago in the early times of the New Poor Law, and it cannot fail to be so in Italy at the present day. What, however, must be evident to an impartial observer is, not that the new brooms have swept too clean, but that they have been employed with an almost timid moderation and an overweening sympathy for political rubbish. When the Papal Government was re-established after 1848, banishment, proscription, imprisonment was the reward meted out by the meek priests to their political enemies. When Victor Emmanuel comes in he pensions Papal employés by scores, and for his pains endures the pitiless abuse of a Vatican press which owes its freedom to that Constitution of which he is the representative.

There is, perhaps, no greater instance of political moderation than the laws which go by the name of Papal Guarantees, and which have lately formed a subject for discussion in the Italian Chamber. By these enactments, passed May 13, 1871, immediately after Rome became an integral part of the Kingdom of Italy (October 9, 1870), it was provided that the Pope's person should be sacred and inviolable as if he were still a sovereign, and that sovereign honours should be accorded to him. He was to be allowed to maintain his guard, no number being specified,\* a concession which some cautious patriots thought might lead to civil war. He was to receive in perpetuity a revenue (*Rendita Papale*) of 3,325,000 lire, which if paid in silver amounts to 133,000*l.*, and at the present rate of exchange

\* The words in the Act are '*il consueto numero di Guardie addette alla sua persona e alla custodia dei palazzi.*'

is not far short of 125,000*l.*, together with the free enjoyment of the Vatican, Santa Maria Maggiore (where he is now building his own tomb), and the villa of Castel Gondolfo, with the buildings, gardens, and lands attached thereto. His conclaves and councils were to be under State protection, and he was to have power to affix encyclicals and excommunications to the doors of churches—a right of which he has availed himself during the present year by publishing an appendix to the ‘*Index Expurgatorius*,’ containing, among other books, works by Darwin and J. S. Mill. He was to have a separate post-office and a separate telegraph wire, free of expense. So much for his personal convenience; but this was not all. The Government bound itself to abolish what was called the appeal ‘*ab abusu*,’ and not to have recourse to the civil power for the purpose of checking clerical extravagancies. Priests were to have unlimited power of meeting, and the rights of ecclesiastical patronage hitherto exercised by the Government were thenceforward to be renounced, including in the case of bishops the abolition of the oath of allegiance, the royal ‘*placet*’ and the royal ‘*exequatur*,’ the practical result of which, as was observed in the debates of last session, would be that the State would sanction the appointment of the inferior clergy by bishops as to whose appointment they had no option whatever.\*

It might be thought by those who have read Mr. Gladstone’s quotations from the speeches of his Holiness, that there had been provocation enough to stir the blood of a far more phlegmatic race than the Italian; but the Italian race is not more remarkable for its high spirit than for its patience, and the Government of Italy, representing that patience, is content to wait. Rome, which was not built in a day, requires more than anything time and quiet for its reconstruction. If prudence and moderation will secure this time and this quiet, it will be secured, for the manner in which theoretical views have been made second to practical objects even by the most ardent among Italian politicians is one of the peculiarities of the time. Years ago, the character of Italian patriotism was what is now called *Intransigente*; but, in proportion with the chances of success, has grown the desire to subordinate private opinions to public objects, and now that the liberty and unification of Italy is an accomplished fact, her statesmen seem more apt to err on the side of time-serving than on the side of impracticability; in fact, the Italian journals, at this time, are engaged in proving,

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\* Speech of Signor Guerrieri-Gonzaga in the Camera dei Deputati, May 5, 1875.

by elaborate references to the behaviour of the Government to those bishops who have not applied for the *exequatur*, that there is no '*clericalismo*' to accuse it of, and the '*Opinione*' appeals to the language of the clerical journals to prove that no love is lost between the Vatican and the Quirinal.\*

And it is not a Cavour or an Azeglio only of whom this can be said. Perhaps there never existed a more intractable spirit than Nino Bixio. His life, written in blazing words by his friend and fellow-soldier Guerzoni, lately a Professor in the University of Palermo, shows this on every page. Son of a Genoese tradesman, he was the naughtiest of all naughty boys. He quarrelled with his family, threw inkstands at his schoolmaster, was the terror of the school, went to sea, deserted from his ship and was nearly starved somewhere in South America, got home somehow or other, and was finally turned out of doors by his family and wandered for months as a vagabond in the streets of Genoa. Last of all, he was forced into the Sardinian navy, and first learnt some obedience by a five years' service on board the '*Gulnara*.' But his escapades were not at an end. He went to sea again with two friends in an American ship whose captain was what the biographer calls a Quaker, although we doubt if any member of that Society ever went to sea willingly, except as an emigrant. Singing and whistling were forbidden; prayers and meditations occupied the Sunday; the Puritan atmosphere was too much for Bixio; he executed his favourite strategic movement, swam ashore in Sumatra, was taken prisoner, narrowly escaped having to turn Mohammedan, was rescued just in time, and returned somewhere about the beginning of the year 1847, tried by adversity, but still not tamed. A leader amongst the most ardent politicians in Genoa, he scorned moderation and carried the tricolour flag at the head of a republican procession which had to be dispersed by dragoons. Not content with this, on the arrival of the news of the Palermo revolution, he scaled the pillars of the church where the people had assembled to give thanks for the event, and fixed an inscription over the gate in a place to which no one but a sailor would have ventured. And then, on the 9th of November, 1847, when Charles Albert was making the round of Genoa on horseback, surrounded by multitudes bent on declaring war, Bixio, young and active as he was, seized the king's reins at the gate of his palace and shouted in his face words at which it is said the king turned pale and trembled, '*Sire! pass the Ticino.*'

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\* *L'Opinione*, Aug. 12th.



We have no space to recount the details of Bixio's stormy life. Through 1848 he served as an officer of volunteers, was just too late to take any part in that revolt at Genoa which General La Marmora put down with such skill and success, and of which he has given so interesting an account in his '*Episodio del Risorgimento Italiano*,' and finally got to Rome in time to take a most characteristic part in its defence, having begun by forcing his way unarmed and alone into Oudinot's council of war at Civita Vecchia, where he denounced the perfidy which had made him master of that place, and the act of fratricide in which one republic took arms against another. But this fiery politician, blazing with republican fury, pupil of Mazzini, familiar of Garibaldi, gradually dropped his anti-monarchical tendencies, and first as a writer and editor, then as a soldier, last as a statesman, became the fast and abiding friend of the Italian monarchy. The unity of Italy was with him the first thing, the form of her government the second. He might be a Republican, but he was first of all an Italian. He cried no longer for an impossibility, for a Mazzinian moon, but accepted thankfully the sober realities of a constitutional monarchy.

A few more words as to Bixio's career, and they shall be but few. Having been not only a sailor in the Italian fleet, but a sailor in the commercial navy, being moreover a Genoese by birth, he felt most strongly—and with him convictions were not firm only but convulsive—that it was most important to develop by every possible means the mercantile marine. And he thought that no means he could devise would be so effectual as that of building a ship of large tonnage which should carry the Italian flag into regions traversed in all directions by American and English commercial fleets, but as yet unvisited by the ships of that nation who were the first heralds of maritime discovery. With infinite pains and untold disappointments he at last succeeded in his design. The '*Maddaloni*' was of 3,000 tons burden, and early in July 1873 she set forth from the port of Messina with Bixio for her captain, bound for the Eastern seas. About the middle of October she arrived at Batavia, and was engaged by the Dutch for transporting troops to Atchin. On the voyage there was an outbreak of cholera; first the troops suffered, then the crew, and finally Bixio himself succumbed to the malady. There is always something touching in last letters and last words, and the letter to his wife, dictated a few hours before his death, is no exception to this rule:—

"I feel that I am dying, and I die with thoughts of you, blessing thee and my children. I left the army which I loved, and I may say

that I have also left that Italy which I loved so much, but it seems to me that as father and husband I owed it to thee and to my children.

‘I have done all I could with the single object of providing for my girls Guisepina and Riccarda and my two boys Garibaldi and Camillo. I hoped to live long enough to give them a good education, but my life fails me and I have only to hope that my country, which I have served with love, and my king, Vittorio Emanuele, whom I have served and loved as a good king, will not forget my family. . . . I press thee lovingly to my heart, with Guisepina, Riccarda, Garibaldi, and Camillo. . . . Farewell.’

And then he adds a few words commending his family, whom he leaves in want, to the care of his friends. A few more hours, ‘always thinking of wife and children,’ as his doctor reported, the stormy spirit sank away to its repose. He left no truer son of Italy behind him. Alike in his virtues and his failings he was a worthy scion of that race which unites in itself the patient industry of the German,\* the dash and fire of the Frenchman, with something of the savage qualities of less civilised nations.

We have instanced the example of Bixio, as of a man gradually coming round from his *intransigente* position, and becoming a citizen thoroughly loyal and attached to the existing order of things. Let us take one other example—that of a man whose name, in spite of many failings and much weakness of character, will live perhaps as long as the name of any worthy of the century. Need we add that we mean Garibaldi?

At the beginning of this year political society in Rome was not a little disturbed by a rumour that ‘the old General,’ as his friends delight to call him, was about to leave his island and invade the capital. The extreme party were in ecstasies, moderate politicians shrugged their shoulders and hinted a belief that it would have been as well if he had stayed at home. Some said that if he came to Rome he would not take his seat in the Chamber, although member for one of the districts into which the city is divided. Others said that he would appear, but only for the purpose of refusing the oath. Both sets of prophets were doomed to disappointment. His arrival was a real triumph. Crowds surrounded the railway station. Greater crowds thronged the streets. It was impossible for him to gain the modest lodging which had been prepared for him, so great was the concourse; and after he had been compelled to take refuge in a hotel, from a window of which he

\* ‘Il dolce far niente degl’ italiani, almeno là dove io sono stato, è una calunnia atroce.’ Opinion quoted by Signor Villari in his ‘Lettere Meridionali.’

spoke a few words to an immense multitude where the men sobbed for joy and the women held up their children for his blessing, some of his worshippers, foiled in their attempt to drag him round the city, seized upon his carriage, the casket from which the jewel had been taken, and actually traversed Rome with the empty vehicle in triumphal procession. But if Garibaldi's arrival in Rome was a remarkable spectacle, his entrance into the Chamber of Deputies was a more remarkable spectacle still. On that day, the House, as is usual, met at two o'clock, but soon after mid-day every available place in and about the Chamber was occupied, and the streets and open places near were crowded with spectators. The House met; there was a long dull interval of formal business, and then a long dull speech to which nobody listened. It was interrupted by sounds from without; some ushers opened a door at the upper end of one of the concentric gangways by which members get to their places; the old Hero appeared, and crippled as he is by rheumatism, was helped to his seat by friends. His entrance was the signal for a roar of cheers, the galleries utterly disregarding the president's warning, and the ladies waving handkerchiefs and cheering more vociferously than all. The only exception was the Right, who preserved silence. But when, a short time afterwards the president called upon the new member to take the oath, and, when taking off the *képi* which he always wears, Garibaldi uttered the words *Io Giuro*, the Right vied with the Left, and strangers vied with members in the extravagance of their applause.

Here was the man who, if he had made the kingdom of Italy, had done all in his power to make the kingdom of Italy impossible, the ungovernable enthusiast, the impracticable dreamer, taking his place in a Parliament of two Chambers, and swearing allegiance to a constitutional king. Still, however, there was anxiety. Would he not make some foolish speech, which, if it did not provoke unhappy consequences, might at least cause the enemies of the political Israel to blaspheme? What were his objects in thus qualifying himself to take part in public affairs? Anxiety was soon at an end. His objects might be to some extent visionary; it may not be possible to divert the Tiber, to irrigate the Campagna, to make a harbour of refuge at Fiumicino; but, at all events, these are the only objects he disclosed; and almost the only speeches he made in the Chamber were a very short one in which he supported Signor de St. Bon (the Ward-Hunt of the Minghetti administration) in a very sensible project for getting rid of useless iron-clads, and a second in explanation of his Tiber scheme.

When we see facts like these, who can despair of Italy for the future? And yet there is a hard task before the country, and many years must elapse ere the results of centuries of misgovernment disappear—not only of one form of misgovernment, but of many. The first difficulty for Italian patriots has all along been to teach the inhabitants of a ‘geographical expression’ that they are for the future to consider themselves fellow-subjects of one monarchy. What has a Sicilian peasant in common with a Tuscan or a Piedmontese? Their very language is not the same, and it is a curious fact that this difference of *patois* has led to the use in the army of a kind of dialect which is not the Italian of any part of Italy, but a camp-lingo which all recruits pick up and use in common. Even the words of command are, some of them at least, given in this new tongue, which, like the pigeon-English of the Chinese ports, has nothing but convenience to recommend it, being in truth a barbarous jargon without that historical interest which more or less attaches to every prominent form of speech.

Italian glossologists distinguish no less than eight families of dialects—Carinthian, Venetian, Gallo-Italic, Ligurian, Tusco-Latin, Samnite-Iapygian, Lucano-Sicilian, and those of the island of Sardinia; and these eight families are said to divide themselves into not less than forty distinct forms of speech. Where Gallic influence has prevailed, for example in the valley of the Po, there is a nasal accent unknown to the rest of Italy, and the diphthongs *eu* and *ou* come into use, with the same sound as in French. Naples and South Italy generally have retained not a few Greek words, such as *catamoros*, a sluggard (*κατὰ μῶρος*, downright dolt), *buttarò* (*βοτῆρ*), a shepherd, *annare pede cata pede* for *andare lentamente*; nor are similar examples wanting in other parts of Italy. Latin, pure and simple, appears to have lingered in the provinces after it had died out in Rome; and in the island of Sardinia there are still extant popular songs and hymns which are at once Latin and Sard. At the same time there is a strong Tuscan element in the speech of Sardinia, derived, as well as the Latin element—so Signor Zoncada thinks—from the fact that as in Roman, so in mediæval times, that island was used as a place to which Roman and Tuscan criminals respectively were banished. In Sicily, too, there are survivals of classical Latin which have long since died out of Italian speech—*vetari* for *proibere*, *letu* for *allegro*, *fatu* for *destino*; while the whole of South Italy, with great variations of dialect, ‘some of which to an educated ear sound little less ‘than savage,’ have a kind of sing-song accent, ‘una continuata cantilena,’ which Signor Zoncada attributes to the Greek

element which prevails in the population of those parts, not unmixed, however, with relics of a Phœnician, Saracenic, or Byzantine character.

No one who takes an interest in what Max Müller calls the Science of Language would wish, sentimentally speaking, that these old forms of speech should disappear, still less that what has happened in the United States of America should happen in Italy, and that the more objectionable of the dialectic peculiarities should be perpetuated in a new common language. The strident nasal bray of ordinary Yankee speech grates on an English ear as the most distinct antithesis to music; and it would be a grief to all lovers of sweet sounds if the 'lingua 'Toscana in bocca Romana' had to give way under Mr. Darwin's law to the harsh tones of subalpine vocalisation.

Still, the first object is the unification of Italy, and the best defence, and, as we think, in many respects a successful defence, of the large numbers of her army is this, that in no other way can the peasants of the provinces be so well taught feelings of nationality, while at the same time they are taught their letters, as by military service. We believe we are not wrong in the assertion that the peasants themselves look to the 'levy' as a means of education. Certain it is that both soldiers and officers are assiduously taught while attached to the colours; and when the statistics of 'analphabetism,' as they call it, are examined, it will be seen that there cannot well be too many schoolmasters at work in Italy. The crass ignorance of the people is defence enough, were any wanting, for a change of rulers which cannot but result in the gradual enlightenment of races who have been systematically and for centuries kept in darkness.

The census of 1871 \* gives the following percentage proportion of 'analfabeti' in the various divisions of the kingdom of Italy, all ages and sexes included:—

Piedmont . . . .	50.09	Campania . . . .	82.44
Lombardy . . . .	53.32	Umbria . . . .	82.65
Liguria . . . .	62.17	Abruzzi . . . .	85.87
Venetia . . . .	69.95	Apulia . . . .	86.56
Latium . . . .	70.67	Calabria . . . .	87.05
Tuscany . . . .	72.44	Sicily . . . .	87.22
Emilia . . . .	75.08	Sardinia . . . .	87.98
The Marches . . . .	81.56	Basilicata . . . .	89.58

The average of the kingdom being a little under 73 per cent.

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\* 'L'Italia Economica nel 1873.' 2ª Edizione. Roma, Barbéra, 1874, pp. 114-125.

It is true that this list is a history of past shortcomings, and that when we turn to the statement which applies to those between ten and twenty years of age it is less discouraging, for in Piedmont we find under 26 per cent. of males, and under 32 per cent. of females, or roughly one in four, boys and young men, and one in three, girls and young women, unable to read and write. Still, for persons of a similar age in the Abruzzi, Apulia, Basilicata, and Calabria, or, roughly speaking, in all continental Italy south of a line drawn from Ancona to Naples, as well as in Sicily and the island of Sardinia, the average of 'analfabeti' varies from 83 to 86 per cent. Compare these percentages with the state of things in England,\* and we see adequate reason for the fact that the estimates of the Italian Minister of Public Instruction for 1875 amount to upwards of 23,000,000 of lire, or about 900,000*l.* In fact, were it not for the military schools, on account of which an item of 120,000*l.* appears in the war estimates, we could wish that more instead of less was spent on primary instruction, for it must be remembered that to primary instruction only about one-seventh of the education estimate above mentioned is applicable.

At the same time, matters are improving. Between the years 1866 and 1871 there is a diminution of about two per cent in the 'illiterates' who married in those years. Signing the name at marriage is, we know, a nervous process, and it is well understood in England that many couples who can write on ordinary occasions, and who have probably corresponded pretty freely before marriage, don't trust themselves to do more than affix a cross to the register itself; a practice, by the bye, which is believed to occur not unfrequently and for an obvious purpose in contested elections.† But as the percentage of nervousness does not alter, we may fairly assume that this diminution of two per cent. shows a real advance of instruction. Not less significant is the fact that of the conscripts born in

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\* A Parliamentary return recently issued shows the number of men and women in England and Wales who, on marrying in the course of the seven years 1866-72, signed the marriage register with their 'mark,' and did not write their name. Among the men the average was 20·2 per cent., but it varied in the 11 divisions of the kingdom from 9·1 per cent. in London, and 17·0 per cent. in the South-Eastern division, to 28·8 per cent. in the Eastern, and 31·2 per cent. in the Welsh division.

† In Italy no man votes who cannot read and write, who is not twenty-five years old, and who does not pay taxes to the amount of 40 lire, about 30*s.* The number of electors in 1870 was 528,932, of whom 238,448 voted in the election of that year.

1851, more than 43 per cent. could read and write, whereas of the conscripts of the years 1846–41, only 39 per cent. were in that happy condition, while of the conscripts of 1846, taken by itself, 64 per cent. were in the catalogue of ‘analfabeti.’

The statisticians of the Italian Government have bestowed the greatest pains on exhibiting not only in figures but in coloured maps, the proportionate ignorance, the proportionate crime, the proportionate emigration as well as the proportionate population of the kingdom, and to those who wish to obtain an accurate and particular knowledge of these and innumerable other facts as regards Italy, we heartily recommend the work which we have just quoted. It is remarkable in consulting those maps to see what may be fairly called the result of a long course of government by priests. In want of primary education, Rome stands, it is true, not among the last, although barely above the average of the kingdom; but in crimes against the person—‘omicidi, ferimenti e percosse’—Rome, with the neighbouring district of Aquila (the Abruzzi), stands disgracefully first.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Government of Italy has been blind to the necessity of army reform, or that they regard the numbers which they keep in the ranks as any cause of congratulation. The first object of the existence of an Italian army was the defence of national independence and the gradual acquisition of those provinces which were deemed necessary for the consolidation of the country. As each new province was annexed it came under the law of conscription as it had existed in Piedmont since 1854. The events of 1866, however, turned the thoughts of the nation in the direction of military reform, and in the succeeding year as well as in 1869, projects were submitted to Parliament on the subject; the first by General de Revel, the second by General Bertoli-Viale, the respective Ministers at War of those years. The first of these projects contemplated a peace establishment of 208,000, and a war establishment of 570,000 men; the second an active establishment of 425,000, and a reserve of 198,000 men. Neither projects, however, was examined by Parliament, still less passed into law.

In 1870, economical considerations had come to have more weight, and the Government of General Menabrea, after pointing out that in eight years (1862–69) a sum of 1,929,023,863 lire, or about seventy-one millions sterling, had been spent on the army (including, of course, the cost of the war of 1866 and the expense of providing breech-loaders), proposed to reduce the army to 129,000 rank and file, not including the *gen-*

*darmerie* (*carabinieri reali*), who were to be fixed at 18,000, and to introduce other reforms of an economical tendency. On these proposals, however, neither branch of the legislature looked with favour; while in the midst of their debates the sudden explosion of the Franco-German war sent all considerations of economy to the winds, and necessitated an expansion rather than a diminution of army expenditure.

On the annexation of Rome in September 1870, General Ricotti, the new Minister at War, addressed himself again to the problem of the reorganisation of the army, the result of which was a law which received the royal assent in July 1871. By that law it was intended to raise the army to not less a number in time of war than 750,000 men, of which 500,000 should make up the first army, effective, non-effective, and reserve, and 250,000 make up a second line or provincial militia. To raise this force some alterations were necessitated in the law of conscription (*reclutamento*), among which the subjection of young clerical students to military service has been most keenly debated during the present year; and the practical result is that on September 30, 1872, the Italian army consisted in round numbers of 543,000 men belonging to the permanent forces, and 136,000 militia, a number which, by alterations in the law of conscription, has been since considerably increased. Of these, however, officers included, only 168,773 are 'sotto le armi'—with the colours; the rest, including the whole of the provincial militia, are, to the number of 511,104, 'in congedo illimitato,' or as we should say, disembodied. In round numbers, therefore, we may say, that the peace establishment consists of 200,000 men. It should be understood that in war time the provincial militia is to feed the army and assist it in providing for the internal defence of the country. In time of peace it is only summoned temporarily for drill. It is intended to organise a further body of men, 'la Milizia Stanzziata,' for garrison purposes in time of war, in the nature of the German Landsturm, and for all these services the Finance Minister stipulates that the annual charge shall not exceed 185 millions of lire, or a little above seven millions of our money.

Those who criticise Italian politics are usually loud in condemnation of the undue numbers of the army. Perhaps the events of the last few years, not to speak of the 'scares' of the last four months, may have done something to shake such views, held however, not alone by speculative politicians in other countries, but also by a strong minority in the Italian Parliament. The choice is a choice of evils. On the one side a further postponement of that much-desired end in Italian



finance—to make both ends meet; on the other, the safety, or, as some say, the honour and influence, of the country.

‘*L’ultima lotta fra due Potenze rivali,*’ as Signor Ballarini observes in a pamphlet the name of which appears at the head of this Article, ‘*è matrigna alla pace, e sarà madre di una ‘nuova guerra.*’ If such be the case, and Franco-German rivalry be in truth only a cruel stepmother to that state of peace which the contest has produced—much is to be said on the side of those who wish to keep up the numbers and increase the efficiency of the Italian army. If the burden of expense be heavy, we may quote with Signor Ballarini the old line—

‘*Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*’

Three causes have combined to the disadvantage of Italian finance. To the first of these, the real or fancied necessity of maintaining a large army, we have already referred. We must now say a few words on the sister service, the second of these causes, before passing to that which is really the greatest of the three, those public works into which as into a gulf of Curtius countless treasures have to be cast year after year, while still it yawns for more.

Like all other navies, the Italian fleet is passing through ever-new phases of construction, ruinous in expense, and with no national prestige to make the expense popular and justifiable. Between 1867 and 1871 no less than twenty-nine ships of war—screws, paddle-wheels, sailing vessels, and tugs, disappeared from the navy list, and during these years the Navy Estimates amounted on an average to not much more than one million sterling. In 1871 a change of feeling arose. The transfer of the capital to Rome, an undefended city within two days’ march of the sea; and more than this, the Franco-Prussian war, which has been the cause of so much expenditure in other countries, compelled an increase of navy estimates. In 1872 they amounted to forty-four millions of lire, and in 1873, 1874, and 1875 to nearly as much. It is however anticipated that the plans of Signor St. Bon, who is at the head of the Italian Admiralty, will result in providing a navy of efficient ships of the newest pattern. In these plans he has the valuable support of Garibaldi, who made one of his three speeches last session in favour of that sale of useless ships which forms part of Signor de St. Bon’s projects. Last year, the Italian navy consisted of seventy-two vessels, of which twenty-one were iron-clads and thirty-five move under steam, and it is hoped that by the sale of useless old ships, and by the exercise

of general economy, considerable additions may be made to the existing force. Two iron-clads, four steam-vessels, and some smaller craft are now on the stocks.

Among the first cares of the new Government of Italy would naturally come that of improving the social condition of the people, and for this end nothing could conduce more effectively than what are commonly called Public Works. New roads, new bridges, drainage, harbours, piers, lighthouses, railways, telegraphs, postal communication, all these things had to be looked to, and just when the State could worst afford it the greatest expenses were to be incurred. About ten years since, the State took up the question of road-making. By the State has been undertaken the expense of the main roads, those which form chains of communication for national purposes. Where these have been superseded by railways the expense of their maintenance has been transferred to the provinces, which are also expected to take upon themselves the formation of local roads. In the south of Italy however, and in the islands, it was not found possible to wait for local exertion—so that in the island of Sardinia roads, and in Sicily bridges, were built to a great extent out of State funds; three-fourths, one-half, or one-third of the expense being contributed from the public exchequer. Up to the end of 1873, 9,595 kilometres\* of *national*, and 27,459 kilometres of *provincial* roads, were either finished, in course of construction, or set out for construction, about 30,000 kilometres being complete. To this must be added the whole system of communal, or as we should call them parish roads, roads which it is incumbent on the localities to construct, and which are more or less subsidised by the State. Of these there are about 11,000 kilometres finished, 4,000 in course of construction, 20,000 set out, and 24,000 more which are not yet even set out, but which are in contemplation. This makes up a grand total of nearly 100,000 kilometres or 62,500 English miles. It will not be a matter of surprise, then, that in the twelve years between 1861 and 1872 165 millions of lire, or about 6½ millions of money, were spent on roads, and that the estimate for 1875 is upwards of 23 millions of lire. The fact is, that what in England has taken a century and a half to do, has in Italy been done, or at least more than half done, in some twelve or fifteen years. Moreover, in England, the turnpike roads were made in almost every case by private enterprise. People lent their money, either ‘hoping for nothing again,’ or if they hoped, in many cases getting nothing, or at all events nothing more than interest.

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\* 8 kilometres = 5 English miles.

But in Italy, all the arterial communications and many of the cross roads have been made at the expense of the State, out of the taxes, not out of rates or private loans; so that the expense is immediate and, as no tolls are charged, irrecoverable.

A glance at the map of Italy will at once prove to the most careless inquirer that being as she is a mountainous country, intersected in every direction by streams liable to sudden overflow, the expense of keeping these streams within their banks, and of repairing and renewing these banks when damaged by flood, must, if seriously undertaken, be very costly. Accordingly we find that in the thirteen years (1860-72) considerably more than two millions of our money were expended for these objects, of which nearly half was charged to the last four years, while for the Po alone not less than a million would be required to repair the damage done by the autumn floods of the year before last.

Another large cause of expense has been the drainage of lakes and the improvement of waste lands, in which the efforts of the State have been worthily seconded by some of her richer sons; for example, in the drainage and reclamation of the Lago Fucino Prince Torlonia has already expended more than a million sterling, and the work, which began in 1854, is not expected to be finished for another ten or twelve years.

Italy being practically insular, her harbours and lighthouses are naturally numerous. Of those of the first class, including Ancona, Brindisi, Civita Vecchia, Genoa, Naples, Leghorn, Venice, Palermo, and some others, the repairs and improvements are charged to the extent of  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths to the debit of the State, the remaining fifth being met by local funds. The smaller ports and harbours are either repaired and lighted by the State or out of local funds, but it is not clear to the inquirer on what principle the distinction is made. In the thirteen years before noticed (1860-72) more than three millions sterling have been spent on these objects.

Then come the railways, of which upwards of 4,000 miles existed at the end of 1872 (besides another thousand miles in course of construction), with a gross traffic in that year of nearly five millions of our money. For the present year the estimate of expenditure in construction amounts to upwards of two millions, although it is to be borne in mind that this expense will be to a certain extent reproductive, as is the expenditure on telegraphic and postal service. For public works of all kinds, in the year 1860-71, the whole expenditure amounts to 1,131 millions of lire, or about 45 millions sterling.

We have already trespassed too far on the reader's patience

in these details, and our only excuse is a desire to show that if Italy spends much she is constrained to do so, and that if her finances are slow in attaining a healthy position it is rather her misfortune than her fault. The dream of Italian politicians is the equalisation of receipts and expenditure. The deficiency began with the consolidation of Italy. Piedmont had her deficiency already, and each of the added provinces contributed to swell this deficiency by her own private want of means, so that in 1861 the Kingdom of Italy began business by being, in sporting phrase, about twelve millions of money 'to the 'bad' for the service of the year.\* This, or a not dissimilar, state of things lasted till 1870, and in those ten years the public debt increased from 2,400 to 8,700 millions of lire, that is from somewhat under 100 to about 350 millions of money. Still there is this hopeful phase in Italian finance, that the deficit diminishes year by year, or, at least, period by period, so that in the last four years (1871-4) less than twenty millions have been added to the public debt (the exact figures are 486 millions of lire), whereas the average increase of indebtedness in the ten previous years was 250 millions, or 100 millions for any corresponding period of four years, being five times as great as in the last four years.

Our limits will not permit us to enter into the vast question of taxation, and we will content ourselves by stating very shortly that while the amount has increased between 1862 and 1873 from 36½ to about 55 millions sterling, the receipts have risen from 23 to 52 millions, though, of course, the present area of taxation is now vastly different from what it was in the first of these years. This improvement seems to continue, for during the first six months of this year there was an increase of 650,000*l.* compared with 1874, while the payments had diminished by 1,400,000*l.*, so that the situation of the Treasury was better by two millions sterling than in June 1874.†

Having attempted to give our readers some insight into the present state of Italy—what she spends, what she pays, what she has in view socially speaking, let us devote the few remaining pages of this Article to a consideration of some of those

\* 'Gli stati dell' Italia antica trasmettevano al regno unificato l'eredità disastrosa di oltre a 100 milioni di disavanzo e di un debito pubblico di lire 2,21,870,000.'—*L'Italia Economica*, p. 594.

† Our readers may like to see at a glance, and in round numbers, the chief items of the Italian Budget taken from a Parliamentary Return of the last session ('Atti Parlamentari,' Sessione del 1874-75, No. 96, p. 47-48):—

social difficulties with which she has to contend; difficulties if not in form at all events in substance, inherited from the communities which she has united in herself, and directly ascribable to the misgovernment under which those communities had so long groaned.

To begin with a small difficulty, and yet a very real one. In the Italian estimates for this year we find an item of 25,000*l.* sterling for stamped paper, stamping machines and punches. This is not a large amount it is true, but it reminds us of the fact that as in England, so in Italy, invoices, tradesmen's bills, hotel charges, and the like are by law to be receipted on a stamp. In England it is a very rare thing for a tradesman to omit affixing the stamp where the law requires it. In a residence of many months in Italy the writer can affirm that never except in one case, that of a hotel bill, did he ever see the law obeyed. So again in the matter of the income tax, its evasion, unless we are wrongly informed, is almost the rule amongst Italian tradesmen. These are, of course, signs of low political morality, not that ours is too high in England, though we are at all events better, perhaps mainly through habit, than our Italian imitators. But this low political morality makes certain taxes unproductive or impossible, and so increases the difficulties which beset Italian finance.

Another difficulty strikes us, of a very different nature—the difficulty which exists in carrying out any criminal procedure.

	Lire.	Pounds sterling.
Land and house tax . . .	186,000,000	7,440,000
Income tax . . .	179,000,000	7,160,000
Grist tax . . .	73,000,000	2,920,000
Stamps and taxes . . .	141,000,000	5,640,000
Import duties . . .	101,000,000	4,040,000
Octroi . . .	58,000,000	2,320,000
Government monopolies, tobacco and salt . . .	167,000,000	6,680,000
State lotteries . . .	79,000,000	3,160,000
Crown lands . . .	65,000,000	2,600,000
Miscellaneous, including Post office, railways, fines, fees, and other small items, say . . .	87,000,000	3,480,000
	<hr/> 1,136,000,000	<hr/> 45,440,000

These are the ordinary taxes, the income of the year is some seven millions larger, from extraordinary receipts and the produce of the sale of Church lands.

A curious instance of this occurred last year in Rome. About the beginning of February the editor of the 'Capitale,' a radical newspaper, was assassinated at his desk. The murderer was caught *flagrante delicto*, there was no manner of doubt about the transaction itself, but the police thought justly, as the murderer and his victim were unknown to each other, that there was some other person implicated. To trace this accomplice, and further to trace *his* motives, they spent months in preliminary examinations, and which were not concluded till May 25th. Conceive of a metropolitan police magistrate taking four months before committing any similar criminal for trial!

If, however, there were no social difficulties in Italy more serious than those of the nature to which we have referred, she would have an easy task in surmounting them. What she has really to contend with is a habit of 'incivisme' pervading the people, and showing itself in acts not isolated and, so to speak, individual, but extending over large areas and done by whole classes in the country. Such are the Camorra at Naples, the Maffia in Sicily, and Brigandage scattered up and down the whole of the southern half of the kingdom. Much has been written and more been spoken on these subjects, but perhaps there is nothing, with reference to the first of these at least, which is more deserving of study than some letters by Signor Villari, a deputy of the Italian Parliament, which appeared in the columns of the 'Opinione' newspaper in the course of last spring.

Signor Villari begins by the assertion that all these three plagues of Italy are the logical, natural, necessary consequence of a certain social state of things, and that without abolishing this state of things it is hopeless to look for the abolition of these evils. But perhaps some of our readers may ask what is the Camorra? It is a secret organisation, spreading through all classes of society. Its members subsist on the labour of others. It imposes taxes. It takes what it does not pay for. It directs the commission of crimes. It compels its subjects to confess to crimes which they never committed. It shields criminals from justice. It plays its part everywhere and in everything; in the streets, in houses, in places of public amusement; interfering with labour, mixing itself up with crimes, taking a part in every game, and holding absolute sway in the prisons themselves. Sometimes, when the whim seizes it, it obeys the law, but only for its own purposes and to its own advantage. Some time since Naples had to be cleansed by municipal order. That order was obeyed, but only because

it suited the pecuniary interests of the Camorristi. When a magistrate ordered certain houses and gardens to be repaired and set to rights, the Camorra, unknown to him, combined with his officials in directing the operation. And how did this law-giving and lawbreaking vampyre come into being? Signor Villari tells us.

‘Naples is a place in which the lowest classes find themselves, I will not say in the greatest wretchedness, for that is not the worst of it, but in the greatest abandonment, the deepest degradation, the most melancholy state of brutality. As against them, in the Bourbon *régime* nothing was forbidden. In the light of day and in the public streets a gentleman (*galantuomo*) might use his stick upon them without fear of consequences, as the police always sided against the poor. Almsgiving, exercised on a large scale by private persons, by convents with their doles of soup, by charitable institutions, and by the Government itself with its distributions of bread, only nourished this wretchedness and gave it permanence. And so the Camorra sprang up as a matter of course amongst the people, became their natural ruler, got favoured and upheld by the Bourbons as a means of keeping order. It was then that the Camorrist terrified, threatened, and reigned. It was then that he took boys of fourteen or fifteen and taught them to pick pockets, paying them in coppers and keeping the results of the theft. It was then that he made of men and of women what he liked. The disease once begun spread rapidly. Once get over the surprise at such a slight, tyranny and violence ceased to appear criminal and were practised by crowds who in other social conditions would have found their conscience interpose an invincible barrier to such conduct.’

Our author then proceeds to give a description supplied to him by a friend, and a most harrowing one it is, of the daily life of these poor people. The courts in which they burrow remind us of what we know of the lowest sinks of London and Glasgow pauperism—no air, no light, abundance of damp and unspeakable filth, the produce of uncounted years. Stench which cannot be described, no beds, but mere heaps of straw, each the lair of a whole family, mat-making or chair-mending the only trades, and few to practise even these, most of the wretched objects lounging about half-naked, with no occupation whatever, or only one occupation the most degraded of all. He calculates that of these inhabitants of ‘fondaci,’ the local name for these cellars, there are little short of 10,000.

But it is not only the idle who are thus miserable. The Spagari, or twine-makers, are distinguished from the rest by the exercise of a trade, such as it is; but their habitations seem to be, if possible, more vile than what has been already described, their habits as filthy, and their degradation as great. They live in underground dens, barely lighted, but crowded with beds like the wards of a hospital. And yet among these

dregs there is a difference of rank, and that pauper whose bed gets a few rays of light from some hole, not to be called a window, looks down with contempt on his neighbour who sleeps in utter darkness. This difference of rank is evidenced by a difference of rent. The one pays 10 lire a month, the other only 25 soldi. Their mien has more about it of brutality than of wretchedness; and when the weather is fine they issue from their retreats like ants to bask in the sun.

Signor Villari adds, in conclusion of this part of his subject:—

‘This description might be prolonged *ad infinitum*, adding letter to letter, facts to facts, always new, always disgusting, always horrible; but I do not wish to tire the reader’s patience. These poor creatures are ill-treated in all ways. The dens they inhabit, the wretched wheels with which they spin the twine, the hemp they use, are none of them theirs; for everything they have to pay, and pay to men who grind them down, who torment them, who have for them no pity, and who make a profit out of their brutalised condition. You have but to come nigh and you are surrounded by a crowd of beggars who want no asking to tell the long tale of their woes. Come and examine their places if you wish to be convinced that the Camorra comes into existence not as an abnormal state of things but as the only regular and possible state. Clap every Camorrist in gaol to-morrow morning and the Camorra will be re-established before night, for it is no man’s creation but springs into being as the natural form of this kind of society. Hence it is that the vast army of young thieves is recruited; what they steal they steal not for themselves but for their masters; and when they go to prison, as they do in hundreds, they form there the ranks of the Camorra, for there, too, it has its rulers, its assemblies, its executive, as powerful and as daring as outside. The Camorrista make a profit on the beans and black bread which make up the prison fare; the poor prisoner has to give up half his rations if he has no money, all if he has some, and then buy other food of the Camorra, often the very ration which he has surrendered.’

To make these matters worse, Signor Villari tells us, the very attempt at substituting a system of drainage for the old cess-pools has injured public health; for the drains are used as receptacles for all sorts of rubbish, which the want of water allows to fester and rot where it is thrown, and which, even when the sewers are flushed by rains, gets no further than the shores of a bay where there are no tides and no currents. So that to all the other misfortunes of these poor people is added a constant plague of fever, always most destructive among the ill-fed and ill-lodged classes. Moreover, the change of government has lessened their means of subsistence; and as they know no trade, any increased demand for labour does them no good.

It appears to us that Signor Villari is more successful in



describing evils than in suggesting a remedy. He says, 'Extirpate the Camorra, and put the people to work, making work a condition of relief.' To say, extirpate the Camorra, is simply to say, cure the disease; but how? He himself sums up the matter in these words:—

'Money would not fail [for this employment of the people] if it could once be conceded that the innumerable charitable foundations (*opere pie*), which are so often a cause rather than a remedy of wretchedness, ought to be so transformed as to attain their objects with this provision, that the dole should be accompanied as a *sine quâ non*, by accustoming and teaching its recipients to work.'

It is to be observed that the 'Opere Pie' have an income applied in various modes of charity of between three and four millions sterling, so that if their funds were really applied, even in part, under these conditions, it would be a great and effectual step towards the establishment of a Poor-Law; and the objection which applies in so great a degree to our own Poor-Law, that it has a tendency to pauperise the people, could not apply in a case where the people whom it would affect are already paupers. At the present time upwards of six millions of persons derive more or less assistance from funds applied to the support of hospitals, asylums, loan institutions, doles, and the like. Nor is this expenditure confined to the south of Italy. At Venice, one-third of the population is in some way or other the object of charity.

From the Camorra, the plague of South Italy, Signor Villari turns to the peculiar plague of Sicily—the Maffia.\* He begins his letter by a distinction between East and West Sicily, and gives us to understand that the real condition of the western part of the island is pitiable in the extreme. The principal industry not agricultural, is sulphur-mining, which seems to possess all the worst characteristics of our own coal-mining before the law took cognisance of that industry, combined with more infant labour than existed in coal-mines. Besides this, the object of the toil, sulphur, produces evil effects on the workpeople peculiar to itself. Permanent ill-health, deformity, and death are the abundant results of this toil. Among these sulphur-miners the Maffia is rampant. What the Maffia is, and whence it arises, seems wrapped in a sort of mystery. Signor Villari asks one person, then another, foreigners as well as natives, and gets contradictory replies.

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\* The word 'Maffia' is a piece of prison slang which occurs in a play by Rizotto, which appeared in 1860. Its original meaning appears to have been the associations or combinations which exist among criminals in gaol.

Some ascribe it to the large farms, some to the want of laws of public security; but on the whole he comes to the conclusion that the Maffia, being a kind of Sicilian Camorra, but without its secrecy, is ascribable in great measure to the peculiar relations which exist in West Sicily between the owners and occupiers of small garden-farms in and near Palermo and the agricultural population at large. These owners and occupiers, 'Boiardi' and 'Borgesi,' not only own and occupy the rich garden-farms in the neighbourhood of Palermo, growing grapes, olives, oranges, lemons, and sumach, but act as middlemen to the large proprietors who are resident in the city, but who, from fear of the Maffia, in many cases never see their own lands for years together. By these petty tyrants the husbandmen are ground down to the earth, and oppressed by all manner of extortions, sometimes as tenants, sometimes reduced to day-labour, but always miserable. To increase their own gains the middlemen keep proprietor and husbandman apart, using for their purpose the terrors of the Maffia.

Those who interest themselves in Italian affairs will know that some of the most stormy discussions which took place this year in the Chamber of Deputies took place on a proposal of the Ministry, which, although nominally applicable to the whole country, was supposed to refer more particularly to Sicily. This proposal was in fact what in Irish legislation would be called an Arms Bill, and sought to vest in the executive powers of an unusual and, as was alleged, unconstitutional nature for the suppression of disorders. According to the traditions of Italian governments, this project of law or Bill, as we should call it, was accompanied by various documents, setting forth the facts of the case, and subjoining provisions of the Austrian Penal Code and Irish Acts of Parliament to illustrate what had been done under similar circumstances in other countries. In addition to these papers, the Italian Home Office took a step for which they were much blamed, and which certainly seems on the face of it to have been on many grounds unadvisable. They published the confidential reports of many of the Sicilian prefects as to the state of public security; thereby, as was alleged, diminishing the efficiency, and risking even the lives, of those important public servants. However this may be, the reports themselves are most interesting, as is the preface by Signor Cantelli the Home Minister. In this preface he mentions, among other things, that while in Lombardy and Venice there occurred in 1873 one homicide in 44,000 and 39,000 people respectively, in Naples there was one for every 4,600, and in Sicily one for

every 3,200; the aggravated assaults (*ferimenti*) being in the proportion of about 4 to 1 in Sicily and Naples as against Lombardy; and ordinary cases of violence (*grassazioni*) being in the case of Sicily as against Lombardy 4 to 1, and as against Venice more than 10 to 1.

These reports continually remind one of Ireland; the same hereditary hatred of law, the same difficulty in obtaining evidence, the same impossibility of procuring convictions. They treat both of the Camorra and of the Maffia; and if we might hazard a comparison we should say that their description of the first reminds us more of an Orange lodge, of the second more of a Riband association. The prefect of Trapani says:—

‘The “Camorristi” continue to form a sect (*setta*), have peculiar rules, are subdivided into classes, have a jargon of their own, and a sort of imitation of the forms of law (*un simulacro di giuri*). The “Maffiosi,” on the contrary, have no rules or regulations. Their work is done by bold and masterful acts, which often produce quarrels and challenges, but I can’t take upon myself to affirm that affiliated societies are to be found amongst them.’

He compares the formation of the Maffia in a place to a chemical affinity which draws substances together, the stronger attracting the weaker. Perhaps, however, the report received from Girgenti is on the whole the most interesting. The prefect of that place boldly pitches on the Maffia as one of the principal causes of the unfortunate position of Sicily, and says that when anything goes wrong there it is to the Maffia that it is popularly ascribed. He speaks of it as a prominent symptom of social disease, manifesting itself with unusual force in the island, and exemplifying in peculiar measure that state of things which is known by the name of ‘the law of the ‘strongest.’ It is in fact a local tyranny, exercised by men who are known for their crimes and their brutal violence, over the weak, the timid, and those who wish to be left alone (*quiestisti*).

Finally, he says:—

‘We may define the Maffia to be a criminal silence, an audacious boldness, an impudent system of deceit, betrayal of personal ties, resistance to all laws, moral and civil.’

It is found among all ranks. Among the lower classes it deals in threats of personal violence, among the upper classes it indulges in levying black-mail from neighbours, in getting leases at inadequate rents, and in abduction of women. Its centre is doubtless Palermo, and, to quote another report, ‘A man may be an eminent Maffioso as a wretched boor or sulphur-miner, and not less so as the most opulent baron, or prince, or duke.’

There is an almost universal expression of opinion in favour of exceptional measures for the repression and extinction of this plague. But, unfortunately, there seems reason to believe that the Maffia has invaded the public offices themselves, and one of the most stormy of the many stormy debates on this subject last session arose in consequence of the resolutions of Signor Tajani, who having been formerly Procurator-General at Palermo, and being intimately acquainted with the history and working of Maffia, boldly accused the Government of treating with it, of suffering it to exist, and even of offering office to its members. These accusations were but in part refuted, and it required all the strength and skill of Signor Minghetti to save his Government from a fatal crisis on the question. This was only done by a compromise, which consisted in the appointment of a commission to inquire into the state of the case.

The cure of Maffia appears to require, according to Signor Villari, strong measures of repression on the one hand, and a more enlightened public opinion on the other. Do away with the middlemen and you will sap the strength of the Maffia. To these suggestions may be added the shortening of the time taken up in preliminary inquiries in penal matters, and the dispensing with juries in cases of violence and other crimes connected with the Maffia. That something stringent is required is evident from the fact that during the fifteen months from January 1, 1874, to March 31, 1875, 46 public functionaries lost their lives, 40 were wounded, and 26 more attacked in the performance of their duties in the island of Sicily.

We come lastly to the question of Brigandage. While the Camorra and the Maffia may each of them be considered as causes, in Signor Villari's opinion, brigandage, wherever it exists, is an effect, of the poverty and misery of the people.

'When the peasant is absolutely without work and hunger attacks him, and when he can discover no other means of living, he begins to steal, and, if he has the courage, joins a band of brigands. The chiefs of these bands are generally men with some deep personal grievance which they want to avenge, at least this is usually the cause or the pretext for their conduct.'

He gives some interesting details of the condition of the peasantry in Southern Italy, not only derived from his own investigations but from those of others, and comes to a conclusion which all lovers of liberty must regret, but which we fear must be accepted as true, that the present state of things is worse for the peasantry than in Bourbon times. We have, however, the satisfaction of reflecting that the same thing

happened in England after the suppression of the monasteries, and that it admitted of a cure.

From what Signor Villari says it may be inferred that the peasantry of the Abruzzi, though nominally tenants, are little better than slaves, entirely dependent upon and in the hands of their masters, the owners of the soil, who make with them what stipulations they please, insisting at their will on what he calls 'prestazioni in opera,' on forced labour, as part of the conditions of their hire. In Apulia there is a system of gang-labour, worse than anything except absolute slavery. There the peasants only return home once in every fortnight or three weeks, and spend their lives almost all the year round on the farm where they work, sleeping in a sort of barrack, or rather barracoon, where the bedplaces are merely recesses in the inside wall, with a sack of straw for bed, on which they lie without undressing. Their food is a flat loaf of blackish bread, weighing about two pounds, and supplied daily by a gang-master called *Massaro*, and they work from dawn till sunset, with one half hour's rest at 10 A.M., when they have time to devour a morsel of their daily pittance. At night the gangman heats a great caldron of water mixed with salt, and pours some of it into each man's bowl-full of slices of this bread, to which he adds a few drops of oil. This 'acqua sale' is their only soup, and such is their whole diet, except at harvest time, when they are allowed some 'small' wine (*vinello*) to enable them to endure their additional fatigue. Each day they put by a portion of their loaf to carry home, which, with their wages of about two shillings a week, and a certain allowance of wheat and beans after harvest, constitutes their whole means of living. One of these poor creatures was asked what he would do if he could not get on better at home—would he turn brigand? 'No,' said he, 'I will do as the rest do, go 'and work in the Agro Romano.' Signor Villari remarks, 'If that is the alternative, what must be the misery of the 'Abruzzese!'

It must not be supposed that all the South Italian peasantry are under identical conditions either of tenancy or servitude. There are tenures involving money payments and tenures involving payment by labour; there is the *metayer* tenancy and other kinds of contract. But the peculiarity which attaches to them all is, that in all the landlord has the best of it. As has been observed with regard to Irish land tenure, the same external forms do not produce the same result as in other places; for where the tenant has no other resources, as is also the case in Southern Italy, whatever the form of contract,

he goes to the wall. The *métayer* tenure is in use in Tuscany, it is also in use in Chieti and Tiramo. But the *métayer* tenure of Tuscany is one thing and the *métayer* tenure of Southern Italy is another. In the one case the husbandman is almost the equal of his landlord, in the other he is his landlord's slave. The 'duty pig' and 'duty fowls' of Ireland repeat themselves in Italy, where the landlord claims eggs, fowls, turkeys, 'agnelli' 'pasquali,' pork, and so on, in addition to the other and more regular incidents of tenure. If the tenant is in arrear of a money payment, interest is charged, sometimes up to twelve per cent. ; if in arrear of payments in kind, a sixth is added to the demand at the end of the year.

Such are some of the ways in which men's lives are made wearisome and miserable in Southern Italy, and it is this misery and weariness which drives them into brigandage. Cure the disease and the system will disappear ; but the cure is not simple. It will take years, and probably even then the misery of the people will not admit of much alleviation without the interference of the State. Whether the agrarian reforms of Prussia or those of Ireland are to be followed, is a question. Signor Villari inclines to tread in the steps of Mr. Gladstone's government, for he thinks that to attempt to give over to the husbandman a part of the soil as was the case in Prussia, would simply be to hand over the whole country to the great proprietors, who, having bought up the share of the husbandman, would hold him more in slavery than ever.

The subject of which we have been treating is one of such extent that it is impossible to do more in a few pages than hint at many matters which deserve much fuller exposition. And, as it is, we may have wearied our readers with columns of figures and with statistics which will be condemned as uninteresting. Still it should not be forgotten that in Italy is now being tried a great and a most interesting question—the question whether it is possible to create a new nation. For a new nation it is which is being created, and that out of heterogeneous and in many respects unpromising materials. Nevertheless, given but time and peace, we have the strongest belief that this new nation will not only continue to exist, but grow and flourish ; and that to the manual skill, the inborn taste, the natural elegance, the acute intelligence of the Italian as he has been known in times when he was but the musician or the painter, or the dancer, or the cook of Europe, may be added those sterner and stronger virtues, without which a national character remains contemptible and base, and national life itself a chimera and a dream.

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ART. VII.—*Wanderings in the Interior of New Guinea*. By Captain J. A. LAWSON. London: 1875.

WHEN that pious but somewhat credulous traveller, the first of our English globe-trotters, Sir John Maundeville, gave his wonderful tale to the world, he was careful in his preface to inform any doubting reader that he had submitted his book to the censorship of the Pope, by whom it had all been 'proved for true.' Whether this approbation *ex cathedrâ Petri* was enough even in that simple age to stifle the murmurs of those doubting Thomases who shook their heads when they came, besides many others, on such passages as these: 'The folk in that isle are of a right cursed kind, for they 'have no heads and they grunt like pigs;' and 'of Paradise I 'cannot speak for I was not there, but I have seen the wall 'thereof,' may well be a question; but we cannot help thinking that it would be a great comfort to geographers of this sceptical generation, if some of the marvellous books of modern travel, and notably this volume of Captain Lawson, could be submitted to some such supreme authority as that exercised by the Pope in the fourteenth century, for then all our suspicions would vanish, and we should read on in faith, coming to the conclusion that as a power against which it were impiety to cavil had proved this book also to be true, therefore it must be true, down to its minutest details. But, alas! for Captain Lawson as well as for ourselves, we have no such simple beliefs in this uncomfortable nineteenth century. We must prove things and books to be true for ourselves, step by step. We are as it were popes every one of us, and before the tribunal of our private judgment every fact and statement must be verified before we can admit that anyone who claims to be a discoverer in any branch of science is a discoverer indeed. It is sad to think that faith has fallen so low that it must have proof to support it, but so it is. As Luther said, we can do naught else; and this process we now propose to apply to Captain Lawson's book, of which we will only premise, that if our readers can only be as much instructed as they are sure to be amused by its perusal, they will be amply rewarded.

Like all great travellers, Captain Lawson plunges almost at a step into the jungle of New Guinea. He found himself in November 1871 at Sydney, New South Wales, and there he formed the resolution of exploring the interior of New Guinea. He admits that there were innumerable difficulties in his way. Transport was out of the question. Rifle in hand and knap-

sack at back, he had to make his way through an immense island, inhabited by a 'fierce, treacherous, and murderous race.' But these difficulties were light when matched against the resolution of the explorer, and the friendly help of a merchant captain who offered to land the Captain at a village where he was known to the natives. It is very bold, no doubt, to resolve to travel through New Guinea rifle in hand and knapsack on back; but see how soon this resolution fails. After securing the services of the friendly captain, our traveller's next care was to provide suitable servants to accompany him as bearers of baggage. First there was a Lascar named Tooloo, an intelligent and useful fellow, 'he was to be my 'personal attendant;' besides, three Australian aborigines, Tom, Joe, and Billy, had been engaged as porters; but when the time for starting came, Tom, who had probably seen the amount of baggage which he would be required to carry in tropical New Guinea, repented him of his bargain and made off 'up the country' to be out of the way. So Tom is out of the story, and the only names of the exploring party which the reader is required to remember are, Lawson, Tooloo, Joe, and Billy. The native names we shall come to by-and-by. It was not till the end of May 1872 that Dobbs—that was the name of the merchant captain—was ready for sea. On the 24th they set sail, and on the 21st of June, the 'Nautilus,' the winds being light, made the coast of New Guinea. On the 22nd Captain Lawson landed at a native village called Houtree, in Torres Straits. And here let us pause to say, that what may be called the chartological powers of Captain Lawson do not at all equal his capacity for penetrating through the heart of New Guinea. The map which accompanies this volume rather resembles a schoolboy's first attempt to draw a map of Palestine, a work of art which painfully reminds one of two duck-ponds joined by a gutter; it is a mere slice of the island on which is traced the traveller's line of march, and it is quite devoid of those base innovations of modern science called degrees and parallels of latitude and longitude. But what of this? Who can pine for exact measurements when on this flat slice are marked some of the most remarkable discoveries ever made in geographical or zoological science. It is something to have discovered a mountain beyond compare the loftiest in the world; and a river with a waterfall which must make Niagara quake for its laurels. But let us not anticipate. All in good time. Let us return to Houtree, where our traveller has just set foot on shore with his three followers, and is being introduced to the Papuans, old friends of Captain Dobbs.



We linger yet awhile to dispose of Dobbs who, according to Captain Lawson, in spite of his previous good character, seems to have behaved on this occasion in a very peculiar fashion, so peculiar that it is fortunate for him that he had just then determined to retire from the trade in which he had acquired an independence. Nor is this to be wondered at. After introducing the new comer, Captain Dobbs remained a fortnight loading the 'Nautilus' with spices, drugs, gums, bark, birds of paradise, cocoa-nuts, and monkey-skins; in return for which he was to have exchanged calicoes, knives, guns, iron-work, gunpowder, and spirits; but would it be believed, one fine night this peculiar and most thoughtless captain sailed off without transferring to the natives the articles for which they had bartered their goods. If he was addicted to these practices it is no wonder that he had amassed an independence. As for the present instance, Captain Lawson says, the action of the 'man Dobbs was of the very meanest class, which, besides doing 'the poor people a serious injury, might have led them to 'wreak their vengeance on me.' This very Christian conduct on the part of the inhabitants of Houtree, we own, astonishes us; perhaps they are so accustomed to be treated in this way by captains of the Dobbs class that they think as little of it as eels are proverbially said to care for skinning; perhaps the old chief who ruled over the two hundred and sixty-three—observe our author's particularity—inhabitants of Houtree was so overjoyed by the gift of an old double-barrelled fowling-piece and a few pounds of powder and shot, on receiving which 'he fairly danced,' that he snapped his fingers at the defalcations of Dobbs, and coercing his subjects took Captain Lawson under his gracious protection. As all the necessaries for the march had to be carried, and in this respect travelling in New Guinea is very like exploring the heart of Africa, Captain Lawson recruited his party by two Papuans, who had acquired some knowledge of English in the course of a seafaring life. The name of the one was Aboo, of most repulsive physiognomy 'intensified by the cicatrice of a fearful cut across the 'face.' He was only four feet three in height, but of prodigious strength, much more than a match for that porter advertised for as 'a pious man who could carry a hundred weight;' for Captain Lawson has seen this Papuan Hercules 'lift four or 'five hundred weight without appearing to exert himself in 'any extraordinary degree.' He was about fifty. Danang, his companion, was younger and taller, and very muscular, but rather lazy; whereas Aboo was indefatigably active and of a

most kindly nature. In him, in fact, our adventurer found a real treasure.

Captain Lawson was now ready to start for the interior, but before he plunges into the jungle, he is good enough to tell us that Houtree lies in long.  $143^{\circ} 17' 8''$  E. and lat.  $9^{\circ} 8' 18''$  S., a piece of information for which we are most thankful, and all the more so as it is almost the only precise information as to his whereabouts to be found in any part of his book. His party now numbered six souls, and they took with them a small quantity of tea and coffee, some pickles and preserves, both of which we should have thought needless; but no doubt the Captain is given to pickles, and besides he took with him a corrective in the next item, medicines. Added to this were half a dozen bottles of brandy, a set of instruments for observations, twenty-four pounds of ship biscuit, a good supply of ammunition, always rather a bulky article, 'and a few other articles.' All these were made into three packages, besides what each man carried in his haversack, and the six took turns in carrying them. His own arms consisted of a double-barrelled rifle, not a very light weapon, a fowling-piece, a six-chambered pistol, and a cutlas. Thus equipped the Captain must have looked somewhat like our old friend Robinson Crusoe, except that his pistols had not six chambers. As for his attendants they had each an old musket and their knives; and here let us remark that by several strokes of his pen Captain Lawson converts these old muskets into rifles further on in his book, and even makes Aboo bring down swallows on the wing with one of them, a feat, we venture to say, never before performed by Brown Bess or Enfield rifle; but then it must be remembered that these swallows, like all the beasts, birds, reptiles, and creeping things in this book, were twice the size of any ordinary swallows, and so presented a better mark. We think it will be admitted that these arms and the articles specified, with 'a few more' in the margin, were an ample load for three men, especially when forcing their way through a country which Captain Lawson says 'had never been scanned by the eyes of an European,' and presenting, as we shall see, natural obstacles in the shape of rank vegetation, underwood, rocks, precipices, ravines, rivers, and immense mountains, such as few travellers have ever encountered, and all this under a temperature never less than  $100^{\circ}$  in the shade, and often ascending to 110 or 114 degrees. Their plan of proceeding was simple. They were on the south of the island in Torres Straits, and they were to walk across it.

to the north coast, traversing what mountains and rivers might be in their way. Besides this, the intelligent Aboo informed his master that in four or five days they would come to a high mountain range, and for that range they marched. Beyond this, even to Aboo, the interior of New Guinea was a 'desert ' vast and idle.' Captain Lawson's march if, as we shall see, it went out like a lion came in like a lamb. So far from finding the Papuans of the south coast murderous cut-throats, they treated him in the gentlest way. After 'a two days' tramp through marsh and jungle they reached a village where the natives knew the chief, who took them into his own house, made his slaves wash the strangers' feet, spread mats for them, and feasted them sumptuously on boiled rice, roast monkey, and yams. After a good night's rest they stayed there another day, when they almost all got inebriated on toddy—not that seducing compound known to Scotch baillies, but the juice of the cocoa-palm fermented with the bruised leaves of a plant called *Thadda*; but that did not impair their sight, for in the evening they went out and shot long-tailed monkeys with ball from the tops of tall trees, bringing down a score in two hours. After supping again on roast monkey they lay down and slept and rose up next morning and departed from the friendly Mahalla—that was the chief's name—promising to return and feast once more with him on baked monkey. On leaving the village they plunged into a jungle, where the grass was five or six feet above their heads; and now the native guides began to talk of *moolahs*, a savage beast, which it will be seen is as big or bigger than a Bengal tiger. But as yet they saw no tigers, only butterflies and birds of paradise, and that in a forest in which there were trees three hundred and thirty-seven feet high and downwards, and eighty-four feet some inches round the trunk. 'This,' says Captain Lawson, 'I should say is the tallest tree ' in the world, so tall, in fact, that the Papuans cannot climb ' it. It is called the wallah-tree, and bears nuts which are ' something like chestnuts; in form and foliage this giant of the ' forest is like the elm.' That night, when waiting ravenously hungry for their supper, they were greeted by 'a prolonged ' and horrible growl, which Aboo said came from the jaws of a ' *moolah*, and shortly arose a great chorus of those beasts, ' whose howls,' Captain Lawson tells us, 'are ten times worse ' than the screech of the hyena,' but so far as we can make out not nearly so terrible, so far as mere sound goes, as the braying of a jackass. Then came the moaning of some large animal, intermingled with the crunching of its bones by the fell beast. Morning rose, and revealed a pool of blood and the remains of

a large deer, which had been the moolah's prey. In the evening they hastened on, and on the 16th of July, at six in the evening, began to ascend a range of mountains 'which,' says Captain Lawson, 'using the privilege of explorers, I named the 'Papuan Ghauts,' from their resemblance to the Western Ghauts in India.

As these Papuan Ghauts were nothing to Captain Lawson's further Alpine experiences, presenting, as it were, mere pimples on the earth's crust of 12,000 or 14,000 feet or so, we pass rapidly over them, just as a man might, if he were equal to New Guinea exploration, walk up Mont Blanc and down the other side in a day. In this region they saw lilies, such as Solomon, in all his glory and with all his knowledge of plants, could never have imagined; one like a narcissus, with leaves six or seven feet in length and one in breadth, and so tough that the Captain found it impossible to tear them in two; the bulb was as large as a man's head, and the height of the plant nine or ten feet. Out of the down round this lily the birds of paradise build their nests, when they can get it. Nor were the other plants behind the lilies in due proportion, for there were daisies like those which grow in our English meadows, 'but as large as sunflowers.' 'They were crimson-tipped,' pleasantly says Captain Lawson, 'but not very modest, 'seeing they lifted their heads to a height of eighteen inches.' On reading which, it strikes us that a traveller must be modest indeed who could write thus of daisies, and yet have his features not crimson-tipped. But let not the reader suppose that he can rush off into New Guinea and botanise without risk. He is already warned as to the moolahs and beasts of prey; but now come the reptiles and creeping things. One afternoon, it was on the 23rd of July, Captain Lawson was all but stung by a scorpion which he had been carrying about unawares in his haversack. 'It was of the enormous length of 'ten inches;' and its bite, as they afterwards found, would have been instant death. Indeed, though there are no weekly bills of mortality in New Guinea, which yet awaits its Farrs and Grahams, Captain Lawson believes that more deaths occur among the Papuans from scorpion bite than from any other cause. Then there were beetles, 'the most remarkable being a black one five inches and a half long by three 'broad, covered with white triangular marks, and with horns 'two inches long. It is remarkable that only the males have 'horns.' 'This,' Captain Lawson again exclaims, 'I believe 'is the largest beetle in the world.' As for the moths and butterflies they were innumerable, the biggest being exactly

twelve inches across when its wings were expanded, while its body was 'as thick as my thumb'—we should like to know how thick Captain Lawson's thumb is—'and six inches in length. The feelers were seven inches in length.' On reading which we exclaim with our American cousins, 'Something like a butterfly!' In this most entomological region, where he only lingered a few days, during part of which he was surveying a great range of mountains, and partly incapacitated from illness, Captain Lawson contrived to collect a magnificent collection of beetles and butterflies, comprising a hundred different kinds; but we believe that owing to the perils which he afterwards underwent no part of the collection has yet reached Europe.

But these entomological treasures were not gathered without danger. The explorers were in an elevated region; and, as is not uncommon, they were overtaken by mist, which wet their clothes and made them very uncomfortable. Still they persevered, and climbed to the top of one of the mountains called, very appropriately, *Mount Misty*, ascertained by Captain Lawson, with a precision which would do credit to any surveyor, to be just 10,672 feet above the sea-level, while two peaks near it attained the height respectively of 12,580 and 12,945 feet. We do not know whether Captain Lawson is a member of the Alpine Club, but the ease and rapidity with which he scales the most precipitous peaks certainly entitle him to be elected into that hard-footed body by acclamation. The 10,672 feet of Mount Misty were but a breather, a short morning's work, and by four in the afternoon they were back at the foot, and this though they were suffering from agonies of thirst, which in the evening of the same day nearly caused the destruction of the whole party; but we should add, that the ascent of this range was much assisted by 'a little blue flower, like a forget-me-not, which clung to the hard rocks with such tenacity that it required a strong pull to disengage it. In several places it served to help us up the almost perpendicular face of the cliffs.' One result of this indefatigable climbing was, that at the same time the whole party had 'walked the skin off their feet,' which were instantly attacked by insects, which on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of July laid them all up except Aboo, who was 'as hard as iron,' and perhaps for that matter was shod with the same metal. It was when thus incapacitated that Captain Lawson took the angles, which enabled him to present his readers with the precise height of the range; and then he moved the camp slowly on, descending the range, and arriving on August 1st at another

Papuan village. Here, instead of being eaten or having their throats cut, they were very hospitably treated by a chief named Taa, who cultivated a farm of thirty acres with rice, maize, and cocoa-nut, and who had a herd of short-legged, hump-backed oxen and cows, which bore 'a great resemblance' to the Yak.' This Taa, on the whole, was what would be called a good fellow, only he was not at all kind to his old father, named *Sassofrang*, ordering him about in a way very shocking to Captain Lawson's feelings; but perhaps this poor old creature had outlived his time, and only existed by sufferance. For, as Captain Lawson doubtless well knows, there are tribes in which the relations of a man who has lived too long in public opinion hold a caucus and eat him 'instead of venison,' as Sir John Maundeville adds, who first tells the story. On the whole, then, old *Sassofrang* was, perhaps, not so badly off, if he lived on amidst kicks and cuffs, instead of being eaten by his son Taa in the Papuan village of Burtemmytara. It is very remarkable that at this distance from the coast Captain Lawson found old *Sassofrang* smoking a long Dutch pipe, and many of the inhabitants speaking Dutch; and this was very fortunate for our traveller, who could thus communicate with them, for as yet he had not acquired that knowledge of the Papuan language which enabled him farther on to maintain a fluent conversation with the natives.

But we must hasten on. On August 2nd the explorers left the village and passed through a hilly country, in which nothing particular happened, except that they encountered a hurricane of wind, which blew the parrots, and probably the monkeys also, out of the trees, tore the giants of the forest up by the roots, and blew gravel and stones about so that a great stone fell on Aboo's shoulder, and gave him an awkward cut. This gale was followed by a hail storm, in which many of the stones were 'as large as a hen's egg.' We are not told if any of the party were hit by these hailstones, which must have inflicted serious wounds. Then, too, they were so bitten by insects that their eyes were bunged up, and when they woke they were all blind, and had to bathe their eyes for nearly an hour before they could see; but when they opened them they were rewarded, on August 9th, by discovering an immense inland lake, which the Australians shouted out was 'the sea,' but which Captain Lawson, like a loyal subject, called *Alexandrina*, after her most gracious Majesty. At the same time 'a proud joy' so filled 'his breast' that he burst out into cheers, and was thus supported in the midst of a heat of 107° in the shade, which affected the monkeys with sunstroke, and

made them drop dead out of the trees. Captain Lawson, indeed, had a slight touch of the same malady, but he shook it off, and so preserved his reason and senses to survey the new-found lake. Along its eastern shore the party proceeded for several days, crossing stream after stream, and morass after morass, very much annoyed by the monkeys, who probably attributed the death of their respectable relatives mentioned above to Captain Lawson's black arts, and pursued them in their line of march with every mark of contempt, pelting them with nuts and filth, and spitting down on them from the trees. 'One old fellow, deliberately,' says Captain Lawson, 'spat down on me with all the gravity of a human being;' an expression we do not quite understand, as it has not been our lot to live with human beings who spat at us with or without gravity. With pardonable indignation Captain Lawson shot the 'old fellow,' when his companions pelted him for fully three hours with wallah nuts, in which space of time he got quite sore, and his helmet 'was battered into a highly disreputable shape.' When this plague of monkeys ceased, and they had leisure to look about them for other natural curiosities, they were rewarded by the discovery of the trap-door spider, much more like a crab, or for that matter like a whale, than a spider, for when they with some difficulty got it out of its beautiful nest it proved to be thirteen inches in its utmost stretch, with nippers half an inch long, and two exceedingly large and bright black eyes. This *yagi*, as Aboo called it, was exceedingly active; and as its bite is as venomous as that of the scorpion, it is fortunate that it preys not on the human race, but on lizards, which it seizes when with the fatal curiosity of their race they peep in at its trap-door, and then sucking all the juice out of their bodies, rejects the bones and skin. The heat was still excessive, so much so, indeed, as to cause a slight aberration in Captain Lawson's register; for just after his story of the spider, he says the thermometer was 'as high as 112° in the shade, which was the highest degree that I noted during my stay in the island;' but he had a few pages before mentioned 114°, a temperature which he again records at page 197; while at page 172 he registers no fewer than 115 degrees in the shade. Can it be that for 112 he wishes us to read 121? that temperature in the shade would be quite in character with the rest of his adventures. Be that as it may, it was hot enough to cause trees to shed their gum in large drops as if a shower were falling; and when it fell, it lay on the ground 'in a melted state, and hot enough to burn the fingers.' The party were now getting rather exhausted, and Billy the Aus-

tralian complained of being footsore; but Captain Lawson declares that it was all a pretence, and that he could walk just as well as the rest. Still he bore with the shuffling fellow for two days; and then, when he refused to stir, and said, 'I British subject; I no dog; I no do it; foot him sore, no walk;' the Captain caught up a strap with a heavy buckle, and thrashed the unhappy Billy 'till his cries'—hear them not, O Exeter Hall and Aborigines Protection Society!—'might have been heard for a league round about.' After this, nothing more was heard of sore feet, and Billy shouldered his burden with the rest.

By this time, on August 16th, they were in want of meat, and the Captain went out with Aboo in search of big game, and after sleeping out were rewarded by the sight of two herds of buffalo. Singling out an old bull, Captain Lawson stalked him till he got within thirty yards, and just as he was about to fire the brute charged him. Firing rather at random, he discharged two barrels, while Aboo, who had come up, threw in another shot, but it was all in vain; on rushed the bull, whom the Captain dexterously avoided only to be overtaken at the second attack, when he felt what he calls 'a terrible shock in the rear,' and became aware that he was spinning through the air. The fact was that the bull had tossed him thirty feet from the ground; down he came on his side, and then the brute stood over him trampling on him and ramming him. At this terrible moment the Captain's courage did not fail; he had still, unlike Robinson Crusoe, his six-shooter in his belt. He drew it, as the Yankees say, and fired four shots into the bull's head, 'which had the effect of confusing him a little.' Just then Aboo came up and fired a bullet through the bull's shoulder, which brought him down; but even then the Captain's misfortunes were not over, for the monster fell on him and crushed him with his huge weight. At last, when extricated from the carcass, it is not wonderful that our hero, for so we must call him, could hardly stand. Fortunately no bones were broken, but it is not at all surprising that he was shaken and bruised. While Aboo skinned and cut up the quarry, the Captain lay quiet till a steak somewhat revived him. Then he tried to walk the ten miles back to camp, but after a mile his strength failed, and Aboo lighting a fire went back to bring help. When the rest arrived the battered Captain was borne back on blankets, feeling as if his spine was broken at the small of the back. After a tolerable night he found himself so sore next morning that he thought he ought to be bled; and here observe both the resources of the country and of the Captain. It was easy to talk of bleed-



ing, but how was he to be bled? In the simplest way. Hard by was a rivulet full of leeches—whether horse-leeches or not deponent sayeth not. So Aboo went and fetched a score, from which applied to his loins the Captain derived great benefit. An incident which reminds us of nothing so much as that remarkable story in a tale called ‘Chicken Hazard,’ where on a desert isle a shipwrecked mariner, finding his boiled mutton tasteless, went out of doors and ‘cut some capers,’ by the aid of which he found his meal at once palatable. It was not till September 2nd that Captain Lawson was well enough to resume his journey, and it was four or five weeks before he was entirely free from pain. But even then we think he was a lucky man to come so well out of what he calls his duel with the buffalo.

So they proceeded skirting the lake till they came on a series of morasses, and resolved to leave its shores and to march in a north-easterly direction. As they advanced the country rapidly grew hilly and then mountainous, until at an elevation of 1,597 feet they descried a volcano in a dull state of eruption. With Captain Lawson to see a mountain is to ascend it, and perhaps he would add, to ascend a mountain is to see it. It took them just six hours to scale the summit, where they found a crater three miles and a quarter—English, not Dutch miles—in circumference; but after all it was but a molehill, this Mount Sulphur, for it was only 3,117 feet high. After this they descended and discovered another lake, and on September 11th came upon ‘two monkeys of gigantic size and the most human-like shape.’ Like our first parents in Eden they were male and female, caressing one another, and eating a fruit like an apricot. This little idyl in ape-life was rudely interrupted by the rifles of Aboo and his master, for if the Captain was like Robinson Crusoe, Aboo was surely his man Friday. The male fell stone dead to the Captain’s fire, but the female, only wounded, ran up a tree making most diabolical faces and uttering the most horrid outcries. A second shot brought her down headlong, but even then she got on her feet, and at last a bullet from the unfailing six-shooter made her give up the ghost. Well! now that they are both dead, what was their size? The male was five feet three, and forty-two inches round the chest, the female five, and thirty-nine. It is not complimentary to mankind to be told by the Captain that ‘both were horribly repulsive in features and yet human-like to an extraordinary degree.’ For the rest their description answers rather to the Orang-outan than to the Chimpanzee, but most unfortunate it is that the skins of these great apes

could not be brought away, and that their kind must remain a matter of doubt. But the party were overburdened, and such an addition might have furnished a fresh outburst of laziness on the part of Billy and caused him another flogging; so they were abandoned in the desert, taking their rest with their gory skins around them, and the explorers hastened on to fresh discoveries.

These were now geographical and geological rather than zoological. Due north they beheld more volcanoes and more peaks. Mount Vulcan was the name of one burning mountain, which Captain Lawson's angles ascertained to be 16,743 feet high; another, not burning, they called the Outpost, because it stood in their way and they had to turn it. On rounding this they descried another peak of far greater height, distant about twenty-five or thirty miles. Of course as soon as Captain Lawson saw this mountain he resolved to climb it, induced probably by the abundance of the same small blue flowers which had proved so useful when scaling the Papuan Ghauts. By the next night the party had got so close as six or seven miles from the base of the peak, the summit of which was veiled in mist; next day the full proportions of the mountain burst on Captain Lawson, and at first sight he calculated it to be 30,000 feet high, but on resorting to his angles it proved to be 32,783 feet above the sea-level, and 30,901 above the surrounding country. 'It is by far the 'highest mountain known,' he adds, with a serenity and simplicity of assertion which will carry their due weight with them. The skirts of this giant were clothed with forests, and to the hill itself Captain Lawson gave the name Mount Hercules. In old times it would have been considered one of the labours of Hercules to have scaled such a mountain. But what was Hercules, and what his labours, to our age of steam and travel? At four o'clock on the morning of September 16th, a day ever to be remembered in the annals of mountain climbing, the Captain and Aboo began the ascent, taking with them a supply of food and water, their arms and blankets; the first a most unnecessary encumbrance, but perhaps Captain Lawson wished, like John Gilpin, to carry weight, and so took with him his double-barrelled rifle, his fowling-piece, and six-shooter. To these a stout staff was added, and then they started. This, besides its height, was a very peculiar mountain. Perhaps that very stature exercised a paralysing influence on vegetation, for at the elevation of 2,000 feet the forest under a tropical sky degenerated into scrubby undergrowth and coarse grass. At 4,000 feet almost all animal life

ceased, a strange contrast with the wealth of animal and vegetable life on the lower slopes of the Himalayan range, which abounds up to 10,000 or 14,000 feet. Stranger still, there was no soil except in odd patches at a greater height than 6,000 feet; above that all seems to have been rock and snow. Of course there were grand views till the pair got into the clouds, where they seem to have remained in an atmosphere resembling a wet blanket for the rest of the ascent. But they did not let the grass grow under their feet, and indeed there was no grass to grow. By nine o'clock, that is in less than five hours, they had ascended 14,000 feet, very tall walking, seeing that between 10,000 and 14,000 feet 'the rock' was dangerously slippery owing to a slimy moss.' The Captain here took off his boots, and Aboo his sandals, in order to maintain a footing. At 15,000 feet they came on the first snow, and above this they had to 'climb up an almost perpendicular face. In doing so masses of rock gave way under 'them, and they received some ugly falls.' At eleven o'clock they halted to rest and eat, and here both got so drowsy that they could scarce keep their eyes open. But, as the quack doctors say, 'Delay is death.' The Captain roused Aboo and proceeded upward. And now the cold grew excessive. The thermometer was 12° below zero, and the water in their bottles froze. Now they felt the good of their blankets, and Aboo felt so comfortable that he fell several times asleep, and had to be awakened by rough means. All these are rather impediments to swift climbing, still they trudged on amidst rocks and cliffs wreathed with snow. Here the sleepless Captain dozed off and fell with a shock which effectually roused him. As for Aboo, he tramped along mechanically. Now the blood began to flow from their noses, and even from their ears which were long exposed, and Aboo not unnaturally complained of headache, and begged to be allowed to sit down. This the Captain successfully resisted, but at the same time saw that it was time to beat a retreat. The thermometer now marked 22° below zero—we conclude of Fahrenheit, and they gasped at every breath; worse still, their staves fell from their hands and they could not pick them up again. How they ever returned without those trusty supports is a marvel to us. It was now one o'clock, and they had climbed 25,314 feet in nine hours: certainly, unless Captain Lawson's powers of observation were frozen out of him, the most astounding feat of mountaineering ever recorded. It took them three hours to descend the 10,000 feet to the first snow, and then they pushed on more rapidly. At the same time as soon as his fingers were thawed,

a little brandy was served out, which put new life into them ; and so, says Captain Lawson, ' we arrived at our camp about ' half-past-seven in the evening, thoroughly beat.'

We feel we can add little to this wonderful tale which is already sufficiently long. It is clear that as Captain Webb is among swimmers so is Captain Lawson, of whom we know not whether he be a land or sea captain, among climbers. We only wish we had been there to see him and the trusty Aboo go up and down 25,000 feet of a perpendicular unexplored mountain in the time named. Next day they laid up, as they were rather footsore, but on the 18th they were off again, going due north. Now they were in the jungle, the haunt of the moolah, and Captain Lawson, who has a large acquaintance with Bengal tigers, was anxious to see what this Papuan tiger was like. His wishes were soon gratified ; first they came on the footprints, and then on the beast himself, which rushed out on the gallant Captain, who avoided it by a sudden contortion of the body, but it was a near shave as he felt ' the draught ' of its charge. At this moment the faithful Tooloo fired at and wounded it, when it escaped into the jungle. Then they stalked it in a body. They soon found it, when it received both barrels of the Captain's rifle, and charged him before he could ram down another bullet. Now it was the Captain's turn to run with the moolah at his heels, who soon caught him in his claws. Now it seemed all over with the explorer, when he bethought him of a long dagger-knife which no doubt with other cutlery he kept in his belt ; this he drove up to the hilt in the creature's side, who turned and bit the knife ; then, feeling that it had done all that moolah could for life and honour, it fell dead without a growl, and the Captain extricated himself from the carcass. And now what was the moolah like ? It was of the same shape and size as the Bengal tiger, but much handsomer. It was marked with black and chestnut stripes on a white ground, and its length from the nose to the root of the tail was 7 feet 3 inches. This skin was so beautiful that the Captain had it dressed by Aboo and brought it away, ' it being one ' of the very few articles ' which he succeeded in bringing to Europe. We should like to see it, and it certainly ought to be acquired for the Natural History Collections of the country. A little later on the Captain shot two moolahs one after the other, of which one, a female, was no less than 7 feet 10 inches from the nose to the tail, and he adds, ' two inches longer than the largest tiger I had seen in ' India.' They now came on many streams infested by croco-

diles, some of which they killed and one of which they ate. One of the rivers they called the 'Gladstone,' and another, the biggest of all, 'the Royal.' We have now got to September 29th, a day marked by a sad catastrophe, for then it was that the faithful Tooloo, when suffering from sunstroke, blew out his brains, and was buried under a tree by the river side. This sad event almost produced a mutiny, and all except Aboo tried to force the Captain to return; but he produced his *ultima ratio*, a rope's end, which makes us think that he must be a sea-captain, and Billy and Joe and the other Papuan desisted from their murmurs. They now followed the course of the river through woods and streams, chiefly peopled by birds of paradise and crocodiles, with the thermometer at 114° in the shade, till their ears were greeted by the distant roar of a waterfall which could be heard from ten to twenty miles off. Then next morning they saw the spray and foam miles off, and at last reached the fall, whence the river, now contracted from half a mile to 300 yards in width, threw itself headlong 179 feet sheer down. This was on October 26th; and again we say we only wish we had been there to see, were it not for what follows. Tearing themselves away, they marched due north along the river, when on the 29th they came on a party of natives engaged in fishing. 'It was so long,' says Captain Lawson, 'since our eyes had rested on any of our own species, that the sight filled us with joy.' They shouted, and the natives shouted and drew near the shore. The end was, in spite of Aboo's warning, that the whole party embarked in the canoes, Captain Lawson having by this time—that is to say in less than three months—acquired sufficient knowledge of Papuan to converse freely with the chiefs. Then they paddled down the stream, the chief, whom Captain Lawson now trusted, saying that 'the sea could easily be reached by water 'in two days at the furthest.' That evening they reached the native village, when Aboo whispered to the Captain that if they entered it they would never come out alive. On this Captain Lawson told the chief that he was forced to proceed, and offered to buy a canoe and food. During this parley a crowd collected, and tried to land the baggage. The chief tried to drag the Captain on shore, and when he resisted snapped an old flint pistol at his head. It missed fire and the faithful Danang felled the chief to the earth before he could recock it. Then ensued a fearful *mêlée*. Poor Joe was stabbed and slain while trying to re-embark the baggage; the Captain slew his assailant with an axe; then drawing his revolver, he shot down three fellows in as many seconds. Danang discharged

the double-barrelled rifle among the crowd, killing three men more. In the struggle they had pushed off their canoe with some of their goods and paddled for their lives, Danang being shot through the head by a chance bullet. The party were now reduced to three, the Captain and Aboo rowing for dear life, and the recreant Billy. Of course the natives pursued them, and in ten minutes a canoeful approached the fugitives, firing as they advanced. By order of Lawson they stopped their canoe and lay down at the bottom, much to Billy's comfort, but the instant the enemy came alongside, up Captain Lawson and Aboo started, shot two or three, upset their canoe, and beating out the brains of a fellow who caught hold of their paddles, resumed their flight. It was then nearly dark, though the moon was rising, leaving them a poor chance of escape. Strange to say, so far as they knew, there was no other attempt at pursuit. The three got clear off in their canoe, and they saw no more of their murderous assailants, who perhaps may have thought the Captain's party murderous too. Paddling all that night they landed at dawn, sank the canoe, and surveyed their stock of goods. There was, indeed, little left. Everything except one bundle had fallen into the hands of the enemy. A few skins, a small stock of ammunition, and the Captain's journal, and a couple of other books, were all that remained. All their rifles, four in number, one of them double-barrelled, and the Captain's fowling-piece had been lost. Still they had two rifles left: on which we remark that the Captain's double-barrelled rifle must have produced others on the journey, for we only hear of one when they started, and yet it and three others had been lost, and still two remained. In addition there was a pistol, we suppose the six-shooter, and so, as Billy was not to be trusted, they had arms enough. In this position it was madness to make for the north-east coast, now only thirty miles off. Their only hope was to regain the uninhabited interior whence they had emerged. After this catastrophe Captain Lawson's exploration loses much of its romantic character. They altered their route, struck up the country, and succeeded, after some perils from scorpions, in sighting Mount Hercules and reaching the Gladstone River. In great danger of famishing for want of food owing to the failure of their ammunition, and occasionally driven mad by thirst, they reached the north-west shore of Lake Alexandrina, of which, now considering themselves on safe ground, they ascertained the dimensions. They had only twenty charges of powder left on December 14th, but what of that, were they not almost at home? The lake was from sixty to

seventy miles long and from fifteen to thirty broad. From the multitude of islands on it Captain Lawson supposes it to be shallow. This survey completed, they made their way back to Mahalla's village, which they reached on the 19th of January, who treated them with the utmost hospitality, and took them down with him to Houtree, where they arrived on the 8th of February 1873.

At Houtree Captain Lawson found the goods he had left behind him all safe. Nothing now remained but to pay off Aboo, his man Friday, which he did with a sum which made him 'quite a nabob' in the eyes of the natives. The wages of poor Danang were handed over to his wife. His only attendant now left was the lazy and worthless Billy, with whom the Captain embarked on the 24th of February in a Chinese junk bound for the Island of Banda, where he hoped to find a Dutch vessel. The junk was small, of about fifty tons, manned by four Chinese and two boys, who ate nothing on the voyage but rice and salt fish eked out with beetles and cockroaches. They never seemed to sleep, and disturbed the Captain, who slumbered on his boxes, with their chattering and laughter. On the 1st of March they reached Banda, where the Dutch Governor received the traveller kindly, and assigned him a lodging in the house of a customs' officer till he could find a passage. Next morning Captain Lawson was too ill to rise, being prostrated with dysentery, which nearly carried him off. For two months he kept his bed in the military hospital, carefully tended by the Dutch, while the ungrateful Billy never came near him, but passed his time, as a free British subject and not a dog, in constant intoxication. No doubt he still dreaded that rope's end. On the 7th of June Captain Lawson left Banda for Singapore, at which port he arrived on the 22nd of that month, whence he passed on to Calcutta, where a ship was found to carry Billy back to Sydney.

Shortly afterwards Captain Lawson set sail for England, where he arrived, as he says, completely broken down with the fatigues and hardships which he had undergone; a misfortune much to be regretted by the scientific world, as the state of his health, we understand, has prevented the bold traveller from attending the meetings of the Geological and other learned bodies who were eager to greet and listen to the man who had seen and done such wonders in the unknown interior of New Guinea. But as Captain Lawson has preferred to lay his discoveries before the world in this book, his proceedings are open to criticism; and we say at once, that it contains many things very difficult to understand. In the first place, it is hard to under-

stand how on the very edge of the Australian Continent he should have found such wealth of animal and vegetable life all at the same time so different from Australian types. Very strange it is that Torres Straits should separate two countries so various in their vegetable products and natural history as New Holland and New Guinea as described by Lawson. On one side of that comparatively narrow strait, we leave the land of parrots and tree kangaroos and marsupial creatures; while on the other, Captain Lawson introduces us to large herds of buffaloes and other cattle, to deer of various kinds, to monkeys and huge apes, and, though last not least, to huge tigers, for the moolah is nothing more nor less than a tiger. It is true that it may be possible to find many strange shapes and forms of life in an island nearly 1,300 miles long and in some parts about 500 miles broad; but we must say that in no book except that very respectable but somewhat mawkish production the 'Swiss Family Robinson,' have we ever perused pages so teeming with every necessary for the life of man as these of Captain Lawson. The party never seems to have lacked anything but water, and then though they were once or twice perishing from thirst, it was their own fault that they did not find it close at hand. Very different this again from the arid wastes of Australia, in which so many valuable lives have been lost by drought. Nor can we fail to remark the palpable air of exaggeration in the whole story, which makes the book read more like an amusing romance of travel than serious travel itself. Everything is on the grandest and most gigantic scale; and very strange, if true, it is to find that in one island, even though it be of the size of New Guinea, there should have been found by one and the same traveller in a six months' journey, the most gigantic grasses, the biggest scorpions, spiders, and butterflies, the hugest tigers and buffaloes, the most monstrous apes and crocodiles, one of the largest rivers and waterfalls in the world; and, though last not least, a mountain by far exceeding the loftiest peaks in the Andes or Himalayan chains. With regard to his observations and angles, Captain Lawson is as hazy as his own Mount Misty. That there are high mountains in New Guinea has long been known; the observations of the lamented Captain Owen Stanley, about whose angles there could be no mistake, had ascertained that in one corner of the island, not far from the coast, was a mountain between 13,000 and 14,000 feet high. That we can well credit on such authority; but when we are asked to believe that an unknown traveller, of whose powers of observation we have no evidence



except this very romantic narrative, has discovered and actually ascended in nine hours 25,000 and odd feet of a mountain 32,783 feet high, we find ourselves at once in a region so far above our ordinary experience, and on a platform so elevated above the summit of scientific inquiry, that our breath is taken from us. The result is that when we try to swallow Captain Lawson's account, we are as unequal to the task as he and his man Aboo were to breathe in the rarefied atmosphere on the top of Mount Hercules. But in our distress we have one comfort—such discoveries will surely attract a whole army of Alpine climbers to the interior of New Guinea. They will scorn the spiders, scorpions, monkeys, apes, and crocodiles. They will snap their fingers at the Papuans, or brain them with alpenstocks, if they come between them and the object of their search. They may not, indeed, be such philologers as Captain Lawson, and able after three months to converse freely with chiefs in the original Papuan; but they will find means of telling them that they have come to see and scale that mountain, and that nothing shall hinder them. That done, and having ascended every inch of these 32,000 and odd feet, they will be content, light their pipes, and glide down to the base of Mount Hercules in less than two hours; and if what the Germans term their *Beinkleider* suffer in that rapid evolution, what will that matter? they will stitch them up with Adam's Needle, which we are frequently informed grows plentifully at the foot of the mountain. After that they will return home attended by a train of botanists and zoologists, who will bring showers of gum, live moolahs, tame orang-outangs, and boxes containing lively scorpions and spiders. The Lake Alexandrina, and Mount Hercules, and the waterfall on the Royal, they will leave behind them for future travellers, and when they return home they shall have a hearty welcome. And now but one word remains to be added. When all this happens, and we have received such ample corroboration of the genuineness of Captain Lawson's explorations in New Guinea, we shall, like that mediæval pope, accept for true every word that he has written; but till then we must suspend our belief. This confirmation, in part at least, may be nearer than we think. Other travellers and explorers have been, and are, in New Guinea, besides Captain Lawson. The strange Russian enthusiast, Mikiucho Maklay, recently passed a year with two companions on the coast of New Guinea; and two Italian men of science, Beccari and D'Albertis, are probably at this moment in the interior of that island. May they soon return, and bring a confirmation, or a contradiction, of all the marvels related by our modern Maundeville.

ART. VIII.—*Der Preussische Feldzug in Holland, 1787.* Von FREIHERR VON TROSCHKE. Berlin: 1875.

‘**Y**OU are happy in going to be settled in a country where ‘you will find all the pleasures of royalty with none of its inconveniences.’ With these words the great Frederick in the peaceful days of his later reign dismissed the niece whom the young Prince of Orange had come to Berlin to claim as his bride. For at that time (1766) the political horizon in the United Provinces was fair. The struggles against Spanish bigotry and French ambition, in which prince and people had nobly responded to each other’s call, were not so long past that the benefits of the compact could be forgotten under which a few scattered trading communities had won a place in the councils of Europe. The Dutch were grateful to the line of rulers whose energy and tact had preserved the nation against external foes whilst maintaining its internal liberties. On their part the Princes of Orange had little of kingly honour or power wanting to their position. Commanding by hereditary right all land and sea forces, and holding all the chief executive powers; these functions confirmed and renewed in the elder branch of the house of Orange first, by the five chief provinces; then extended to the junior, so adding the two others it had separately administered; then granted to successors by the female line; and finally to heirs adopted in default of any born: it might well seem that the Stadtholders of the Netherlands, though professedly only the first servants of a free state, held dignities as honourable and as sure of continuance as those of any royalty in the world.

Such was, no doubt, Frederick’s view when he parted from his niece. The Prussian reigning house was the natural marriage mart for princes in those days. Princesses had abounded in it when Frederick was young, and had been disposed of freely to the first fitting suitor by the thrifty court. And there is small reason to believe that this young lady was despatched from Berlin with any special view to extending Prussian influence over a neighbouring state, much less with the far-seeing design of making her treatment by the Dutch a pretext for entering the land to overrun it with a Prussian army. If any such thought entered Frederick’s subtle mind, it gained no utterance. And it was after he had passed away that events occurred which brought about the event then unforeseen, the invasion of Holland by Prussia, the excuse being mainly the illtreatment of the Stadtholderess by Dutch officers, successors

of those who had welcomed her with every demonstration of loyalty twenty years before.\*

To tell how this change came about would be to write the internal history of the Netherlands during the eventful epoch that preceded the great turning-point in modern history, the French Revolution. Such a task would be altogether beyond our scope. It is sufficient here to indicate, as one main cause of the unpopularity that in 1780 had begun to attach itself to the Stadtholder, the connexion of Dutch affairs with our own unhappy war with America. Long jealous of our growing maritime supremacy, Holland was not a whit less ready than France to aid the new foes of our own kindred, whom an obstinate ministry and bigoted king had forced into rebellion. The time had come, it was thought in the United Provinces, when the Dutch flag should once more sweep the seas of those intrusive islanders, and strike terror far inland from the coast where it flaunted. And in the conduct of the operations that followed the declaration of war it came to be thought, whether with truth or not, that the Stadtholder, himself of British blood by his mother's side, was not hearty in the national cause. The anti-Orange party, which before the American war had dwindled into a mere faction, grew rapidly in importance. Its leaders in the various provinces skilfully used the opportunity of the hour; and the Prince of Orange, on his part, did so little to counteract the popular cry against his sluggishness, that when peace came in 1783, it failed to bring back with it

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\* The political details of these transactions are related with inimitable vivacity in the Despatches of Sir James Harris, then British Minister at the Hague, which were published in 1844 by his grandson in the second volume of the 'Malmesbury Correspondence.' In fact, Sir James Harris had been throughout the moving spirit whose energy and courage kept life in the Stadtholder's party, and eventually defeated the cabal of the Patriots and the French. The Prussian Court refused to act without the support of England, which was extorted with considerable difficulty from Mr. Pitt. But in August 1787 the two Governments of St. James and Potsdam agreed on six preliminary points; to act as mediators by mutual consent; to resist all foreign interference: to disarm and dissolve the Free Corps, and restore the Prince of Orange to all his rights as Stadtholder; to march a Prussian army into Holland, England agreeing to prepare forty ships of the line to support it; and finally, in the event of any Power disapproving of this intervention, to defend each other and accomplish it by force of arms. A Secret Convention embodying these articles was signed between Prussia and England on the 2nd October, 1787. But the whole operation was no more than the fulfilment of the policy of which Sir James Harris was the real author.

his former constitutional powers, dependent as these were on a friendly majority in the legislature. The Patriotic party, the name assumed by those who advocated war *à outrance* against England, had grown to be a formidable body in the States and in their General'Assembly. Each exercise of the hereditary prerogatives of the house of Orange was closely watched, criticised, and contested. The rising tide of revolutionary feeling in France naturally gave strength to popular sentiment against a prince in a land so near. And despite the rigid efforts to adhere to the constitutional forms, which he did his best to maintain much later even when the opposition was put forcibly down by Prussian bayonets, the Prince of Orange found his task of administration becoming yearly more and more difficult. In truth the strange union of personal sovereignty with republican freedom which hard circumstances had made possible for several generations, was now becoming weakened in the absence of the external pressure which was probably necessary to its continued maintenance. It would be interesting to speculate on what the internal history of Holland might have been, had not the general convulsions of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras that succeeded, settled the question decisively by superior forces. But we are here concerned chiefly to trace the actual facts that led to the special intervention of Prussian arms in her neighbour's territory. For this was an event of some historical importance in itself, and not without its bearing on the military questions of our own day; yet one which the din and clash of the greater wars that speedily followed that of 1787 have caused to be almost forgotten save by a few students of military problems.

The Stadtholder's difficulties were much increased by the conduct of Austria in 1785 in contesting the right of the Dutch to occupy the strong places on their own frontier in the Netherlands, and to close the navigation of the Scheldt; the doing of which was, according to the limited commercial notions of the day, the most pressing point for Amsterdam policy to carry out. The Emperor Joseph II., reversing the whole policy of his house in foreign as well as in internal matters, had at this time patched up a temporary friendship with France, and let it be known to the Dutch that he could only be moved on the points in dispute by her mediation. This led the Patriotic party to insist once more on the value of what they declared to be the purposely neglected alliance with France; and their attacks brought further unpopularity on the Prince of Orange, who from hereditary training, as well as by his marriage, was strongly opposed to French predominance in European politics.

The continued differences on important points of policy between the Stadtholder and those who now had the majority in several of the provinces, and especially in Holland whose voice in the Federation was nearly as powerful as that of the other six united, led to determined opposition to his administration on minor questions. The Prince had so far lost sight of the wise advice given him by Frederick the Great, never to forget his true position of chief servant rather than ruler of the States, as to introduce certain semi-royal observances on which the Patriots fastened offence, and so used them to diminish his influence with the masses. Thus it was observed that the officers of his guard now bore the arms of Orange on their caps, instead of those of the United Netherlands as their predecessors had done. Then the main gate of the palace at the Hague had been of late years reserved entirely for princely use. Like other free peoples, the Dutch were peculiarly sensitive as to any right of way being taken from them; and the restriction, when once brought clearly to public notice in the growing agitation, gave dire offence. And to these disputes there came to be added a more serious difference still, one of some real constitutional importance, as to the right to the command of the palace guard. The deputies of the Provinces asserted an hereditary claim to appoint to it, granted to them expressly to secure the independence of their deliberations against a populace supposed from its local conditions to be subservient to the ruling house. Worsted on all these points, William V. not only showed his personal annoyance by suddenly ceasing to wear his own military uniform in public, but declined to reside any longer in a capital where he considered himself subject to insult. He withdrew altogether from the Hague, and dwelt for a time chiefly at his château of Loo in the province of Gelderland, where his party was still in a decided majority.

His retreat at this crisis, however, naturally gave increased strength to the opposition in Holland; and if Holland should decide to cast his authority off, he could hardly be deemed the actual Stadtholder of the Netherlands any longer. Yet she, powerful as her superiority in wealth and population made her, and in despite of her contribution of more than half the charges of the Federation, was for some months overborne in the votes of the States General, where Utrecht (excepting only its capital), Zealand, Friesland, and Gelderland were faithful to the Prince. Parties in each had been formed against him, and were in active correspondence with the Patriots at

Amsterdam; but the governments still adhered to their allegiance.

There was a sort of armed truce during the summer of 1786, in which the more cautious spirits were striving to patch up the difference, while the 'more far-seeing prepared for the armed struggle that was inevitable. This was presently broken by the warmth of party-spirit in Gelderland, the most Orange in opinion of the seven States. Here two small towns, Hattem and Elburg, where the patriotic party had gained the upper hand in the municipalities, refused further obedience to the decrees of the provincial legislature or States, declaring it incompetent to act in the absence of their deputies. The States then called upon the Prince of Orange in his capacity of Captain-General of the Province to use armed force in defence of their prerogative. Nothing loth to act under constitutional powers, William marched on the recusant towns with such troops as he had at hand, acting, as his party put the matter, in his magisterial rather than his strictly military capacity. But his opponents did not wait his coming. Protesting against the violence intended, they left their homes to go a few miles into the neighbouring province of Overijssel, where feeling was strong against the Stadtholder; thus giving the appearance of the first call for armed forces as coming from the Orange side. Holland then decided on action from which there could hardly be any appeal but to the sword. She had temporised hitherto, according to such Prussian writers as Baron Troschke, chiefly because her leaders were endeavouring to get back from distant parts of the United Provinces the regiments quartered there, but raised and paid by her. The proceedings in Gelderland caused caution and concealment to be laid aside; and on September 22nd the province by its States directed that the Prince of Orange should be suspended from his functions of Captain-General of Holland. The glorious Federation that had astonished the world hardly less by the firmness of its union than the gallantry of its actions seemed at once to be dissolved by this daring step. Order and counter-order from either side contended for observance; and the hour had at last come when constitutional forms were strained till they broke, and personal choice for prince or province became a hard duty to be incumbent upon all. Out of the general confusion of the few months that followed, the truth appeared that if the Prince trusted to the armed power at his command for the restoration of his hereditary rights, his trust would be in vain. The troops he had had under him were raised, as he himself had been appointed their commander, by

separate provincial commissions. Known to the outside world as one national army, the Dutch regiments were constitutionally far more distinctly separate levies than those bodies of cantonal militia which the Swiss are now slowly striving to weld into a Federal force. Holland had no sooner openly pronounced against the Prince, than her allies in the Patriotic party in the Assembly, Groeningen and Overijssel, gave direct orders to their own regiments not to use arms against any other province of the Federation. Zealand and Friesland presently followed the example, seeking the neutrality favoured by weaker spirits in all such national crises. Utrecht was paralysed from action on either side; for although her Orange-governed States had moved their sittings from the hostile capital, so important was the latter to the province that its defection made it useless to count on the regiments siding with the Stadtholder. There remained, therefore, for him to rely on no more than his faithful Gelderland, with its handful of 3,000 or 4,000 troops, a force quite inadequate to do more than for the present guard his own person. Even the Swiss contingent of the army which had lately obeyed him did so no longer. There had long been, it should here be noticed, such a body in Federal pay, raised chiefly in the canton of Berne, and quartered along the defensive southern frontier of the Seven Provinces which, at first held for reasons of a strictly military character, had grown to be the common care and property of all in peace as well as war. These regiments, having never known orders come to them except through the Prince, might have been thought certain for his cause. But though mercenaries, the Swiss soldiers never forgot that they had come to a land which professed freedom as full as that won by their own forefathers. And when private instructions came from Berne that they were to remain strictly neutral in the political conflict in the Netherlands, they made it known that neither party could reckon on their services for putting down the other. The Patriots, in fact, felt for the time that matters were going their own way; and they were occupied in Holland with fresh proposals for striking at the hereditary powers of the Stadtholder, when a sudden act of violence by partisans on their side at once forced on open hostilities, and brought an ally to the Prince's side no less able than willing to give him the mastery over his adversaries.

On June 28th, 1787, the Princess of Orange, unaccompanied by her husband, was on her way to their château near the Hague. To reach this it was necessary to pass a cordon of posts formed by some of the provincial troops of Holland. But

she had no armed escort with her. The Prince himself had not been in any way outlawed, or officially declared the enemy of the province, which had simply by its legislature suspended him from his military offices. Nevertheless, a certain local Commission of Defence, formed no doubt of warm partisans of the popular cause, took on itself to consider the journey as either dangerous or illegal, and after roughly stopping the cortége, finally sent it back. It was a time of much hot blood on either side; and there is little doubt that the Prussian story is true, and that the officer charged personally with the unpleasant business behaved with great and needless violence. He is said, on his being refused admission to the Princess's chamber, to have forced his way in with drawn sword, and remained until she left; and his subsequent act of suicide when his party succumbed to Prussian intervention, seems to show him either consciously guilty, or despairing of clearing his name of the charge laid on it.

The report of this act of violence no sooner reached the Hague than Prussia came upon the scene. Thulemeier, the ambassador, who was previously conducting, conjointly with the French plenipotentiary, an attempt at the difficult task of reconciling the Prince with the recusant provinces, and had never ceased to show perfect deference to the claim of sovereign rights maintained by each of the latter, now took an altogether different tone. The injured Princess was the sister of his king, Frederick William II., who had not long succeeded to the throne of what was already recognised as one of the most powerful, if not the very foremost, of the military monarchies of Europe. Moreover the sympathies of the king had all along been privately much more on the side of the Prince of Orange than those of his predecessor were, so far as had been known, in the earlier difficulties in his day of the Stadtholder with the Provinces. If far more humane and liberal in his administration of home affairs than the Great Frederick, his successor was certainly wanting in that breadth, or, as it might by some be judged, coldness of view which caused his uncle to regard with the utmost equanimity any troubles of his friends or neighbours that did not chance to touch the welfare of Prussia. And although revolution at that time, it should be observed, could certainly not in the abstract have been so repulsive and detestable a thing in the eyes of a German ruler of the ordinary type, such as Frederick William, as it became but a few years later when identified with the Phrygian cap, the guillotine, the abolition of royalty, and all the excesses of the Reign of Terror: still personal and family sentiment, no doubt, made the prospect of intervention on fair excuse a pleasant one politically at Berlin.



The only difficulties anticipated were those of a military nature, and these were at first overrated, as the events to be narrated prove; but even estimating them at their worst, the Prussian Court was confident in the invincibility of soldiers brought up under the eye of the great master of war himself: and the order was unhesitatingly given to collect a force sufficient to enforce compliance with the ambassador's demands, and to march it, or so much of it as must get across the Rhine, forthwith into the Duchy of Cleves. Mobilisation, with all its elaborate machinery, was in those days a thing unknown. Such standing armies as states chose to maintain distinct from the militia which all had, in some form or other, inherited from feudal days, were supposed to be fully ready for war at all times; just as our own army affected to be until the necessity for its reorganisation was lately forced on us. The War Bureau, then very recently formed at Berlin, to replace as far as possible the personal supervision to which the great king had trusted, found no difficulty in moving 26,000 troops speedily to the required points; and it was believed that full occasion would be found for all their services before Prussian honour, now pledged to the Stadtholder's side, could be vindicated.

We suspect that if the difficulties of the undertaking were much over-estimated then, they are certainly not less so in the narrative of Baron Troschke. No doubt this writer is supported to some extent by the example of his great countryman, Clausewitz, who has left an elaborate narrative of this campaign, as one of special importance to be studied. But Clausewitz was writing with a special view to theory, being in fact a military teacher and critic first, and an historian only so far as served his main purpose. It was natural, as no branch of warfare is neglected in his great work, that he should take for analysis a single study of the science, on a theatre so peculiar as Holland, in order to show how far the usual principles are to be modified in a land of marshes, canals, and inundations. And certainly this example was very ready to his hand, the chief materials for dissecting it being found in the German archives, and the invasion conducted throughout with success and credit by his own national army. It seems to us, however, altogether a mistaken view to put it in the first class of military achievements. Nor is the attempt to be justified by the historical fact that the same country which was overrun with comparative ease by a single Prussian corps in 1787, had resisted the whole efforts of Spain and of France in preceding centuries. For in the first place, the art of war had been altogether changed since the era when Alva led his fanatic legions against the Protestant

rebels of the Netherlands; or to come lower down in history, when the horsemen of Louis XIV., the 'Maison du Roi' at their head, swam the Rhine at Tollhuys to commence their campaign against the same obstinate foes. The progress in wealth and civilisation, which, while it makes countries seemingly more powerful as well as prosperous, in reality puts them more than ever (as the world is discovering rather late) at the mercy of a stronger and not less civilised invader, had operated in Holland as much as elsewhere. The rude energy of the measures of defence by wide inundations which baffled the Grand Monarque in 1672 were hardly likely to be fully repeated in the more crowded Netherlands of a century later; and if they had been adopted, it may be doubted whether even this means of defence would have proved as effectual against the improved facilities for the attack which the Prussians could have brought to bear. Nevertheless, the prestige of former heroic resistance no doubt magnified the apparent difficulties of the invader. But in this campaign that we are about to notice a new and decisive element was to act on his side. The war was, in fact, not a national struggle, but an act of armed intervention; and the Prussians were therefore to be aided in what should have been the most difficult part of their task, not merely by the moral support of the Stadtholder and his party, but by the material possession through the hands of his supporters of some of the most important strategic points that had to be gained for their purpose. This will appear from even a brief consideration of the task originally set before the Duke of Brunswick, whose high reputation at that period, and the favour he had constantly enjoyed in Frederick's old age with that king, whose favourite nephew he was acknowledged to have been, secured him the command of the Prussian army in the field beforehand in any serious operation it undertook.

Four separate possible lines of defence (increased in Clausewitz's review to five) oppose the invader moving westward on the heart of Holland, the half seagirt district of country round Amsterdam. Of these the outermost, and by far the most important geographically, is the Yssel, the branch which leaves the main Rhine stream near Arnheim, and taking its course first to the east, soon turns to make its way due north by Duisburg and Deventer into the south-eastern corner of the Zuyder Zee. The province of Overijssel, which has been mentioned as one of those which from the first strongly supported that of Holland in its rupture with the Stadtholder, lies on the eastern or German side of this stream, and might be supposed therefore ready to aid in resisting the Prussian

passage. But on the other hand, that of Gelderland lay to the west of it; and the Prince of Orange, by his faithful contingent from that province, held secure passages over the river more than sufficient for his coming allies. This fact, no doubt, fully justifies the statement of Baron Troschke that in the campaign we are writing of, this famous line had no importance whatever. But it does far more than this in our view. It shows that an examination, however careful, of the military problem of 1787 cannot solve the present question, one very carefully studied in both countries, of the possibility of the defence of Holland against Germany. And when the War Office of the former sketches a project, as has recently been done, for protecting the line of the Yssel with certain intrenched points, which would act as it were as large guard-houses from which to regulate the extensive inundations which it may be desirable to make in case of war; one may be sure that there is naturally no thought of dealing with any state of things like that of 1787, when the keys of this line were already placed beforehand at the disposal of the Prussian army by the prince whom it came to restore to his rights.

For a similar reason there was no more importance at the time we are speaking of to be attached to the second line, which runs rather to the westward of and parallel to the Yssel, along the small streams, the Grebbe and Ehm, flowing respectively into the Rhine and Zuyder Zee from the same marsh, and is continued again across the Rhine above its separation into the Old Rhine and the Leck, to its southern branch, the Waal, at Ochten. For behind, or to the westward of this, lay the town of Amersfoort belonging to Utrecht, to which place the Orange party in that province, being in the legal majority, had transferred its seat of government, and which might therefore be looked on beforehand as safe for the Stadtholder and his friends. Occupied early in June, as it was certain still to remain, it rendered the intrenchments that had long marked the line of the Grebbe useless, and indeed there was no serious attempt made to hold them.

Such resistance as could really be expected in 1787 would rest naturally on the third line, the renowned bulwark of Holland itself in former wars; formed for the first forty miles, from the Old Rhine at Utrecht, its most important part, by the Vecht flowing to the Zuyder Zee. Through Utrecht again it is continued south-westward along the Vaardt, another cross channel running from the Old Rhine to the Leck, and then by similar canalised streams to Gorkum on the Waal, a place so strong that the French held it for nearly three

months in 1814, after they were driven from the rest of Holland. The lower part of the Vecht pierces the Goiland, the most intersected and marshy district of all the Netherlands; and the skill of Cohorn, exercised to prepare the country within against the genius of Vauban urged on to proof in the invasion of the Netherlands by Louis XIV., had strewn this difficult country with small but formidable works that seemed to cover every possible point of passage against a foe coming from the east. Opened to the French however, by the unhappy surrender of herself to them by Utrecht, the advantage they unexpectedly gained in thus turning it in the end proved vain; for the undaunted Hollanders had already inundated a new line just within it (treated by Clausewitz as a distinct one, and made the fourth of his series), which started like that of the Vecht from Naarden, on the Zuyder Zee, and ran also to Gorkum, so as in fact to make a loop with it; and on this unlooked-for obstacle the French invasion of 1672 was shattered. The inner line thus formed was in fact a vast lake of prolonged shape, cutting the country between the Zuyder Zee and the Waal in two; and the republic was saved indeed, but only by such a tremendous sacrifice as the less united and determined generations that succeeded cannot, in our view, be expected to repeat.

Behind these lines running from Naarden to Gorkum, is a last barrier to the invader. Amsterdam possessed its own works, of no great strength in themselves, but easily covered by a skilful system of inundation. And it must be borne carefully in mind by the reader that the whole south and west of the then very limited district adjoining the capital was covered at the time we are writing of by the vast Haarlem Lake, the greatest impediment the Prussians met with. But where broad waters rolled in 1787 there are now, thanks to Dutch industry and ingenuity, nothing but fertile pastures. So that of the thirty detached forts which we understand to be in the lately-framed project of the Dutch War Office for the defence of the city and its ship-canals, a mere fraction would have closed all the land approaches three quarters of a century since.

It is needless to follow Baron Troschke in his analysis of the characters of the chief actors on the scene. Yet in one point this might well be done did space permit; for no more careful account can anywhere be found than that he gives of the brilliant qualities which made the Duke of Brunswick's at that time one of the foremost names of Europe. On the whole, however, the Prussian writer deliberately decides that the Duke's mind was just one of that class which fails under the test of very serious responsibility; and this verdict will

hardly be disputed by any English reader. The events of his more famous campaign of 1792 shattered effectually such political and military reputation as he had won; and as much of this was owing to the success of his operations in Holland five years before, we must plainly look for the cause of this success somewhere else than in the exceptional genius of the commander. Yet Brunswick certainly on this occasion showed no want of any personal activity, or of promptitude to master the needful details. On receiving from Berlin the first private instruction of his coming appointment, he left his hereditary dominions at once for the future scene of action, and a few days later, on August 7th, was found at Nimeguen, attending the birthday reception of the Princess of Orange, nominally of course to offer his compliments to his cousin, but in reality to gather information for his enterprise. Many of the chief adherents of the Stadtholder from the various provinces had made a point of paying their respects to his wife on this occasion; and hence Brunswick was enabled to ascertain without difficulty what aid might be hoped for from each. And doubtless also, one so conversant with public affairs knew enough of the world (though this we are not told) as to discount rather largely the sanguine views of the partisans with whom he was mingling. This first part of his task done, he made his way back to Wesel, where on his passage through he had informed the governor, General Gaudy, that it would probably become his line of operations, and directed him to take forthwith the necessary preliminary measures for supply.

For the next five weeks preparations went actively forward with a spirit worthy of one trained in Frederick's practical school. Three divisions of Prussian troops were formed in the Duchy of Cleves, close to the Netherlands frontier, under Generals Knobelsdorff, Gaudy, and Lottum, and equipped specially for service which might lead to unusual exposure. Brunswick showed much forethought in the care he bestowed on the bridge-train which was to accompany him, having large wooden pontoons specially supplied by boat-builders at points behind him in Prussia, besides hiring a small squadron of boats and lighters, some ready decked, from the traders of the Lower Rhine. Other vessels were taken up for the transport of supplies; and it is worthy of special notice in these days, when all military improvements are supposed new, that eight large Rhine-boats were specially fitted up under the Duke's own eye as floating hospitals, to be accompanied by others carrying a proper staff of doctors and nurses. He had an army which Clausewitz declares not properly adequate in numbers for its

purpose; for his 26,000 men had to overcome the resistance of provincial troops not much fewer in number, strongly posted, and likely to be supported by large reserves, such as the Holland militia, who in former wars for independence had played their part manfully. But a more serious anxiety beset him at this time in the reports which came both from Paris and Amsterdam, that the French Government had not only resolved to intervene on the side of the Provinces, but had actually given orders for the formation of a camp of 100,000 men in the north-eastern angle of France about Givet, with a view of taking the Germans in flank during their enterprise. Brunswick, however, was a master in the art of spying, a part of warfare then conducted with thoroughness: so taking his measures for getting early and complete information from the spot, he was presently reassured by the fact that nothing was yet done up to the time that his little army was all ready for its business. The foreign policy of France, in those last years of the unfortunate Louis XVI., was in one of the fits of indecision and nervousness which alternate strangely in the nation's history with acts of passionate and dangerous temerity. There was a great desire universally felt to avenge Rosbach and humble Prussia. But no doubt the pecuniary difficulties which brought on the great revolutionary crisis two years later were already pressing heavily on the ministry of Louis. At any rate the opportunity, such as it was, was suffered to slip away; and 'the sharp German axe that (according to a national boast) can cut the tightest knot,' had fully done its work before the unready Court of Versailles had resolved on any action. Still there was present throughout on the other side the fear that the talked-of French preparations might be begun; and both the diplomatic action and military preparations of Prussia were hurried forward in consequence, so that all attempts at a pacific solution had been openly abandoned by September 12th, and the army received its orders that day to be ready to cross the frontier on the following morning.

Of the forces disposable for Brunswick's operations the strength, and its distribution in three divisions of about 8,000 men each, have been already mentioned; and as usual with Prussian writers, Baron Troschke goes, at this portion of his task, into elaborate detail.

It is sufficient for us here to say in the first place, that the boasted invention of horse-artillery by Frederick did not help his successor here, the maintenance of that arm having been abandoned by the great captain from motives of economy in his later years. Four field batteries, therefore, and these

hardly capable of more rapid motion than a walking pace, represented the artillery arm, as the word is now understood, in the Duke's force. But his infantry battalions, according to the custom of the day, were each accompanied by their own light field-guns.

The cavalry, on the other hand, viewed also as at present known in Prussia, were thus early represented in each branch except that of the famous Uhlán or lancer. Brunswick had with him two regiments of cuirassiers (a branch that had then just laid aside the cumbrous armour it took its name from); one of dragoons, still (by what was fast becoming the fiction it now has long been) supposed to be specially capable of doing dismounted service; and portions of two regiments of hussars for his light duties, one being that which had been so gloriously distinguished under Zieten in Frederick's early days, and still bore the name of the greatest sabreur of modern war.

Of engineers, a single detachment, known as a 'troop,' was assigned to the army, and this probably in consideration of coming siege-work. For the days had not yet come when the great organiser Scharnhorst was to make of this new branch a component element of every Prussian field-force.

Of the infantry, which of course formed the bulk of the 26,000 fighting men, one part must be particularly noticed. Out of eight regiments detailed for the campaign, one only, and that of small strength, was formed of fusiliers—in other words, of infantry soldiers dressed in green, carrying rather lighter arms than the rest, and specially taught to skirmish. The tradition then was, and it remained long after France, Austria, and Russia successively abandoned it, indeed until the Prussian army went down helpless under its weight at Jena, that the infantrymen must as a rule fight solely in the steady shoulder-to-shoulder line which Frederick had so often led to victory. So to a proportion of some 16,000 of these closely-drilled soldiers, it was thought quite sufficient, according to the routine of those days, to allot two moderate battalions of light infantry, intended to cover the front and flank from annoyance; to which were, however, added two companies of riflemen recruited originally from the royal foresters, and probably the most efficient troops of their class in the world. In such figures, and a close adherence to the dead system they represent, may be readily found the key to the utter defeat of Prussian pride not many years after by the Frenchmen trained to more agile warfare in the revolutionary campaigns. But English soldiers of all men should be the last to criticise the error. The sounds of the centenary anniversaries of Lexing-

ton and Bunker's Hill still ring across the Atlantic. And Lexington and Bunker's Hill celebrations only really record the historical truth, that British soldiers trained closely on Frederick traditions were found at heavy disadvantage, alike in defence and attack, against the rough provincial levies that had learnt under our own flag in the struggle with France for the American continent, the simple secret of suiting their form of infantry battle to the ground on which they fought.

Of the disposition and arrangements of the Dutch forces for the contest, little that is exact is known to the German writers; and it is probable enough that, as they believe, the details were never put on record. About 20,000 men, or rather fewer, were left to the popular cause from the regular contingents maintained by the seven Provinces, after deducting the small part that had adhered to the Stadtholder. It was hoped to double this by the addition of 20,000 militia, chiefly to be raised in Holland. And as a final reserve, the large towns all had their independent city companies, fairly equivalent in value to our own metropolitan volunteers of to-day, and not unlike them in their practice and organisation. Of these Amsterdam alone could turn out sixty companies on occasion; and behind works they might make a formidable addition to the defensive power of the nation. In cavalry the Dutch were naturally weak; yet they had four small regular regiments of this arm at their command. And their artillery, largely served, according to what had become a national tradition, by Frenchmen, was abundant in number and well supplied with matériel. On the whole, therefore, there could have seemed to be no reason for ridiculing beforehand their confident expectation that the new enemy would find the task of penetrating into Amsterdam as serious a business as the Spaniard or Frenchman had in days gone by. For plain reasons, already given, their leaders made no attempt to defend the two more advanced lines of the Yssel and the Grebbe. The regulars were therefore dispersed, according to the military ideas of the time, in small bodies along the third line which was to be obstinately held, that which first follows up the Vecht to Utrecht, and crosses the Old Rhine and the Leek successively, to end at Gorkum. The latter place and Utrecht, as the two main points on it, were strongly held. Some 10,000 troops occupied the open lines where not wholly protected by inundations. The rest were thrown into such smaller fortresses as Naarden and Muiden at the Zuyder Zee extremity. It was thought in Holland that the opening of hostilities would be followed by deliberate sieges of some of the permanent works. A double attack of this nature on Naarden and Utrecht was



especially prepared for. And this misconception of his purpose, it is due to Brunswick's reputation to add, had been skilfully led up to by his own orders. One part of the singular conditions of this campaign was that, during the sort of five weeks' armistice that preceded it, Prussian staff officers, carrying the Orange colours, had been allowed to carry on their reconnoissances from day to day, almost up to the very works they had presently to turn or take. Brunswick had fully availed himself of this exceptional advantage, and that in a twofold sense; for his assistants had not only examined every road leading to the Vecht line that could possibly be used, but by his special orders had shown themselves conspicuously and frequently at various points along its lower section from Utrecht to Naarden, in order to impress the enemy with the belief that the blow would fall on that side.

While thus dexterously deceiving them, Brunswick prepared to manœuvre so as completely to turn the portion of their lines he thus appeared to threaten. Breeswyk, a hamlet which stands at the angle where the so-called Vaardt, which is no more than the Upper Vecht, branches off from the important Rhine mouth, known as the Leek, was the particular point at which he resolved to break through. It was known, indeed, to be strongly intrenched. But still there was of course more hope of carrying it at once than of taking without regular siege such a place as Utrecht. And there was the special political advantage in avoiding the latter, that the province it formed the capital of had not officially renounced its allegiance to the Stadtholder, and it was desirable as far as possible to isolate the resistance of Holland by refraining from attacking the neutral states. To carry out the purpose, General Gaudy, whose division formed the centre column, and was made stronger than the others, would march direct on Breeswyk down the Leek. General Knobelsdorff, who, with the left division, was to follow the line of the Waal, was directed to detach troops to his right at the proper time, so as to assist Gaudy's assault by making feints or even real attacks on neighbouring parts of the enemy's line. The right division, Lottum's, which took with it most of the cavalry, was to occupy the attention of the Hollanders as much as possible on the Vecht. The Utrecht line once carried, Brunswick would act according to circumstances; and obviously such a success, even in face of the expected opposition, ought of itself prove sufficient to enforce submission to the Stadtholder. For public opinion was known to be divided even in Holland, except, perhaps, in one or two of the larger towns;

though how greatly does not appear to have been known either to the Prince or the Prussians.

The plan of defence prepared on the other side, as it may still be found in the orders of the day by Count Salm, who had been appointed to command for Holland, was simple enough. It consisted chiefly in directing that whatever part of the line was threatened should be reinforced at once; that the inundating means at command should be freely used wherever necessary; that the militia should 'as far as possible' take up their quarters with the regulars; and in short, as the Count summed his instructions up, that every effort should be used to prolong the conflict 'until the damp of autumn turns the ground into a swamp, and compels the enemy, whose men and horses alike will then suffer from sickness, to close this campaign without touching the boundaries of our own Holland at all.' All these fine words meant very little, however, in reality. For the dejected Orange party within Holland had lifted up its head again when the certainty was heralded of the approach of the Stadtholder with his formidable escort. Doubt and dissension prevailed at every important part of the line, and observing how rapidly the difficulties of his task increased, Count Salm himself, as will presently appear, had made up his mind that it was a hopeless case, and resolved to throw it up as soon as this could be done with safety. At the present moment it was too late to draw back from the charge he had accepted, and any proposal to treat would have been met with the cry of treason.

Early on the morning of September 13th, the Prussian divisions, each in a separate column, headed by small detachments of riflemen and hussars, crossed the Dutch border on their respective roads. The weather at first was fine, though after the first three days it changed, and the rains began which are so common in a Dutch autumn, and made every movement somewhat slow and difficult. The left column however, with which was the Duke himself, and which was kept according to his plan slightly in advance of the others, had made its way by the 16th to the vicinity of Gorkum, and summoned that place, the east front of which had been watched up to the arrival of the Prussians by a small body of Orange troops detached to keep the garrison from reconnoitring or obstructing the advance. The defenders at first refused to treat when summoned early on the 17th, and even drove off by threats and shots the Prussian officer who strove to parley with them; so that for the moment Brunswick had reason to expect energetic resistance here at any rate, where good information from Orange

partisans had told him that 1,200 Dutch troops lay not many hours before. He happened to be absent with his main body when the advanced guard, according to orders, opened fire later in the morning on the place with a battery of howitzers, rather to test the enemy's intention to resist than with any hope of beating down the heavy guns at the command of the garrison, should they choose to use them. Not a dozen shells had been fired, when a white flag was suddenly hoisted, the gate was opened, and a staff officer rode out authorised to treat for terms. Colonel Romberg, who commanded the Prussians, could hardly believe his own good fortune; but had the readiness of wit, as he perceived there must be strong cause for this sudden abandonment of the defence, to insist on an absolute and immediate surrender to his detachment, which was presently acceded to by the commandant from within. And on entering the place the Prussians soon discovered that there was good cause for the change of mind on the latter's part; for the garrison, refusing to obey orders since the time that the enemy appeared, had been deserting all the morning in the opposite direction in every boat they could lay hands on; and but ninety men were left or had voluntarily remained to give themselves up as prisoners of war.

Brunswick, hearing the cessation of firing, had by this time ridden up and heard of his success. But so difficult was the communication between the Prussian columns, or so poor (as we are more disposed to believe) the means of intelligence at the command of their staff, that the true cause of this strange conduct on the part of the Dutch soldiers remained unknown to him for many hours afterwards; though the fugitives who had thus begun to abandon Gorkum from daybreak had only mutinied after discussing news which was freely circulated among them the night before. This was that the defence of the ancient lines of Utrecht had suddenly collapsed; the Commissions of Defence established throughout Holland been abandoned by their Commander-in-Chief; and the Stadtholder himself that morning, escorted by the loyal States from Amersfoort, received with shouts of greeting in the city which had previously been so hot against him, but which had now given itself suddenly over to the Orange party. How this actually came about may be very briefly told. Indeed, the details scarcely belong to that military narrative with which we are here concerned. Plainly Count Salm had for some time previous made up his mind that the cause his commission represented was a foregone failure, there being a strong Orange minority throughout Holland itself ready to declare for the Stadtholder as soon as

he showed himself anywhere; and the hoped-for support of the French, which alone in the commander's view could have saved the Patriotic party from succumbing to superior forces, being evidently for the present withheld. Under pretence, therefore, of moving forward to meet and delay the enemy on his march, he obtained the 'march-routes,' without which no troops paid by the jealous States of Holland could lawfully be moved by their commander. These once issued to him in blank, he lost no time in drawing his forces at first out of Utrecht eastward, and soon breaking them right and left along the lines, marched them back round the city. This once done he left them, to save his own person by concealment and flight. His main object in all this manœuvring had in fact been to get safely out of the way of the heated Patriots of the city, who would have probably sacrificed his life at the first appearance of treason to their cause. Once free from this danger, he quietly abandoned his trust, and disappeared from the scene, leaving some of his battalions taking up chance quarters under their own officers; whilst others dispersed over the country pillaging their own countrymen, and spread such terror before them that the Committee of Defence of Amsterdam at first shut the gates in the face of those who marched that way. In fact the end of what came here to be called a rebellion rather than a civil war could now not be long delayed.

As Breeswyk, on which General Gaudy's column had been originally directed, is not far from Utrecht, it is needless to detail the march of the centre division, which was of course unopposed. Such fighting as the Prussians had to do on the Vecht line fell entirely on their right, where the Dutch troops about Naarden, divided from Utrecht by the marshy district before mentioned, were for some time unconscious how completely they were abandoned and turned. Hence the resistance here for a few days was a real one. An attempt made on Naarden itself with shell-fire had no effect, and Count Kalkreuth, who commanded under Lottum on this side, withdrew his troops from before the place, and threw detachments along the dykes to seek for a passage higher up. Three of these failed, but the fourth, sent to reconnoitre the works of Weesp, a small fortress on the Lower Vecht, was guided by a peasant friendly to the Orange cause to another passage at Uiterdam, said to be less strongly covered. The Prussians were headed by Lieutenant Wirsbytzki, an officer of whom the Berlin records, travelling out of cold official praise, state that 'he would dare anything man's bodily power might attempt.' This young soldier, discovering on his reconnois-

sance that a guard posted opposite had all taken shelter from the pouring rain inside their watch-house, leaving a peasant outside in charge of their bridge, rode up to the latter and threatened to shoot him if he did not instantly let it down. The astonished Dutchman complied, and in a few moments men enough of the Prussian party had crossed to surprise the guard before it got under arms. The lieutenant followed up this first success with such speed that he got into the main works with his party of about sixty men before the garrison of nearly an equal number was alarmed; and so captured the whole of it without difficulty. This affair happened on September 17th, and his lodgment at Uiterdam enabled Lieutenant Wirsbytzki on the following day, by means of a couple of canoes, to lodge secretly a party of his men in rear of the next post, which was to be attacked by signal in front. The surprise was decisive, and eighty more Dutch soldiers being here taken with their works, the line of the Lower Vecht was effectually pierced. Niedersluys, the chief point on it between Naarden and Utrecht, finding itself enveloped, surrendered on the 21st. Despite increasing inundations, Lottum, after this success, managed to secure post after post with little loss. Reports of an armistice no doubt aided him in his later operations, though some of his affairs were bloody enough, especially the repulse of a spirited sortie made from Weesp; in which, however, the Dutchmen were cut off nearly to a man in their retreat. Finally however, this place and Naarden, on which it depended, fell into Prussian hands quietly enough on September 27th. The governor, General Ryssel, having heard that Amsterdam was itself treating for terms, and received private authority to deliver up his trust to the Prussians if he chose to do so, declined the responsibility of carrying out the order in person, and took his way secretly to Brussels, making over his charge to the senior colonel. This officer in his turn being doubtful how to act, and the water passage being open to him, started off soon afterwards for Amsterdam to demand definite instructions; and his temporary successor, receiving a few hours later a fresh summons from Lottum, solved the dilemma effectually by admitting the Prussians without further parley. This was early on September 27th, and from that hour all further resistance to their arms was necessarily confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Amsterdam; for that city found itself by this time isolated in its resistance.

Those who imagine that a proud tradition of freedom preserved inviolate by their forefathers' arms is the surer promise that succeeding generations will emulate their deeds, would do well

to study in more detail than we can here give to them, the events that had passed elsewhere during the short campaign on the Vecht just narrated. In truth the burghers of Dordrecht, Delft, and Schiedam had talked as loudly but a few weeks before of readiness to die in the breach if necessary, as ever did their stout-hearted ancestors. But either some genuine doubt of the justice of their own recent conduct towards the House of Orange; or the want of any religious motive to steel their feelings to endurance; or, what seems more probable still, the knowledge that the French supports, on which they had relied, had abandoned them, made resistance an unprofitable sacrifice when once the foe was known to have fairly entered Holland. The towns we have mentioned, with others less important, vied with each other in the haste and readiness of their submission. Rotterdam itself, where the municipality had gathered in arms in the market-place on hearing that the States at the Hague were preparing to yield, and had promised their fellow-citizens magniloquently enough to defend the place to extremity, surrendered without firing a shot at the summons of a lieutenant of hussars, when once the Prussians were known to be near. The Hague itself alone was spared foreign occupation, as a special favour to the deputies who had now assembled there in haste to pass a vote in favour of the Stadtholder; and by September 23rd, Brunswick could feel that his flanks and rear were sufficiently secure to permit of his advancing against his final object, Amsterdam, with Knobelsdorff's division, presently supported by Lottum's from the Vecht. Reconnoissances had already been pushed almost within sight of the city; and on the 21st the remnants of Salm's own regiment of dragoons had been driven by the Prussian hussars through the village of Amstelveen, six miles to the south of it, after a skirmish of some severity, the only military affair worth mention in this part of the operations. On the 26th, when the Duke was preparing to gather his somewhat scattered troops on a semicircular front facing the city from the south and east, its two land sides, he was suddenly met by a deputation from the municipality asking a truce.

The Duke had little objection to grant the favour so often sought in war by the weaker party, and here an almost sure sign that his adversaries were disheartened. His advices had told him that the position in front of him, running through Amstelveen and covering Amsterdam, was strong in itself, and that its defences, well furnished with artillery, were held by the six regular battalions which remained to the Patriots, aided by a strong body of militia, probably all that the city could

muster. The municipality had therefore little to gain by delay, except so far as it might lie in the hope of conciliating the Prince of Orange; and Brunswick granted the request, reminding the embassy that it was for the Princess, now with her husband at the Hague, that he came to demand redress; and that he therefore reserved to himself the right of resuming hostilities if the proposals they bore, with which it was not his business to interfere, should fail instantly to satisfy her. Accordingly, a temporary armistice was signed forthwith, the conditions being that no further works should be thrown up or inundations made, and that it should not interfere with the surrender of Naarden, which was hourly expected. The advantage of this truce was, in fact, entirely on the Prussian side. The Duke, however, took care to use the next four days in closing up his troops for their final work, and reconnoitring the Haarlem Lake, the now extinct, but then wide, and in rough weather dangerous sheet of water which covered the right flank of the Dutch and his own left. Colonel Gordon, an officer of the Scotch brigade maintained in the Dutch army, but a warm partisan of the Stadtholder, was here of the greatest service. Being well acquainted with the lake, he at once secured a number of boats on its south side for the Prussians, and reconnoitred with their staff up to the opposite shore, thus discovering that the Hollanders had no armed vessel anywhere on it. They had apparently so underrated the energy or the skill of the invaders as to believe that no attempt would be made to cross it; a fatal error, as it proved, to their last chance of successful resistance. It was found that they had confined their preparations on that side entirely to intrenching the narrow neck of land then existing at its northern extremity, by which the only direct road from Amsterdam to Haarlem in those days passed, through the village of Halwege. Brunswick at once ordered the boats to be formed into two flotillas, prepared to carry separate bodies of troops across it; one to turn these intrenchments of Halwege, and the other to take in rear the defences of the western end of the line before him by landing behind Amstelveen, where the Dutch flank reached the lake, and was evidently supposed to be secured by it. He himself would conduct the front attack on this place with the main body of the Knobelsdorff division. More to the right, Lottum's, which had now come up fully into line, was to make demonstrations at various points and keep the Dutch from any attempts to reinforce Amstelveen. As the Amsterdam plenipotentiaries came back on the night of September 30th, on their passage through for more powers, not having been able to arrange

matters peaceably with the Stadtholder and his wife at the Hague, Brunswick denounced the armistice on the spot. Nothing could have happened more opportunely, indeed, for him; for the preparations for turning Amstelveen by the secret passage of the lake had just been reported complete.

Before daybreak both the detached columns, unknown to the Dutch, were well on their way over the water, and landed without being discovered at the points on which they were directed. Entirely unexpected on this side, each was completely successful. Major Burghagen, with the northernmost force, turned the works of Halwege so suddenly and completely as easily to drive the Dutch in them confusedly away towards Haarlem, and then occupied the neck, thus closing in Amsterdam from either aid or issue on that side. So effectually, indeed, was he soon lodged there that he was enabled to detach some companies to support the column of Major Hirschfeld, who had landed to the south of him with one of the fusilier battalions, prepared to take directly in rear the defenders of Amstelveen, who were commanded by a picked officer, a French artilleryist, Colonel De Porte. Again, between Hirschfeld's landing-point and the Duke's own left, two companies had been detached to climb along a narrow dam which would bring them just in upon the right of De Porte's line. This dam was known to be cut and intrenched, but the Prussian party carried ladders, and it was hoped that with the aid of Hirschfeld's turning movement they would force their passage along it across the obstacles.

This proved so in the event. The fight that ensued about Amstelveen early on October 1st, the chief action of this singular campaign, was sharp, but not prolonged. It was complicated, as against the Prussians, by a sortie made from Amsterdam on the news reaching the city of Hirschfeld's troops having got between it and its defenders. But the ground north of Amstelveen was much enclosed and built on, and the Prussians, dexterously occupying with some companies a knot of houses which covered them towards Amsterdam, were able to hold their own on the defensive there successfully, and with the rest to make De Porte's position quite untenable by pressing his rear. Before the day was far advanced that officer was compelled to abandon his part of the lines precipitately, leaving all his guns and three hundred prisoners in the hands of the Prussians, who lost about sixty-five men in the capture of the village. Of the others, which were really false attacks, it is hardly necessary to speak in detail. As Clausewitz has justly pointed out, the omission to guard the waters of the Haarlem



Lake effectually ruined the whole plan of the defence of Amsterdam, on which the more belligerent members of the municipality had confidently relied.

The next day found the city authorities again begging and again granted a brief truce. As this was used by the now Orange States at the Hague to send the march-routes, so potent in Dutch eyes, to the regulars, and draw them off from the side of the Patriots, there was little means of resistance left. On October 9th Amsterdam finally agreed to capitulate at discretion. But in consideration of its distinguished history and the proud spirit of its citizens, Brunswick generously spared it the humiliation of occupation, and contented himself with merely marching a detachment of his army within its walls; an example which was brought forward, and that successfully, in favour of conquered Paris four years and a half ago, showing forcibly that precedent has its claims in war no less than peace. On the political changes that followed it is unnecessary to dwell: for the great revolution none of the actors in the drama we have followed could have dreamed of was close upon them; and not many years elapsed after the Stadtholder's triumphant return to the shout of 'Orange Boven,' when he was once more driven from his hereditary dominions by the cry of 'Vive 'la République,' heralding the advance of the revolutionary troops pressed into Holland under Pichegru.

Perhaps those affected most powerfully by this campaign were the Prussians themselves. The army had done its work skilfully and rapidly; and as it returned by steady marches from Holland, the soldiers enjoying a grant voted by the States-General in gratitude for escaping war-contribution, and the officers well paid by the proceeds of the prize-fund raised from captured war-matériel, they found themselves loaded with honours by their country. The enterprise that had proved so easy in execution was judged of rather by the supposed difficulties that had been conjured up for it. The national curiosity had been very great to see whether the army that under Frederick had been the admiration of Europe would retain its traditions of success under his successor. And even the military longings of Prussia were for the time gratified to the full. There is no more monstrous delusion among us as to our Continental neighbours than that which makes Englishmen speak of the Germans as essentially a pacific people. As applied to the lesser states, and especially those of central Germany, where division and weakness has caused them to live only upon sufferance for generations' past, there may be some truth in the view. But if used of Prussia it ignores all the facts of

history for the past two centuries, and the sentiment which grew up from these facts: the feeling which every Prussian has at heart that it is to the sword his country owes its long and steady growth in the path of greatness. From the great Elector's time until the 30,000 picked troops from the Crown Prince's army rode into the Champs Elysées in 1871 to typify the final and complete triumph of Berlin over Paris, Prussia has been, as she is to all appearance likely to remain, the most truly military nation of Europe, her people ready to make greater sacrifices than any other would to maintain a foremost position. The very work we have been reviewing bears testimony to the fact indirectly. So great was the exultation produced by the success of 1787, coming at the close of the Frederick era, that Baron Troschke especially tells us that it prepared the humiliation of Jena by the over-confidence it inspired. And he quotes Count Kalkreuth, for example, as writing to a friend not long after, just before the revolution broke out fully in France: 'No war this time. What a glorious epoch it is for Prussia! She has just to tap her sword, and Europe comes to terms at once.' But having begun his moral thus, our Prussian historian goes on to pursue, as though involuntarily, and certainly more fully than is usual, a line of thought familiar to his countrymen, and deserving study from those Englishmen who would trust them for the future peace of the world. The passage is so striking that we give it in full.

'Although,' says Baron Troschke, 'people have been accustomed to treat this catastrophe of Jena as a consequence of our stepping, during the events of 1787, out of the ordinary path of Prussian policy and its modest measure of firmness; yet it should not be forgotten that through it the foundation was laid for the reception of the teachings of history, out of which from the era of deepest humiliation grew the policy, as steadfast as successful, which we still find ourselves developing.' Jena, in fact (so runs our historian's moral), was well worth suffering, as giving Scharnhorst and Stein their opportunity, and repaying Prussia with the glories of Leipsic, Sadowa, and Sedan, not to speak of those of the yet undeveloped future.

The rapidity with which its political results were swept away has contributed hardly less than the smallness of its dimensions to cause this campaign of 1787 to be little regarded by historians. Yet its military lessons would be important enough if they helped us to solve the problem of the possible defence of Holland against Germany in the event of that collision which no pru-

dent statesman can pretend to be beyond the political horizon. Dutchmen themselves are certainly not such optimists as to ignore the subject, nor so unpatriotic as to sit still after it has been brought home to them, in hopes that those vague influences of wealth and trade which have of late proved ineffectual to preserve peace, may suffice to avert the day of peril. An elaborate and well-weighed scheme, the cost of which was originally estimated at somewhat less than two millions, but afterwards increased to three, was fully sanctioned by the legislature last year for the purposes of defence; and experts declare that this sum must be doubled if the works are to be thoroughly executed as designed, and the army completely re-organised within the eight years fixed by the law. Readers who have followed us thus far will have no difficulty in comprehending the brief outline of its purpose here offered.

The line of the Yssel, once thought so formidable, has been condemned for permanent occupation, chiefly because the volume of that stream is at certain times so small that it becomes easily fordable at many points, and there are no other features along it which are specially suitable for defence. This being so, it is not thought worth while to erect regular forts on this advanced line. Certain strong points only are to be partially intrenched, so as to give a defending army the choice of occupying it if the weather and other conditions made this suitable, as well as of abandoning it at discretion without the appearance or indeed the reality of serious loss. Very similar has been the decision of the Dutch Government as regards the next line westward, that of the Grebbe and Elm; though, as stated to us, it is here arrived at on somewhat different grounds. The Vale of Gelderland, across which this runs, is to this day a difficult and only partially cultivated country, with a good deal of wooded high ground on the eastern or further side of the stream. If the Dutch army is at all able to face its enemy in the open field, somewhere here would be the proper position to take up for the purpose of fighting an action. To restore the old continuous lines which ran along the streams, and which still exist, though in a ruinous condition would be a work of vast expense if carried out in conformity with the demands of modern defensive science. It is thought better, therefore, to spend the national grant in thoroughly strengthening the heart of the country, which is of course, as of old, the old State of Holland and especially the district near Amsterdam, than to throw away a large sum on a line so far advanced, and so extended, that if held merely on the defensive, it might be dangerously pierced through at some single point. The Dutch general

would therefore be left, if he found himself unable to hold Gelderland by open force, to retire on his real line of defence behind. And this is to be no other than the line through Utrecht already described, called strangely enough, in the government scheme, the 'New Water Line.' Here every preparation is to be made that care and experience can suggest for laying the whole belt of country along the Vecht and Vaart at need under a wide sheet of water, shallow indeed, but with deep cuts carefully drawn across it making it impassable except at a few fixed points. These openings are to be strongly protected by works. Naarden, with Weesp, and the other old fortress of Muiden that forms with these a triangle covering the mouth of the Vecht, are to be thoroughly reconstructed on modern principles. Breeswyk, and other points likely to be attempted, will be guarded by large roomy forts armed with plenty of short-ranging but powerful rifled guns, and well provided with bomb-proof cover for troops. Utrecht is to be itself surrounded to the east by a chain of the same defences. And a separate second or inner line of detached forts will protect the westernmost parts of the inundation, being so disposed that no surprise of any single passage will allow a hostile army to get through. All important landing places on the coast behind, where an enemy might endeavour to debark a force sufficient to turn these front lines, such as the Helder, and the mouth of the Meuse, are to be separately fortified on the ordinary principles. Finally, and as a last resort, Amsterdam will be treated, as in days of old, as the citadel of the whole; only the new works for its special protection will be advanced so far as to save the city from the terrors of bombardment for even long-ranging guns, and will be supported on the side of the Zuyder Zee by a strong squadron of monitors and floating batteries built especially for this purpose.

The arrangements thus sanctioned are, of course, as well known, and perhaps nearly as closely studied, in Germany as in Holland. Indeed our information respecting them is drawn mainly from German sources. It is perfectly understood on both sides that the chief object of the Dutch in making these sacrifices is to protect their independence against the gigantic military empire that has grown up on their eastern border. It remains, therefore, only to inquire briefly how far their means may enable them to compass the end in view with a fair prospect of success. Supposing, in short, that the proposed works were all completed; that the reorganised army which is decreed to man them under the same Act that has voted the millions, were raised and ready; and that, finally, a not less

important condition, the people of Holland, instead of being as distracted and doubtful of their cause as when the Prussians marched across the frontier under Brunswick, were as united and resolute as their forefathers in their early struggles for liberty: could they enter on the great trial of a war with the German Empire with any prospect of closing it short of ruin, or at least complete submission?

To answer this question decidedly could only be done on a correct forecast of the policy of the other nations of Europe. If the hope of the Dutch were by the mere strength of their unrivalled line of defences (unrivalled, because sea and river would aid them as no other continental works can be aided), to maintain such a contest single-handed for an indefinite time; then they would be altogether self-deceived. German strategy understands how to be patient in season, as well as vigorous when a blow has to be struck. With a fleet probably far superior to the Dutch at sea, and an army of which a mere fraction could safely and continuously hold every acre of Dutch ground up to the 'New Water Line' of the Defence Scheme; it would not be necessary for their commander to do more than use the necessary pressure of an occupation which would be in fact an investment, in order to enforce his terms in time. If the lines were indeed impregnable, or nearly so, they would be left alone; but they would not save the heart of Holland for all that. These are not the days when a campaign breaks up at the end of summer; and a Dutch winter would hardly drive from good quarters in the rich plains of the Waal and Leek such generals and soldiers as bivouacked round Orléans and Le Mans in the severest cold that France has for many years experienced.

If, on the other hand, all that the Dutch desire is to imitate the prudent example set them by neighbouring Belgium guided by Brialmont's skill, and to make of the land within their 'New Water Line' a grander and more roomy Antwerp, where the whole national army might for a time be sheltered from a tenfold force of enemies, whilst calmly waiting such succour by sea or land as the political combinations of the time might promise; then indeed the design lately begun may be pronounced farseeing, wise, and suited to the national purpose: and success may be hoped for it, if proper forethought and care be used, with as much certainty as failure and discredit might have been prophesied by any skilled observer who watched unseen the doubt and discord that pervaded the council chamber and the camp of the Patriots of 1787.

It is not for a moment to be supposed that the Dutch, if

threatened by the powerful neighbour who holds the frontier, until now covered largely by Hanover, can do much more than protect themselves against a *coup de main*. They would doubtless imitate the gallant resistance of the Danes to the invasion of Slesvik, and we trust less ineffectually. But it cannot be too loudly proclaimed that the independence of the Netherlands is a cardinal point in the political system of Europe, and one which we regard of absolutely vital importance to ourselves. The two most formidable crises in modern history occurred whilst the Low Countries were under the dominion of Spain in the sixteenth century, and again when they passed under the dominion of France in the eighteenth. Their native love of freedom, not unaided by England, enabled them twice to throw off the yoke; and the men of Holland would be equally impatient of the dominion of a Teutonic Empire, which is at this moment the object of their apprehensions. We trust those apprehensions may prove altogether unfounded. But we believe that the first sign of an aggression on Holland would kindle the entire sympathy of Europe; and it is one of the first of British interests that the coasts and harbours within a few hours' sail of our shores should ever remain in the hands of a friendly people, and as inviolate as our own territory.

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ART. IX.—1. *Reports of the Municipal Corporations Commissioners.* London: 1834 and 1837.

2. *Report of the City Corporation Commissioners.* London: 1854.

3. *Reports of the Select Committee of House of Commons on Metropolitan Local Government, with Evidence.* London: 1866–67.

4. *Statistical Vindication of City of London.* By BENJAMIN SCOTT. London: 1867.

5. *The Law and Customs of the City of London.* By Mr. Serjeant PULLING. London: 1854.

6. *Gas Supply of London.* By JOSEPH F. B. FIRTH. London: 1875.

LOOKING at the prosperous condition of our provincial towns, it is difficult for us to picture what must have been their condition when they were governed under semi-barbarous charters by authorities who had little interest in their material

progress, and when their political and municipal life was corrupt to the very core. And yet barely forty years have transpired since the pruning hand of the reformer was applied to the upas-tree which poisoned all local government. When the Reform Act passed and a new and important chapter in the political history of this country was opened, it was soon discovered that the very bases of all good government were wanting through the absence of an enlightened system of local self-government. Local government had always existed after a certain fashion in this country. Cities and towns from of old were governed under charters conferred upon them by different sovereigns; but in most cases these had ceased to harmonise with modern ideas, and instead of proving beneficial to the communities had acted most prejudicially and had retarded all progress. The Parliament which purified the political atmosphere, and which had resolved that the House of Commons should reflect the public opinion of the country, soon found that all its efforts would prove fruitless so long as antiquated corporations and effete charters emasculated the strength and vigour of urban communities—the very centres of all political action. In 1833 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the state of the Municipal Corporations throughout the country. The labours of the Commissioners were very extensive, and their first report, issued in the following year, and accompanied by evidence as to the condition of every borough throughout the kingdom, discloses a most extraordinary state of things, which fully justified the Commissioners in reporting that they found ‘it their duty to represent that the existing ‘Municipal Corporations neither possessed nor deserved public confidence or respect, and that a thorough reform was ‘essential before they could become useful and efficient instruments of local government.’ Even Sir Francis Palgrave, though he dissented from some of the recommendations of the majority of his colleagues, was obliged to confess that ‘Municipal Corporations were labouring under the encumbrance of ‘institutions which had ceased to harmonise with the general ‘system of jurisprudence, and the influence of privileges and ‘immunities which, however injurious they might have become, ‘had nevertheless been created, protected, and fostered by ‘the law.’ The recommendations of the Commissioners formed the basis of the Municipal Corporations Reform Act of 1835—an Act of such thoroughness and comprehensiveness that there has scarcely been any necessity for its amendment. The most prominent principle of that Act is that which provides that the rulers shall be representative of popular opinion and

responsible to their constituents. We know of no measure of greater importance than this, and there has certainly been none more successful. Decay was succeeded by vitality, and in no country in the world are towns better governed, or on the whole more prosperous, than in this country.

Unfortunately, however, that most beneficial measure did not extend to the Metropolis. As London was left out of the first report of the Commissioners, so it was excluded from the operation of the Act. The condition of London was not before the Parliament at the time, and it was not investigated by the Commissioners until the following year. The inquiry then made was most exhaustive, and though it exposed the evils of the divided government of the Metropolis, and though the Commissioners reported themselves in favour of the same remedies being applied to London as had been applied to other corporations throughout the country, yet the power of the City Corporation was so great that the Commissioners were not unwilling to allow that body to initiate the necessary reform. The Corporation pledged itself to do so, but from that day to this it has not fulfilled its promise; on the other hand, it has resisted every attempt at reform. It is due solely to the narrow-minded policy which has ever prevailed in the City Council that London does not enjoy the privileges accorded to the most insignificant municipality in the country. Without a wish to be in the least harsh to that ancient Corporation, we cannot refrain from saying that recently its existence has been rather a misfortune than a blessing to this great community. It acts the part of the dog-in-the-manger. That a district not quite the hundredth part of the Metropolis should alone enjoy the advantages of municipal government, while the rest was relegated to the parochial system and worse, was an anomaly that should never have been tolerated. Had the City authorities been actuated by any public spirit they would have jumped at the opportunity which was offered them of adding to their importance by extending their rule over the entire Metropolis, and becoming the most powerful and important corporation in the world. Of course the constitution of the Corporation would have to undergo considerable reform in such a case, and the knowledge of this was probably what made them hesitate to launch so great a scheme. And the result is that the government of the Metropolis in things municipal remains a medley of divided and conflicting authorities.

We have the City Corporation, the Metropolitan Board of Works, thirty-eight vestries and district boards, a large number of boards of guardians, and governors and trustees



of the poor. There are two police authorities—the Corporation ruling the City force, the Metropolitan police being under a department of the State. Being carved out of four counties, London is under four distinct county authorities, while the City is a county of itself. The water and gas supply are in the hands of private companies. Beyond all this there are wheels within wheels and divided and distinct authorities innumerable. The City, small as is its area, is divided into twenty-five wards. These wards are distinct authorities for some local purposes. The district boards represent a number of vestries. The rating authorities are various, and the assessments differ considerably. In nothing is there any uniformity. In all things there is confusion and complication. Twenty years ago it is true matters were very much worse than they are now. There were then no less than some three hundred different local authorities exercising various jurisdictions under hundreds of local and public Acts. Sir Benjamin Hall, in 1855, made some attempt at consolidation, but his effort to supersede anarchy by the establishment of order fell far short of the requirements of the case, and has failed to give to London anything like an intelligent form of local government. The absence of all harmony, and the want of unity, is felt now nearly as much as ever, and the demand for reform continues to be made. During the recess last year the subject was much discussed in the press. There appeared the greatest unanimity as to the want of reform. Lord Elcho introduced a Bill dealing with the question; but owing to pressure of business it was withdrawn before the second reading. The subject is one of great delicacy and difficulty. It is beyond the power of any private Member. The late Administration were pledged to deal with the matter, and if the consequences of the last election had not resulted in their defeat, the probability is that some attempt would have been made by this time to solve the difficulty. It remains to be seen whether a Conservative Government pledged to sanitary and social reforms will undertake the task of placing the local government of the Metropolis on an intelligent footing.

In the following pages we will briefly point out the defects of the present system—if system it can be called, and endeavour to indicate the direction which reform should take.

The City of London is a county in itself. Its governing body is the Court of Common Council, consisting of the Lord Mayor, twenty-six aldermen, and two hundred and six common councilmen. There are also a Court of Aldermen which exercises some jurisdiction, and a Court of Common Hall. The

jurisdiction of the respective Courts is based on customs and usages, and on a series of charters extending from the time of the Conqueror to the time of George II. These charters are many in number, vague in terms, difficult to be understood, and many of them are of doubtful force. Some of them from change of circumstances have become obsolete—others from their temporary character have ceased to be applicable. In the time of Charles II. the City of London was deprived of its valuable franchises and charters by a most questionable act of that monarch, and the rights and privileges which they conferred were not restored until the reign of William III., when an Act of Parliament was passed which restored and confirmed all the ancient charters, and perpetuated the original state of things.

The head of the Corporation is the Mayor—by courtesy called the Lord Mayor of London—who is elected by Liveries or Trade Guilds of London, in Common Hall. The members of the various trade guilds who alone are Liverymen, though they number several thousands, by no means include all the freemen of the City, and fall far short of those who, under the private Act of 1867, are now entitled to vote in the election of aldermen and common councillors. Yet in this comparatively small body of men, who need not be connected with the City by trade, property, residence, or occupation, is vested the sole right to elect the head of the Corporation. And even their choice is limited. Outside the aldermen they cannot go, and of the aldermen such only are eligible for the civic chair who have passed the office of Sheriff—another office solely in the appointment of Common Hall. The common practice is to select two of the senior aldermen who have not previously been Mayor. The two so chosen are presented to the aldermen, and they ultimately fix on the one to fill the office. This practice leaves no room for selection of the best man. It is a system of Mayor by rotation. Each alderman in his turn generally succeeds to the Mayoralty, so that to all intents and purposes a ward elects the Lord Mayor.

The City is divided into twenty-five wards. Each ward is represented in the Common Council by one alderman and a number of councillors varying in different wards and ranging between four and sixteen. Up to 1867, the only persons entitled to vote at the election of aldermen and councillors were the freemen of the city, resident in each ward, which restricted the constituencies very considerably. In that year the Corporation obtained an Act of Parliament for an extension of the franchise. This Act gives a vote to all

who are on the register of voters for Parliamentary purposes, and to all who occupy houses or offices and are rated upon a rental of ten pounds a year. The ward of Bridge Without is represented on the Council by the senior alderman, but in his election the Southwarkers have no voice, nor do they elect any councillors. When Southwark was added to the City of London in the time of Edward VI. no provision was made for its representation; and it has come to pass that though the inhabitants of Bridge Without are subject in many respects to the City, they have no voice in the Council, and are practically unrepresented, which is unfair and has been always felt as a grievance. In all schemes for the reform of the Corporation which have from time to time been proposed, the separation of Southwark from the City is invariably suggested. The division of the City, which barely covers 700 acres, into twenty-five wards, of which two, those of Farringdon and Bishopsgate, cover nearly a third of the whole, makes the division infinitesimal and unequal. The area of some of the wards covers but a few acres, and the improvements which have taken place within the last few years—the demolition of property for railway extension, great spaces taken up for railway stations and new streets—have in some cases nearly swallowed up entire wards. Who form the constituencies in those wards is a mystery known only to the ward clerks, and yet they have their alderman and four to sixteen councillors. Each ward is a distinct district for certain purposes of local government, of which the alderman and councillors are the governing bodies. They form the assessment authority of the ward and control its property and charities.

The aldermen collectively form the Court of Aldermen, the functions of which are judicial and executive. In its former capacity it disposes of disputes arising from the elections of the wards and of certain officers. It has the appointment of the Recorder and some other officers. In its executive capacity it possesses certain powers over city matters, and can charge the city revenues. The aldermen are elected for life. By virtue of their office they are justices of the peace, and they alone act in that capacity within the City. Being principally men engaged in commercial pursuits, they are not in any way trained in the law, and without the aid of their clerks would be unfit to deal with the important questions which of necessity devolve on a magistrate of the City of London. If there is any excuse for the unpaid system in the country, there is none for its continuance in the heart of the Metropolis, where lawyers are plentiful and a few thousands a year is of no great con-

sideration. As it is it costs the City nearly, if not quite, as much as it would if justice were administered by paid and duly qualified magistrates. In 1873 the magistracy cost over 7,000*l*. The stipendiary system would entail no greater expense. Doubtless it is very gratifying to the ambition of commercial men to act as justices of the peace; but it is not in the interest of the public, nor does it conduce to a better administration of justice. And the incongruity of this is all the more apparent since the Police Courts of the Metropolis outside the City are presided over by trained and paid lawyers. Why should not the City be placed in the same position? It would be infinitely more satisfactory. It is no answer to this to say that the aldermen are self-denying in giving gratuitously much of their valuable time. Their conduct in all respects is praiseworthy enough, but it stands to reason that untrained men cannot do work as well as those who are skilled and experienced. No reform would be complete that would not establish one system of administration of justice throughout the Metropolis.

The municipal government of the City is practically vested in the Court of Common Council, which consists of the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and 206 Common Councilmen. This Court transacts its business by dividing the work amongst committees, to whom matters are referred by the Court. The committees are restricted in their authority by the rules or bye-laws of the Court. They have no plenary powers delegated to them—in fact they merely report, unless otherwise expressly ordered.

The Corporation is rich and powerful. It is possessed of large estates, and holds considerable trust property. Its revenues, from all sources, amount to nearly three-quarters of a million a year, and its expenditure is much the same. It manages its business in a way which would not find favour in any commercial establishment. That it is lavish and extravagant is not the worst that can be said of it, though it is absurdly extravagant even for so rich a corporation. The complexity apparent in the City accounts was a feature severely criticised and condemned by the Commissioners of 1854, and it still prevails. The system of separate establishments enhances the cost of management while it does not in any way secure any better administration. There is the City Estate, the Irish Estate, the Bridge House Estate, and many others, which, instead of being brought under one central management, are kept separate and distinct. The officers of the Corporation, from the Mayor down to the ‘waterbailiff’s second young man,’ are paid on a most

liberal scale, and the patronage of the Corporation in offices alone is something very considerable. In the year 1873 the expenses of the Civil Government of the City, which includes the allowance to the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs, and the maintenance of the Mansion House and Guildhall, amounted to no less a sum than 47,840*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* This does not include the entertainment of the Shah of Persia, which cost 15,861*l.*; nor the Thanksgiving ceremonies, which cost over 13,000*l.* The staff of the Commissioners of Sewers in salaries alone cost 12,000*l.*, exclusive of over 2,000*l.* for law expenses, 2,175*l.* commission on collection of rates, and 2,201*l.* for 'sundry incidental charges.' The management of the City Estate and collection of rents, exclusive of 400*l.* allowed to Committee, costs 2,300*l.* The management of the Bridge House Estate costs some 3,150*l.*, while the levying of the coal duties exhausts over 8,000*l.* The expense of collecting the grain duty costs 2,393*l.*, to which should be added a sum of nearly 8,000*l.* for pensions connected with that impost. The management of the Meat Market costs 5,803*l.* The Holborn Valley Improvements Act, though there can now be very little to do, entailed an expenditure of 1,440*l.*, with 2,080*l.* for law charges. The City of London Court costs about 6,000*l.* a year; the magistracy (unpaid though it is) over 7,000*l.* The establishment connected with the Gresham Estate takes nearly 700*l.*; the City of London School in salaries alone, some 6,270*l.*, and the Freeman's Orphan School, 1,530*l.* Then there are the Chamberlain's establishment, which costs over 5,000*l.* a year (exclusive of some 3,000*l.* appropriated from profits of Chamberlain to pay other officers), the Town Clerk's, 4,364*l.*, and the Architect's, 2,565*l.* These latter sums must not be taken as showing the whole cost of these officers and their clerks, for they draw various and even larger sums from other sources. One noticeable thing in the City accounts is that every officer seems to have a finger in every pie. If there is any the least special or exceptional work to do, every officer who devotes the least time to it gets some extra pay, which, on the supposition that they are the paid servants of the Corporation who can command their services, seems to be a lavish extravagance. It would be difficult to state what large amounts the Surveyor, Architect, Solicitor, Remembrancer, and other officers draw annually in this way. The smaller fry of the ward clerks, and the expenses connected with the wardmotes, cost last year 4,668*l.*, which is about the average. It seems curious that no business can be transacted in the City unaccompanied with feasting. As before stated, the work of the Council is divided between a number of com-

mittees. Each committee is allowed annually a sum of from 100*l.* to 400*l.*, and this is spent on luncheons or is divided between the members. In this way nearly 4,000*l.* a year of public money is wasted; and to make matters more enjoyable the cost of pleasant summer excursions are allowed out of the City purse. In 1873 this item alone reached 925*l.*, or about 4*l.* each for every member of the Common Council. If a Common Councilman resigns his position his fellows generously present him out of the City funds with a substantial piece of plate as a mark of their favour. But this very seldom happens, for the life is far too pleasant and the attractions are too many. In the accounts are some curious items for pocket-books, periodicals, pictures, and medals for the Council, amounting in all to about 2,000*l.*, which somewhat reminds us of the large sum which it cost the United States a few years back to supply its legislators with penknives and toothpicks. Of the management of the Irish Estate we have seen no account. The Commissioners of 1854 found great abuses of recent existence in the administration of this property. Whether matters are any better now we cannot tell, as it is impossible to obtain any information on this point. Irrespective of the Irish Society, we have already shown an expenditure in what may be called 'establishment' of over 170,000*l.* This against an income of about 700,000*l.* is a very formidable charge. Another strange fact is that there is no independent audit of these accounts. They are merely audited by the members of the Common Council—the very body that votes the money—and this, notwithstanding that a large proportion of the City revenue comes from public rates and impositions.

Some of the privileges which the City enjoys are prejudicial to the interest of the Metropolis. The coal and grain duties, though now the greater portion of the coal duties are appropriated to the improvements of the entire Metropolis, are in themselves most objectionable, are in restraint of trade, and affect the poor most grievously. No privilege of the City, however, is more objectionable than that which it enjoys under an old charter of Edward III. (confirmed by one of Charles II.), which gives to the City Corporation alone the right to establish markets within seven miles of Guildhall. To this privilege, valuable of course to the City, the Corporation have clung with desperate tenacity. The result is that London is worse off for market conveniences than any provincial town. The Corporation, anxious to bring everything into their own net, have always opposed, and with success, the establishment of markets outside the City precincts. Clare

Market in the time of Charles was opposed tooth and nail. The attempt to establish the Islington Cattle Market was not sanctioned until the City had secured for itself ample compensation. Looking at the enormous size of London, the restriction of markets to the City is most prejudicial to the interest of the community. And we see attempts to meet the evil in the impromptu establishment of unprivileged markets at New Cut, Ratcliffe Highway, Chelsea, King's Cross and elsewhere. These scarcely deserve the name of markets, but they are great blessings to these neighbourhoods, and might be made most beneficial. The coal and potato markets, or rather depôts, which have been established by the railway companies at King's Cross, have proved great successes, and so would every effort we think which would tend to break up the monopoly of the City and scatter markets of distribution throughout the Metropolis.

The restriction of markets to the City tends to limit the supply of food and adds considerably to its cost. If we take Billingsgate Market as an instance, it will be at once seen that that market as a medium of fish supply to the Metropolis is utterly inadequate. Its capacities are tested to the utmost, and it is impossible that it can ever be sufficient to supply London with fish. Few persons are aware that the quantity of fish supplied to the Metropolis is no larger now than it was twenty-five years ago, though in that period the population of London has quite doubled. But this is, nevertheless, a fact. In 1848 there were brought to London by water alone 108,739 tons. In 1873 the quantity brought by water was only 42,131 tons and the quantity brought by railway amounted to 76,650 tons, making a total of 118,781 tons. The returns prepared by the Markets Committee do not give the quantities brought by rail prior to 1866, which makes it impossible to form a comparison as to the quantity of fish brought by water and rail respectively before that year. The tendency is to an increase in railway-borne fish and a diminution in what is brought by water. The following table will show the fish supply (in tons) since 1866:—

—	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872
By water .	62,523	60,420	55,809	47,717	48,543	44,077	35,262
By rail .	69,481	62,103	66,478	66,065	68,552	72,386	66,236
	132,004	122,523	122,287	113,782	117,095	116,463	101,498

while in 1873 the figures were as above. This shows beyond all doubt that the consumption of fish per head in the Metropolis must be less now than it was twenty-five years ago. Billingsgate can offer no facilities beyond its present resources, and the capitalists established there as fishmongers are not likely to look with favour upon any movement which would establish fish depôts elsewhere. They are in possession of a most lucrative monopoly, and it is to their interest to oppose the establishment of other fish markets, while the same motive would induce owners of property around Billingsgate to oppose any such a scheme. Even if the capacities of Billingsgate were greater than they now are, the difficulty of access to that market and its distance from the railway termini offer a serious impediment to the increase of railway-borne fish. The streets about it are too narrow for the traffic and are constantly blocked. In the summer it often happens that entire vanloads of fish by exposure to the sun are rendered unfit for food and have to be carted away for manure. The distance from the stations and the difficulty of access not only limit the supply but increase the price. The retail dealers are put to trouble and expense in having to go thither for their daily supplies, and the consumer has to pay for it. The same remarks obviously apply to all other single central markets. What London requires is a scattering of markets of distribution. It is a reproach to the Metropolis that the poor should be dependent on such fortuitous agencies as the street markets afford, and it is most prejudicial to the interest of the consumer. The railway companies would do well if they started great depôts near their termini. These in the course of time would become markets of distribution. At first it would be difficult to compete with the established markets, but in the long run we feel certain success would follow, as it has done in the case of the potato and coal depôts at King's Cross. The City Corporation would most undoubtedly oppose any such scheme and use all its influence to throw difficulties in the way; and in so far as this is concerned, the position of that ancient Corporation is highly prejudicial to the interest of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. Look at the Columbia Market. Is there any possible reason why that benevolent creation of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts should not become an immense success? To do so it must be managed on a purely commercial basis. The City Corporation undertook to work it, and if they had been in earnest, or even honest, when they took it upon their hands; there can be no doubt it would have turned out a great success. And there must have been



some extraordinary influences at work inimical to its success. However, the less said of the conduct of the Corporation in that affair the better. We are glad to find that it has at length been taken out of their hands, and we hope it will be taken up by the Great Northern and the North Eastern on the bases which we understand have for some time been under discussion. If under the companies the market proves a success, as we trust it will, the interest of Billingsgate will suffer, and the narrow-minded policy of the Corporation will become manifest.

It would be an easy matter to enumerate many other matters in which City customs and franchises are inconsistent with the requirements of the Metropolis. No scheme of reform will be complete which will not sweep away all such relics of semi-barbarous times and bring the government of the City more into harmony with modern ideas.

The Metropolis outside the City area is governed by vestries and district boards, which were established by Sir Benjamin Hall in 1855, at which time also the Metropolitan Board of Works was created. The scheme propounded by Lord Llanover and adopted by Parliament was a mere compromise, and, like all compromises, has turned out a gigantic failure.

The vestries do not possess the public confidence, nor do they deserve it. The manner in which vestrymen are elected is most unsatisfactory. The inhabitants of parishes under Lord Llanover's Act are supposed to meet in wards for the purpose of nominating candidates. Such meetings frequently take place in public-houses, except, of course, where there are Vestry Halls. No notice is given to the ratepayers of coming elections beyond that which is put up in the usual way on church doors, which very few see. The attendance is therefore very limited. Out of a constituency of several thousands it seldom happens that fifty attend. Dr. Rendle in his evidence before Mr. Ayrton's Committee stated that he was actually elected a vestryman by ten or twelve persons, while for the same district he was elected a member of the Board of Guardians by over twelve hundred votes. The few that do attend nominate the vestrymen, and unless some exciting topic creates a contest, which very rarely is the case, and a poll is then and there demanded, the nomination is virtually the election. All this is carried out without any distinct knowledge on the part of the electors, for the notice on the church door is not sufficient, and even where some stir is made by a contest the number of electors who

actually vote bears a very small proportion to the constituency, because in the first place the notice of the poll which is for the next day is too short and is not communicated directly to the ratepayers, and also because the system has worked so badly that it has produced indifference in the public, who do not care to waste their time in voting at an election in the result of which they take so very little interest. Except in one or two districts it is impossible to induce any really able men to come forward as candidates. None save small tradesmen and publicans consider a seat in a vestry any honour, and the consequence is that the local management of the Metropolis has fallen into the hands of a very inferior class of men, unfit, socially and intellectually, to have vested in them the government of a community like this, and incapable of feeling a due sense of their responsibility.

To bodies so constituted are entrusted the most sacred interests—the health and comfort of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. Among their multifarious duties, in addition to having the management of the drainage, paving, and lighting of their respective districts, they have the regulation of cellars and vaults under the streets, the restraining of the occupation of underground dwellings, the appointment of Medical Officers of Health and Inspectors of Nuisances. And they are the local authorities for the execution of the Sanitary Laws. These are onerous duties, which to perform well require intelligence, patriotism, and the highest administrative skill. Can it at all be wondered at, that most of these necessary and beneficial laws are not carried out at all, are no more than dead letters, when their administrators are only small shopkeepers nominated by coteries in public-houses? It would be the easiest thing in the world to frame against the vestries an indictment of many counts charging them with grave neglect of duty and utter disregard for the public weal, all of which may be traced to an inordinate desire to keep the rates low. They sacrifice efficiency to economy, or rather, for efficiency and economy may and always should go together, they sacrifice everything to false economy.

In support of our contention it will be as well to give a few instances of neglect of duty or breach of trust. For instance, with regard to the occupation of underground dwellings. How has this been done? In a dilatory and imperfect way in the district through which it is our misfortune frequently to have to pass. Let anyone walk down from Holborn or the British Museum through Dudley Street towards Piccadilly, and if he is not utterly lost to all humane feelings he will see

a sight that will cause him pain and sorrow. On a level with the pavement, to the left and to the right, he will see an aperture opening into a cellar. Those wretched cellars, cold and damp, and into which the light of day barely penetrates, are used as habitations by a miserable class of human beings. One foul room is all a large family possesses, where they work and live by day and sleep by night. Out of them emerge, squalid and dirty, and glad to be in the street, the poor little children who know no better home. The birds in the cages in the adjoining streets are far better off than these poor wrecks of humanity. Again, let anyone visit what is called the Berwick Street district immediately behind Regent Street. Ladies who go shopping and men who go lounging up that beautiful street know little of the squalor and misery hid from their view by the magnificent shops. The underground cellars swarm with inhabitants. Efforts have been made to abate the evil, but sufficient remains to show that the Vestry of St. James has not been in earnest in its endeavour to carry out the law in its integrity. These dens are pestilential breeding places, foul rookeries in which no human being should be allowed to dwell, and whence are disseminated the fruitful seeds of epidemics and crime.

But we were lately shown some worse instances of the evil of vestrydom. Just behind Victoria Street, and not far from the Abbey, the property moreover of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, is St. Anne Street. Off this street, dirty enough itself, are several courts. Two of these we entered—James's Court, and George's Court, each a *cul de sac*, one with some six houses, the other with four. Not one of them has a cistern for water-supply for the use of the residents, or any decent accommodation. There is in each court one cistern for water, and this was close to the dust receptacle—the latter full to overflowing, and emitting, though it was in January, a most offensive odour sufficient to poison the air. Until we saw this for ourselves, we could not believe that such a state of things could exist under the very shadow of the Abbey.

In the same way in other districts the Sanitary Laws are evaded. The following passage from Mr. Beal's evidence before Mr. Ayrton's Committee will show the general spirit which seems to pervade the vestries:—

‘I have endeavoured specially to carry out in our parish (St. James's, Westminster), the sanitary provisions of the Metropolis Management Act. I felt it my duty to support in every respect our Medical Officer of Health, and to give him all that he asked for. The other day, anticipating my visit here, I moved for a return of sug-

gestions by our Medical Officer of Health not adopted by the Vestry; but the thing was so formidable from the fact that they had scarcely ever adopted a single suggestion of his as to the general sanitary operations of the Act, that it was found impossible to give it to me. We had powers with relation to the Adulteration of Food Act to appoint an examiner. We did appoint our Medical Officer of Health, and a vote was carried that he should have the requisite chemical apparatus, just as in the case of the Metropolis Gas Act, when we were called upon to appoint an examiner. We had then a vote for the purchase of the requisite apparatus; but the moment we came to ask for a vote for the money, we never got it, nor have we had it to this day. Consequently, the Act has been nominally complied with, inasmuch as a person has been appointed, but he has had no tools given him with which to perform the work entrusted to him. Both the Adulteration of Food Act and the Gas Act are dead letters in our parish.\*

Very frequently it has happened that many members of vestries have a direct interest in frustrating the adoption of strict sanitary measures. 'Small tradesmen in back streets,' as one witness characterised them, are not likely to be very much enamoured of the Adulteration of Food Acts. Sometimes they are owners of the very houses which a due regard to the public health would require to be demolished. It is scarcely probable that men so circumstanced would encourage their Medical Officers of Health in the suppression of nuisances. On the contrary the fact remains that the latter are hampered in every way, and the exertions of men very devoted to the public welfare are too often completely frustrated. Dr. Rendle, whose evidence we have before alluded to, stated that he was induced to resign his office of Medical Officer of Health for St. George the Martyr through his inability to execute his duties, and which he traced

'partly to corrupt motives, for on one occasion one of the principal members of the vestry, an owner of considerable property in the parish, called me aside and requested me to pass over certain property of his that I found in an extremely bad condition. I did not pass it over, of course. I was congratulated upon my entry into this office especially by one person (the richest, I suppose, in the parish), who owned the largest amount of poor property, because I had obtained an office that was a sinecure. I said that as I had worked seventeen years amongst the poor I had learnt that the office I had now taken was anything but a sinecure, and I looked forward for a long time to a reversion of hard

\* This evidence, given in 1866, refers, of course, to the Adulteration of Food Act then in force. Since the last Act came into operation matters have improved a little in this respect, but the Gas Act is very inefficiently carried out.

work. The chairman of the local committee was, as I thought, specially appointed as a positive obstructor of sanitary measures, at all events he acted as such. At every meeting when I attempted to do anything in particular I was positively worried.'

With regard to the Vaccination Acts, the effectual execution of which rests with the Poor Law authorities, it is a matter closely affecting the public health. Yet the sympathy of several vestries is, we believe, anti-vaccinating, and it was only the other day that the Vestry of St. James's, Westminster, elected as successor to the late Dr. Lankester, the ablest medical officer of health that London had, a professed anti-vaccinator. It will be curious to watch the effect of this appointment. But is it not a mockery, or worse, to allow a measure so absolutely necessary to the public health to be at the mercy of a body so contemptible and so devoid of common decency or honesty in its conduct? Sir Benjamin Hall, when he made a compromise between the parochial and municipal system by the creation of this kind of bastard vestry, could not have foreseen the abuses it would lead to, for we are inclined to give him credit for honest purpose. It was an unfortunate thing to retain the name of Vestry for a municipal authority, seeing that the old parochial vestry was a hotbed of jobbery and charlatanism, and was in very bad odour. The new adaptation has proved very little better. That it was so has been evident for many years. And of late even the Legislature, which is not quick to see things, or when it sees evils to remedy them, has given proof that the Vestry system is doomed—at least as a sanitary authority. The duties of superintending slaughter-houses, and of preventing the establishment of new ones, as well as the control of some other obnoxious occupations, used to devolve on the vestries. But by an Act passed last year they are transferred to the Metropolitan Board of Works; which is a step in the right direction; for it admits the principle that the public health and all that concerns it should be within the sole province of the highest municipal authority, though we confess we do not see how the Board of Works, without a staff of sanitary officers, can perform this new duty. So also with regard to the carrying out of the Artisans' Dwelling Act, so little faith had Parliament in vestries and district boards that it made the Metropolitan Board of Works the local authority for its execution in the Metropolis, and also conferred a controlling and independent power upon the Home Office.

It will scarcely be believed, but the fact is incontrovertible, that the vestries and district boards of the Metropolis, collectively during the nineteen years they have been in existence,

have not spent on sanitary measures more than eighteen pence per head of the entire population—less than a penny per head per annum. Of course we exclude drainage from this calculation. In fact, some vestries have not even made the show of appointing a sanitary committee—such as Lambeth, for instance. If further facts were necessary to condemn the Vestry system, we should have no difficulty to procure them.

Now let us consider for a moment what this system costs the ratepayers of London—that is, the mere cost of management or of establishment, including stationery, law and Parliamentary expenses. Lord Llanover's Act, as we have already seen, divided the Metropolis into thirty-nine districts. The division into so many districts has proved far more costly than a consolidation of forces would have done. These thirty-nine districts have each a distinct set of officers and separate establishments. The entire cost of establishment amounts annually to a sum very little short of 160,000*l.*, a tolerably large percentage on an expenditure of about a million and a half of money; but notwithstanding the charge is a heavy one there is no extravagance apparent on the face of the accounts. When we examined into the details we were struck with the smallness of the salaries. Very few vestry clerks get more than 400*l.* a year. Scarcely a medical officer gets as much. Inspectors of nuisances get from a pound to thirty shillings a week. Public analysts get nearly the same, or are paid by fees. The salaries are utterly inadequate. Indeed in some cases medical officers get only 50*l.* a year. For instance, for the Wandsworth district, extending from Mortlake to Norwood, and comprising Mortlake, Putney, New and Old Wandsworth, Battersea, Clapham, Streatham, Balham, and Tooting, covering a most extensive area, there are six medical officers who are paid the magnificent salary of 50*l.* each. Here, at any rate, there is no apparent extravagance; but it would not be difficult to prove that this niggardliness is most wasteful. What services can be expected from a medical man for the paltry sum of fifty pounds a year? It is quite evident that he can afford very little time to his public duties unless he happens to be a philanthropist. It would be better, one would fancy, to have one medical officer paid at 300*l.* a year, than six at such nominal salaries. The fault, however, is not so much that of the vestries individually as it is of the system, which requires an enormous outlay for the barest possible results. The sum annually expended is ample in all reason to secure efficient administration, but through the splitting up of the Metropolis into so many districts having no interest

in common, the money is very little better than wasted. The several vestry halls are costly buildings to maintain, and the multiplicity of establishments, though the individual earnings are small, are most expensive. If the districts were larger in area, the representatives would take a more liberal view of their position. They would have larger funds at their command, they would be able to pay their officers handsomely, and so secure men whose whole time would be devoted to their public duties. And if, instead of increasing the area of districts, the whole Metropolis was brought under one municipal authority, this would be all the more easy of accomplishment. A wealthy community like London can well afford to be liberal with its officers, and we are of opinion that it is absolutely essential that all those who hold municipal appointments, and more especially such appointments as are closely connected with the public health, should receive most liberal salaries. 160,000*l.* would be well spent for such a purpose, or even twice that sum, provided we have efficient government in return for the outlay. The sole objection that can fairly be raised to the expenditure of so large a sum at present is that the money is really wasted.

Further, the inequality of the Vestry system is very noticeable in the costs of establishments. To manage a revenue of about 74,000*l.*, Paddington spends in salaries and offices some 5,280*l.*, while Lambeth only spends 2,700*l.* to control the expenditure of 82,000*l.* Chelsea to an expenditure of 42,000*l.* pays for establishment 2,700*l.* The area covered by the borough of Westminster, which is divided into several vestries and district boards, spends annually on its officers over 10,000*l.*, against some 6,000*l.* which is spent in Marylebone, though equal in area, in population, and in rateable value. In fact there is no uniformity whatever.

Over and above the vestries, and exercising on some matters a municipal authority over the whole of the Metropolis, is the Metropolitan Board of Works, which was also created by the Metropolis Management Act of 1855. The Board has done most important work and has done it well; but it is no favourite with the public. After an existence of nearly twenty years, it cannot be denied that it has had a fair trial. Still it has not advanced in public estimation, and its permanence is impossible. While its duties were practically limited to the main drainage, its capacities were not over-strained, and it performed its duties — though there were some flagrant jobs — in a tolerably satisfactory manner. But now that its jurisdiction has been vastly increased, and that all sorts of duties have been thrown upon it in the most reckless manner, the faults of its constitution have

become so manifest that its reform cannot be very long delayed. Mr. John Stuart Mill, speaking of the Board some years ago, truly said that it had 'gradually become a central municipality, without due consideration whether it had been constituted in the way best calculated to perform the duties of such.' There is no practice more baneful in English legislation than that which constantly throws new duties upon institutions and public bodies for which they are ill-adapted. It leads to perpetual miscarriages, and is most mischievous. The County Courts were originally established for the more easy recovery of small debts, and for such a purpose only were they suitable. But from year to year their jurisdiction has been increased, until it is now not very far short in importance to the Superior Courts, and this, too, without any change in the status or qualifications of the judges. This is detrimental to the interest of the suitors, and really more harmful than any inconveniences experienced through the action of Superior Courts. So also with Justices of the Peace, and so with many other institutions. This constant devolution of new duties on bodies not the best qualified to carry them out is unstatesmanlike, and little calculated to do any good. With regard to the Metropolitan Board of Works, this course has been tolerated simply because the ratepayers of London have been apathetic to their own interests.

The objections to the Board of Works are grave and manifold. Its constitution is defective, the number of its members is inadequate, the districts into which the Metropolis is divided are not equitably represented on the Board in respect either of population or property, and its power to tax and to spend public money is practically unaccompanied by responsibility.

Instead of being elected directly by the ratepayers the members of the Board of Works are elected by the several vestries and district boards established under Sir Benjamin Hall's Act. The City sends three members, some large parishes are represented by two members, others by one, and the smaller or more thinly populated parishes are grouped together in districts and are represented by one member. Considering who the vestrymen are, and how they are elected, the objection to the constitution of the Board is a cogent one. The Board is not composed of the best personnel. Men of intelligence and position do not care to become candidates; and the fact is that the great majority of its members are themselves vestrymen. If this 'filtration' system did not prevail—and in composite districts it is a system of double filtration: the ratepayers of each parish electing the vestry-



men; these again select members for the District Board, and the District Board sends its own nominee to the Metropolitan Board;—if, we say, this filtration system did not prevail, and the election of the members was vested, where it ought to be, in the ratepayers, a superior class of men would, we feel sure, be willing to seek seats on the Board, the advantage of which would be obvious. Besides, through this filtration of election, the members of the Board are practically irresponsible to the ratepayers. This is utterly repugnant to all our notions of local self-government. It is wrong in principle and contrary to English ideas to confer upon any body the power of taxing and spending public money unless such body is directly answerable to those whose money it has to spend. The Board of Works has an annual expenditure out of the rates of over a million of money, and still the election of so important a body is left to a few vestrymen who are themselves elected in a manner very undesirable. This is more objectionable even than the controlling power of justices of the peace over county finance; for the justices, at any rate, are generally the largest ratepayers, and that affords some guarantee against waste and jobbery. If the Board of Works is to continue and to have further powers thrown upon it, it is absolutely necessary that its constitution should undergo a very radical reform, and that it should be more closely associated with the mass of the ratepayers whose money it has at its disposal.

The number of the Board is too small. It now consists of forty-five members, and the chairman makes up the number to forty-six. This is a very small number for the transaction of the very onerous duties which by successive Acts of Parliament have been cast upon the Board. Such manifold functions as they now have to perform can only be done through the subdivision of labour by means of committees. With a board of forty-five subdivision is almost impracticable. It is true the Board is subdivided into several committees, but the number of its members is far too small. The consequence is important duties are neglected, necessary work remains unperformed, and the public interest suffers. Curiously enough when the creation of the Board was discussed in the House of Commons, the number of members suggested by Sir Benjamin Hall and that which was afterwards adopted by Parliament was objected to as being too large, and the promoter of the Bill was not certain that it was not. The duties of the Board could then have hardly been contemplated, so that such an opinion carries no weight with it, while experience has clearly shown that the number is utterly

inadequate. And this is the opinion of the majority of the Board itself. The strain upon them has been very great, and it would be unwise to entrust the Board with larger functions unless a considerable addition of strength was at the same time made.

Again, the several parishes and districts within the jurisdiction are not fairly represented on the Board, either in respect of population or rateable value. Some districts have a preponderance of representation over others. In his 'Statistical Vindication' the Chamberlain of the City makes out a very clear case on this point, and though he bases his calculations upon the data of 1861 the figures are still, in the main, correct.

'While the Board is limited to forty-five members it is utterly impracticable to apportion representation to either population or rateability or both united. For—

1. There are no less than 22 districts which are not entitled to one representative each out of 45, on the ground of *rateable value*.

2. There are 15 districts which are disentitled to one representative each out of 45, on the ground of *population*.

3. There are 18 districts which are disentitled to one representative each out of 45, on the ground of *rateability and population united*.'

According to the Chamberlain, the City out of the forty-five members ought to have five, Marylebone and St. Pancras three each, and Paddington two.

While disposed to acknowledge in the fullest manner the work done by the Board and to make every allowance for its shortcomings, it is at the same time impossible to forget that the Board through its inefficiency has missed great opportunities for public good, and has neglected some of the highest interests of the community. Some years ago a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the water-supply of the Metropolis recommended that the water-supply should be entrusted to the control of a responsible public body, who should be empowered to purchase the interests of the companies, with power to levy rates, &c. At that time as now, the Board was the only body which had to do with the local government of the entire Metropolis, and had they been imbued with one spark of public spirit they would have acted upon that recommendation, and would have gone to Parliament with a Bill to enable them to assume that most important duty. But they contented themselves with a mere approval of the recommendations of the Commission. With regard to the gas question the conduct of the Board has been even more reprehensible and unworthy. It is not necessary for us to enter here into the history of the gas question beyond 1860, when a Bill was introduced in Parlia-

ment which was intended to control the companies and to protect the interests of the consumers. But the influence of the companies and the indifference and even disorganisation of the vestries and the Board of Works so mutilated the original Bill, that what certainly was intended to benefit the consumer was made, to use the words of a Parliamentary Committee which inquired into the matter some years later, 'very favourable ' to the producer.' The public interest ought to have been jealously watched by the vestries and Board of Works. It is needless to say that the companies had it all their own way and met with no more than a show of resistance. The Act of 1860 in fact created the huge gas monopoly under which we now suffer. Up to the date of that Act no gas company had ever paid a dividend of ten per cent. Since 1860 most of the companies, not merely satisfied with securing profits sufficient to enable them to pay that dividend from the date of the Act, have so outrageously charged the public that they have been enabled to make up the dividends of previous years to the same amount; and to this dividend of ten per cent. they lay claim without the slightest shadow of a right. By 1866 the intolerance of the companies had created a wide-spread dissatisfaction which soon found utterance. The Corporation of the City adopted the agitation, and that year they introduced a Bill to enable the Corporation to provide works and to levy rates for the manufacture of gas. And through private energies another Bill was introduced giving similar powers to the Board of Works and local authorities. But the Board of Works refused to adopt the Bill. In fact they petitioned against it, and they even went out of their way to petition against the City Bill. The gas companies had powerful influence on the Board, and the frantic opposition of the former secured the defeat of both Bills. In the next session the Board of Trade, acting upon the recommendations of Sir John Trollope's Committee, introduced a Bill by which the objectionable clauses of the Act of 1860 were to be repealed, the maximum price reduced, a gas board to test the quality created, and the Board of Works and the City Commissioners of Sewers were to be empowered to purchase. The companies, of course, were strenuous in their opposition. A Select Committee was appointed, which, for a reason which commends itself, pruned it of its most beneficial clauses. That reason was that in the opinion of the Committee 'a compulsory ' and unconditional interference with the prices already conceded to the producer is not the weapon by which Parliament ' is accustomed to secure the rights of the consumer. The

‘legitimate weapon to be resorted to for that purpose is the ‘enactment of an *independent supply*.’ To which they should have added the alternative right of compulsory purchase. The same Committee moreover invited the Board of Works and the City authorities to introduce Bills of their own. The Board of Works, though pressed by deputation after deputation, and notwithstanding the urgent appeals of the ratepayers, again declined to introduce a Bill and even petitioned against a Bill which was once more introduced through unofficial exertions. The City of London, however, accepted the invitation of the Select Committee, and introduced a Bill similar in all respects to that introduced for the general Metropolis through the energetic zeal of Mr. James Beal. That Bill formed the basis of ‘the City of London Gas Act 1868;’ under which the City and the district supplied by the Gas Light and Coke Company are placed in a very different position to the rest of the Metropolis. Under this Act it is calculated there was saved in the City of London alone during the first year of its operation some 82,000*l.*, and in the outlying district supplied by the Gas Light and Coke Company some 60,000*l.* more. What does the Board of Works say of the Act of 1868—an Act, be it remembered, the very provisions of which it had petitioned against?

‘The proceedings in Parliament in the Session of 1868 resulted in the passing of the City of London Gas Act; a measure which conferred important advantages on the consumers of gas within the City, by providing for a reduction of the price and an improvement of the quality of the gas, and placing the Companies under certain conditions and restrictions which were deemed just and necessary in the interests of the consumers.’\*

Out of its own mouth does the Board stand condemned; and it would be difficult to bring more damning evidence of utter incapacity against any public body. Is there any necessity for us to give further evidence on this head? If so it could be easily done; but we think we have shown that the Board of Works has broken down as a municipal authority, and is at the most fit to be considered as a mere Commission or Committee, which should only be entrusted with very limited powers and a well-defined jurisdiction. Any attempt to patch it would fail also, and when the question of the local government of the Metropolis comes to be settled, it requires no prophet to say that the Board of Works will cease to exist.

The Board cost in establishment last year a little less than

50,000*l.*, which, considering the extent of its jurisdiction and the work it has to do, is by no means a large expenditure, though its officers are paid on a more liberal scale than the officers of the several Vestries and District Boards. Still of the 'establishment' of the Board of Works it may be said that it shows no great waste of money.

Having thus endeavoured to point out the many grave defects of the present system of local government in the Metropolis, and to trace the causes of the failure of Lord Llanover's Act, we are led to the consideration of the question how reform can be best effected. That reform is needed no one will deny; and that, with an outlay which ought to secure us the most effective government, London is far worse off in a municipal light than most of our provincial towns, most of our readers will admit. What direction should the necessary reform take? The local government of the Metropolis has been frequently discussed. It has been the subject of several Parliamentary inquiries, both by Royal Commissioners and by Select Committees. Many schemes have been proposed and discussed, all differing very essentially.

The Royal Commissioners of 1837 were in favour of one municipal authority for the whole of London, but beyond making the suggestion they did not point out how it was to be done. They were evidently misled by the Corporation of the City, which claimed inherent power to effectuate all necessary reforms from within, and the Corporation in fact undertook to introduce a Bill to expand their jurisdiction so as to include the entire Metropolis. But, we need hardly say, from that day to this the Corporation has taken no steps to fulfil its promise, which was scarcely made in good faith.

The Commissioners of 1854 recommended quite another system. So impressed were they by the stalwart defence which the City made, that beyond the suggestion of certain important changes in the constitution of the Corporation they felt disposed to let the City remain undisturbed. For the rest of the Metropolis they recommended its division into distinct municipal boroughs corresponding in number and area with the Parliamentary boroughs. Each district was to have its own local council, and over all, to perform all such work as should be general, they proposed the creation of a Board of Works. In the next session of Parliament Sir Benjamin Hall introduced the measure which has been so often alluded to; but he neither did the one thing or the other. Had he adopted the report of the Commissioners and established municipal boroughs, instead of falling back upon that mischievous

parochial and semi-ecclesiastical system which has been the source of all the difficulties, he would have acted as a statesman, and would have conferred a great boon on the Metropolis. But he was too half-hearted, and, actuated by a weak spirit of compromise, he passed a measure which, to say the least, has not been a success.

Again, in 1866, a Select Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. Ayrton, went fully into the question, and propounded a scheme which for its boldness eclipses all others. It simply ignored the existence of the old Corporation, and proposed in the plainest terms that Centralisation which has not, and probably never will, find favour with the English people. There was to be a Board of Works, in which the Government was to have a certain voice, and property a powerful influence. The functions of the Board were to be very extensive, including, in addition to those now exercised by the Corporation, the Board of Works, and local authorities, the control of the water and gas supply, of the police, and of the Poor Law. If London were a new town we are not sure that this scheme would not have been the best, but it found no favour and secured no advocates.

About this time was formed the Metropolitan Municipal Association, with Lord Ebury as its president. That Association, mainly through the activity of Mr. James Beal, brought the whole question prominently before the public, and prepared a series of Bills for the better government of London. These Bills proposed to create the Metropolis into a county of itself, with a distinct Commission of the Peace; to establish municipal boroughs corresponding with the Parliamentary boroughs, which were to be governed by a Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councillors in the same way as provincial towns are governed under the Act of 1835. The City was to be reduced to the position of one of these boroughs, but still it was to be the chief of them. Over these ten local or borough councils there was to be a Municipal Council of London, exercising functions of general applicability. The head of this was to be the Mayor of the City of London, who was then to become Lord Mayor of all London. These Bills were introduced into Parliament in 1867 by Mr. John Stuart Mill, and, somewhat modified, again in 1870 by Mr. Charles Buxton; but they came to nothing because the late Ministry, though pledged to the reform of Metropolitan government, had their hands too full of other matters.

And now the same Association has brought forward another scheme, which, instead of adopting the recommendations of

1854 as its basis, falls back upon the report of the Commissioners of 1837, and proposes the creation of the Metropolis into one municipality. And in this it has done well. The scheme of 1854 was only a compromise dictated by an absurd fear of the great power of the Metropolis, and by a desire to maintain the City Corporation in its integrity. Were it not for the existence of the City Corporation we cannot for a moment believe that it would ever have entered the mind of man to suggest a divided government for London, mighty and extensive as it is; for if it is feasible to well-govern towns like Liverpool and Glasgow, there can be no reason whatever why a town ten times their size could not be equally well-governed. That London is not too big for effective government is clearly shown by the success of the Board of Works in the main drainage, and of the School Board in education. To this proposal of one municipality for London, though on the whole well received by the public, many objections have been made.

The first objection is that it is undesirable to disturb the Corporation of the City, with its historic traditions, its ancient glory, and its high prestige. This is a sentimental rather than a real objection. Besides, it is open to contention that the glory and prestige are not localised to the City, but that they are the inheritance of the whole Metropolis. It is true that the Metropolis centuries ago was confined within a much narrower limit than it is now, but the acts, the privileges, and the wealth of London were those of the entire Metropolis. Who now thinks of the greatness of London and circumscribes it to the few hundred acres within the walls, to the exclusion of the seventy thousand outlying acres? It is also said that this would be disturbing ancient lines—a thing repugnant to the conservative instinct of Englishmen. It seems to be forgotten that the lines have been ever changing, ever varying. When the Corporation received the first charter from the Conqueror, the City scarcely covered half of what is now called by that name. Its growth was gradual, and for a long time it continued to be intra-mural; but as trade and commerce extended, and the population increased, streets appeared outside the walls, such as Farringdon Without and Bishopsgate Without, and over these the Corporation very properly spread its wings, giving to them the same privileges and subjecting them to the same rule as prevailed in the City proper. On the other side of the river beyond London Bridge aggregated also many houses, and so far down as the time of Edward VI. the City authorities were anxious to extend their boundaries, and on applica-

tion to that sovereign, Southwark was annexed to the City and now forms one of its wards—the ward of Bridge Without. The old idea was clearly to expand the City jurisdiction as London grew. And it is to be regretted that this was ever departed from. There is therefore nothing new in the proposal to make the municipal authority of the Metropolis coextensive with its limits; while as for disturbing ancient lines we have shown that there is precedent for it. The policy of expansion was that which was recommended by the Municipal Commissioners in 1834, and which Parliament adopted in its dealings with municipal corporations throughout England and Wales. In scores of towns the districts governed under ancient charters were but inconsiderable in proportion to the subsequent growth of those towns. And Parliament, instead of maintaining the ancient lines and denying municipal privileges to suburban districts, acted wisely in extending the ancient jurisdictions so as to include the aggregate which then really formed such towns. Why should not the same policy be adopted with regard to London? It has answered admirably where tried. It conferred unity of government and all its advantages. Though some question it, the result has been the effective local government of our provincial towns. Earl Grey doubts it because there have been occasional narrowness evinced and some jobbery perpetrated. But absolute perfection is not to be expected of any human institution. And if there has been any jobbery, or a want of patriotism in some small corporations, such instances are rare, and good and honest efforts for the public weal are as a rule their characteristics. No public body whose actions we have studied, from the Legislature downwards, can lay claim to absolute freedom from jobbery, and Parliamentary records afford ample proof of sad miscarriages. Besides, the City Corporation must undergo some reform sooner or later. It is full of grave defects which must be remedied. Some of these we have pointed out. It cannot for ever be allowed to go on as at present, and it would be unwise to endeavour to patch a faulty system when an opportunity offered to effect such a reform as would confer upon the entire Metropolis the benefits and advantages of a uniform government.

Again, it is said that London is too large for a consolidated government, and that a central authority would lack that local knowledge which is deemed necessary to secure good government. ‘Each inhabitant,’ say the Commissioners of 1854, ‘is in general acquainted with only his own quarter, and has ‘no minute knowledge of other parts of the town.’ Hence they



say the two first conditions for municipal government—minute local knowledge and community of interests—would be wanting if the whole of London were placed under a single municipal corporation. But there can be no difficulty in meeting that objection. By dividing the Metropolis into districts and wards for the purpose of electing aldermen and councillors, and by restricting candidates to the residents of the respective wards, it would be easy to secure representatives for the Council who would be possessed of that local knowledge which is considered very properly to be essential to good local government. And by breaking down the narrow boundaries of existing divisions which only create dissension and bad management, community of interest and uniformity of government would be conferred on London, and this Lord Elcho's Bill proposes to do.

Then it is contended that the work to be done would be too much for one body to accomplish, and that even if it were possible to establish an authority able to do the work, that body would be so powerful that it would excite the jealousy of the other civil authorities of the country. This objection received the sanction of Mr. John Stuart Mill, who gave utterance to it in the House of Commons when he had charge of the Bill of 1867. In our large provincial towns there seems to be no difficulty experienced in their municipal management by one body—at all events on the score of their area. London, of course, is very much bigger; but surely if a hundred men can rule Glasgow, can it be said that a body proportionately larger or even something less could not efficiently govern the Metropolis? The number of aldermen and councillors proposed in Lord Elcho's Bill falls only a little short of 250. With a large body like that it would be easy to divide labour by the appointment of a sufficient number of committees, and this would really bring us to the same position as if we adopted Lord Fortescue's suggestions, with the advantage of consolidation which would be missing if his scheme pure and simple were adopted. Moreover, the duties of the Municipal Council would be very little more than legislative. It would in fact be a kind of Parliament discussing matters connected with municipal life and deciding the work to be done. The actual work would, of course, be entrusted to competent officers appointed by and responsible to the Council. And it is sufficient to point to the School Board in support of our view. That Board is of a purely representative character, dealing with a most difficult question and clothed with important functions. It is decidedly the most successful

attempt at municipal government which has yet been attempted. Directly elected by the ratepayers and on the very broadest suffrage, its seats are, without exception, occupied by men of the highest intelligence. Out of a council of some two hundred and fifty members, many committees could be carved out, and each committee taking upon itself some specific duty would carry it out thoroughly to the great advantage of the community. The Board of Works, with only forty-five members, was amply strong enough to perform the functions originally vested in it, and the failure of that Board is due, for one thing at all events, to the attempt to get forty-five men to do the work of a hundred.

Having endeavoured to dispose of some of the most important objections which have been made to the creation of London into one municipality, we are led to consider what advantages would accrue from the adoption of such a scheme. Before this can be done, however, it will be necessary first of all to consider what should be the jurisdiction, what the functions and powers, of the new authority. Of course it would be clothed with all the purely municipal powers now exercised by the Corporation, the Board of Works, and the Vestries and District Boards. And in addition to that it would have the administration of the county finances consequent upon the creation of the Metropolis into a county of itself. The administration of the Poor Laws, the control of the water-supply and gas, are matters which in nearly all provincial towns are vested in the municipal authority, and these should be transferred to the new municipality, and not merely the control over these, but the absolute management of them by the purchase of the rights and interests of the water and gas companies. These are the very functions which Mr. Ayrton's Committee suggested conferring on the Central Board which it proposed to establish, and they are pure municipal affairs.

Forty years ago when the new municipal administration was about to be created, the Poor Law system was also very fully discussed. Both questions were before the public at the same time, and most of the thinkers and reformers of those days were of opinion that the Poor Law administration should devolve on the municipal corporations in all places where such corporations were to be created. But, unfortunately, these views did not find favour with the Legislature. Two separate systems were established, and the boards of guardians were entrusted with the control of the Poor Law administration. However, in the case of the City of London, it was proposed to the Corporation that it should take upon itself those duties; but

the offer was declined, and therein the Corporation 'shirked a 'very important duty.' The system of Poor Law administration in the Metropolis is, if anything, more complicated than the Vestry system. There are no less than thirty Poor Law authorities, exercising their functions over as many districts, who are elected without any uniformity, and who derive their powers from various sources—local and general Acts. They are variously called governors, trustees, and guardians; and all of them maintain distinct staffs of officers and require expensive offices for the transaction of their business. The Poor Rates levied in the Metropolis in 1873 amounted to 2,442,575*l.*, whereof was expended in relief of the poor 1,630,886*l.*, of which latter sum salaries exhausted 171,306*l.* For purposes unconnected with poor relief some 760,000*l.* was spent, of which salaries of officers took nearly 40,000*l.*, and in addition to this the 'establishment' of the School Board costs some 25,000*l.* One of the worst anomalies of the pernicious system which divides the Metropolis into so many unions and Poor Law districts is the fact that the poorest ratepayers have to pay the highest rate. In 1866, while the poverty-stricken parishes of the East of London had to pay a poor rate of some four shillings in the pound, St. George's Hanover Square paid no more than sixpence in the pound. The Act which established the Metropolitan Common Fund has somewhat diminished this glaring wrong, but the weight of the burden has still to be borne by those who are the least able to bear it. And apart from this, and what is perhaps of far greater importance, is that there is no unity whatever between the vestries and the boards of guardians. The public health is so thoroughly connected with the relief of the poor and indigent sick, that it becomes of the highest importance that the relief of the poor and the maintenance of the public health should be vested in one body. In fact it is impossible for the Sanitary Acts to be carried out successfully with a Poor Law administration entirely separated from the local municipal authority. In Paris there is no such distinction, and it was a grave mistake on the part of the Legislature to establish the double administration.

Water-supply is one of the most important matters affecting municipal life. The folly and extravagance of allowing it to be in the hands of private companies is manifest. It ought to be vested in the municipal authority, and in London, like all other towns, that municipal authority should have jurisdiction over the entire area to be supplied. London is now dependent on the water companies, over which the vestries have some control, which however is exercised very unsatis-

factorily, or rather scarcely exercised at all. The companies are eight in number—five having head-quarters on the south side of the river, and three on the north side. Of the former three take water from the Thames at Hampton, one at Molsey, and the other at Thames Ditton. Of the latter the New River Company draws all its water from the Lea, the East London Company partly from the Lea and partly from the Thames at Tunbury, while the Kent Company is supplied from the Chalk Wells. These companies, using their utmost strain, could hardly give a constant and high-pressure service so necessary for the health and comfort of the community and for the protection of life and property from the ravages of fire. By law the companies are bound to give a constant supply and to maintain a high-pressure service. But we are very far yet from that consummation. The Act has been very tardily complied with. The companies evince no great fervour in the matter, and the vestries do not press it upon them. The number of houses supplied exceeds 582,000. Of these not a tenth are under constant service, and in the very districts where constant service is most needed, there it practically does not exist. The average daily supply is close upon 120,000,000 gallons, which is not an excessive supply for 3,682,000 persons, after allowance is made for the vast quantities used in manufactories and in business.

One hundred and ten million gallons is the maximum quantity which is allowed to be taken from the Thames on any one day by all the companies. And this would be a heavy drain on that river. There are some, indeed, who believe it would not be safe to exceed this maximum, seeing that the capacities of the river are not very great. The resources of the Lea are not so considerable, and there seems to be no certainty about the resources of the Chalk District. The constant supply of the Metropolis, even with its present population, would tax the power of the companies and the sources of supply to the very utmost. So that if London continues to grow after the rate it has done within the last twenty years—and this is more than a probability—the companies will be utterly inadequate, and it will be necessary to go somewhere else than the Thames watershed for our water.

The quality of the water is also a most important element—perhaps of more vital consequence than the quantity. It is impossible for the Thames or the Lea to be pure, as in fact it is for any river having on its banks a number of towns and villages. The water from such a source must be tainted, and no filtering can make it thoroughly pure. Great improvement

has been effected both by the better regulation of the sewage deposits of riparian towns, and in the process of filtration, but analysis still shows that London water is far from being what it ought to be. Some companies are better in this respect than others, but the best is not free from defect, while one or two are constantly complained of; and it is our misfortune to have to use water which very frequently is polluted.

What through the impurity of the water itself, and the inadequacy of the means of supply to the growing wants of a growing community, it will become imperative on London to look elsewhere for water. This century can scarcely elapse before the matter will have to be definitely settled. The supply will have to come from a distance. Some years ago Mr. Bateman proposed to supply London with pure water from the Welsh mountains. That scheme was certainly a stupendous one, but thoroughly practicable. There was also another scheme to bring the supply from the English Lake district. At some future date some such scheme will have to be adopted. Work of this character ought not to be left to private speculation. Nor is it a duty which should devolve on the Imperial Government. The proper authority to do it would be a municipal body with a jurisdiction coextensive with the Metropolis.

This was the old idea of local self-government; and originally the Corporation of the City of London had control over the water-supply—possessing conduits all round the City, one being in the fields on which now stands Conduit Street, and which still forms a part of the City Estate. The construction of the New River, after the City had been reduced to poverty by the ravages of the Great Fire, was the first step which was destined to place London, in respect of the greatest necessity of life, at the mercy of private enterprise. Once an inroad of that sort was allowed, it was very difficult to restore the old state of things. The transfer of the water-supply from the companies to the municipality would be no innovation, but the resumption of ancient principles and practices.

In most of our provincial towns the water-supply is in the hands of the municipal authorities, and that, too, in many instances where private companies were in possession of the field, and had to be purchased. Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Dublin, and other large towns, have adopted this practice to the great advantage of the several communities. And London will have to do so. It is only a matter of time. The Royal Commission on Water-supply of 1861 recommended this.

We have already shown that this work cannot be entrusted to the Board of Works. Had that Board been an efficient

municipal authority, the question of a constant and high-pressure service would long ago have been solved. As it is, London is worse off as regards its water, both as to quality and quantity, than any provincial town.

Again, there is the Gas-supply. No subject has of late disturbed Metropolitan ratepayers more than this. Not only is London gas about the worst that is manufactured, but it is also the dearest. In an unwary moment the ratepayers—and this for want of a sufficiently strong representative body—allowed the gas companies to unite in establishing districts, and though the Act of 1860 was promoted ostensibly to benefit the consumers, it was so mutilated and distorted, through the great influence of the companies, that the latter now enjoy a monopoly which they have exercised with the sole object of their own advancement, utterly regardless of the public interest. In fact the Act of 1860 has been the reverse of beneficial to the consumers. The weak opposition, on the part of the Board of Works and the Vestries, to the encroachments of the companies during the progress of that Bill through Parliament, affords the most striking condemnation of Sir Benjamin Hall's scheme for the management of the Metropolis. The inequality in prices of the different companies, the impurity of the gas itself, and the extortionate advances in price, have at length roused such a feeling of indignation against the companies that their very existence is threatened, and in the autumn of last year the Board of Works and the City Corporation uniting their powers for the first time, not perhaps because of any better harmony between the rival authorities, but on account of the loud cry for municipal reforms, gave notices of their intention to introduce bills into Parliament to empower them to deal with the gas question. There were two proposals—one to establish gas-works of their own, and the other of purchasing the interests of the companies. Competition is most decidedly not the best remedy for the evil. It would only heighten the grievance, and could not for a moment be tolerated. The proper course is that of purchase. This was suggested by the Board of Trade in November last, as a reply to a deputation asking Government interference in favour of amalgamation. In that answer the President of the Board of Trade admits that 'the complaints of the consumers, whether well founded or not, have been numerous and incessant, and the present action of the municipal authorities in giving notice of competing schemes shows that the question will not be allowed to rest.' But the importance of the letter rests on the following suggestion:—

'It is probable that the only final solution of the long-pending disputes between the companies and the consumers is to be found in a fair purchase on the part of the latter of the works and property of the former; and if the time has not yet arrived at which such a purchase can be satisfactorily effected, it is well to look forward to such a step as one which is likely to be taken at no distant period.'

This suggestion was at once adopted by the City Corporation and the Board of Works, and they gave the notices to which allusion has already been made. Many, however, doubted their good faith, and it now turns out that such suspicion was well founded. For instead of seeking powers to purchase or to establish independent works, they merely brought in a Bill which has no higher ambition than to extend to the Metropolis some of the advantages conferred upon the City by the Act of 1868—an Act, be it remembered, which the Board of Works then went out of its way to oppose. The whole affair has turned out a fiasco, and the public money has been wasted in promoting Bills which evidently were not seriously proposed. It is quite evident that if the gas-supply is to be ever brought under the control of the consumers, it must be by other aid than that of the Board of Works. And if ever the Board seeks the power to purchase, the ratepayers should be very careful to watch the proceedings, for we are afraid the influence of the gas companies is very great at Spring Gardens; and so confident did some of the companies feel that if they had to sell they would make a good thing of it, that as in the case of the Chartered Company, they increased their capital by the issue of 500,000*l.* in 10*l.* shares to their shareholders at par. Such shares would realise in the market quite 850,000*l.*; and this they thought the ratepayers would have to make good.

If all these functions were centred under one municipal authority—and they are all matters inseparably allied to municipal life—it need hardly be said that such a body, exercising jurisdiction over the whole of this vast Metropolis, would be a most important Council, second perhaps in importance to the Legislature only. Such a Council would attract to it men of the highest position and ability, and that above all things is what is most to be desired. Probably nothing has contributed so much to the misgovernment of London as the absence of men of position and intelligence from its governing councils. The Vestries, Boards of Guardians, and other similar institutions are nearly all composed of a very inferior class of men, who are incapable of understanding their duties or duly appreciating their great responsibilities. Even on the Common

Council and the Metropolitan Board of Works there is a great lack of men of position. The great bankers and merchants of the City of London keep aloof from the civic government, while the Board of Works is merely recruited from the vestries, and is monopolised by builders, ironmongers, and some retired tradesmen: scarcely the classes from which the administrators of municipal funds should be drawn. And unless better men can be induced to come forward to devote their services to the public interest, no reform is likely to be successful, and it matters little whether the government be one by forty vestries, or by one Municipal Council. We see no other way of securing the services of educated men than by making the Council a most important public body, seats in which would be looked upon as honourable. The School Board of London is an instance of how a good council is to be got together; and the School Board would be but little to be compared in importance with a Municipal Council of London. That we require a better government than we now possess is beyond dispute, and of all the schemes which have been suggested, the one most likely to prove beneficial is that which would be most likely to attract the services of the best men. If the Metropolis were divided into boroughs, and Borough Councils were created, though the office would be somewhat more important than a vestryman, few men of position would care to be members of a Borough Council, while to be a member of the Municipal Council of London would be deemed an honour worthy of any ambition. It would be pedantic on our part to show the advantages which would accrue from a government by a council of intelligent men. It will probably be contended by some that the interests of the ratepayers are safer in the hands of small shopkeepers than they would be in the keeping of men of higher social and intellectual position—the latter being more likely to be lavish and more given to sanction acts which would entail heavy expenditure. No such danger is to be apprehended. In all conscience nothing can be more wasteful than the existing system. The sum annually raised in the Metropolis for the purposes of local government and from poor rates, police rates, and tolls and revenues applicable to municipal purposes, amounts to over six millions. We have already shown that the vestries exhaust in establishments annually about 160,000*l.* The management of the City Corporation entails an expenditure of over 170,000*l.* a year, of which over 100,000*l.* is paid away in salaries alone. Out of the poor rates over 210,000*l.* is spent in salaries, and offices; the Board of Works consumes over 50,000*l.*, and the School Board some 25,000*l.* a year. These



alone represent an annual expenditure of over 610,000*l.*, to which if we add the payment of the staffs of the police and some other county offices, probably we could make out an expenditure of nearly 700,000*l.* The cost of establishments of the water and gas companies we have no means of ascertaining. Doubtless if it were possible to ascertain all offices and appointments connected with the work which Mr. Ayrton's Committee rightly recommended as the proper work of a Municipal Authority, we should find that they cost little less than a million a year. It becomes, therefore, manifest that the unfortunate ratepayers of the Metropolis are the victims of a most vicious system, resulting in a truly alarming waste of public money. We do not believe that there is a parallel for this among all the cities of the world. And the evil is far greater when it is borne in mind that this enormous outlay does not secure for us even tolerably good government. The entire evil arises from the divided rule of many bodies having nothing in common and often in open hostility. If there was, as there should be, one central government for London, half a million would be more than ample to cover all establishment expenses, and the money would be utilised in a way impossible with the small divided authorities which now warp metropolitan management. We should have officers chosen from among men of eminence in their respective branches, who would be paid on a liberal scale and whose entire time would be devoted to the public service. There would be an end, at all events, to the appointments of medical officers of health at the pittance of 50*l.* a year. There would thus be a clear saving of considerably over a quarter of a million a year, and we should have an infinitely better government.

Lord Elcho's Bill does not profess to be perfect. It is, however, on the whole a clear and intelligent measure, and at the same time so moderate, that in the opinion of many it has lost its chief merits by a too great desire to conciliate what may be supposed attacked interests. Still it is the only scheme which adopts the principle of uniting the whole of London under one municipal government, and the mode by which it proposes this also secures a fair local representation. There is, however, very little chance of its becoming law in the hands of a private member, and indeed, the subject is so surrounded with difficulties, and is of such very great importance, that we feel certain it can never be satisfactorily dealt with save by a very powerful Government. The late Liberal Administration in the days of its strength could very well have done it; and the present Administration is also strong enough to carry any measure of reform, and not merely

strong enough in itself, but it would be aided by the rank and file of the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone gave to the question a prominent place in his last electoral address, which was in fact only a reiteration of pledges given over and over again by himself and his Home Secretary, Lord Aberdare. The present Government is pledged above all things to social and sanitary reform. We can suggest no better subject, or one that more requires to be dealt with, than the Municipal Government of London. It is a question which a Conservative Government might most suitably take up, and probably a measure slightly Conservative would be more satisfactory than a measure in any way prompted by especially the extreme Liberals. One thing is certain, that whatever Administration will grapple with the question and dispose of it on sound principles will deserve the gratitude of the inhabitants of this Metropolis, and will have done something to secure for itself a place in history.

There will, of course, be very powerful interests opposed to any measure of reform. The Vestries and Board of Works will all desire a continuance of the present state of things. But the chief opponents which reformers will have to meet is the City Corporation. Probably there is not in the whole world a corporation half so influential as the Corporation of London. In the House of Commons it has a representation far beyond the few members who nominally are its representatives, and as an evidence of the ramifications of the City influence in Parliament we were told upon good authority that some 160 members of the House of Commons are liverymen of some of the numerous City Guilds which still retain so great a power in City affairs. The City has hitherto opposed every attempt at reform. There is no reason to think that there is likely to be now any change of tactics, and from the City it would be idle to look for anything but the most determined hostility. Reform, though it may be long deferred, is inevitable. It must take place sooner or later. We may have to wait years, but in the meantime the want of it will be all the more deeply felt, and the friendly feeling which now prevails towards existing institutions will diminish. If the City authorities were wise in their generation they would seek to be reformed by a Conservative Government, rather than abide the evil day when more ruthless hands may come to deal with Metropolitan Municipal Government, who may not feel disposed to look with favour upon institutions which have scarcely more than antiquity to boast of.

## NOTE

to the Article on '*The Education of the Children of the State,*'  
p. 100, No. CCLXXXIX.

Mr. Edward Tufnell has addressed to us a letter to explain and disclaim the apparent inconsistency attributed to him at p. 100 of our last Number, in an Article on '*The Education of the Children of the State.*' Mr. Tufnell draws a wide distinction between *criminal* children over thirteen or fourteen years of age and the *non-criminal* pauper children usually collected in District schools. He admits the reformation of the former, or criminal, class to be hopeless and impracticable save by the family system; but he holds that large schools are the best for the pauper non-criminal class below a certain age; and he contends that there is no inconsistency or contradiction in condemning for one of these classes what he recommends for the other. We cannot agree with Mr. Tufnell, because we believe that the two classes are substantially identical, except in as much as they are separated by age and by progress in vice. But we are so well aware of the eminent services which Mr. Tufnell has rendered to the cause of education—and especially the education of the poorest classes—for a long series of years, that we receive everything that falls from him on this subject with the greatest respect, and nothing could be further from our intention than to misrepresent any opinion he may have expressed.

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